

THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN FRONTIER

...

Part I: THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

New Series—Volume 44, Part 1, 1954

...

Part II: THEIR RELIGIOUS LIFE

New Series—Volume 47, Part 1, 1957

...

Part III: RECORDS OF THE MONGUOR CLANS: HISTORY OF THE MONGUORS IN HUANGCHUNG AND THE CHRONICLES OF

THE LU FAMILY

New Series—Volume 51, Part 3, 1961

....

by

Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M.

With an Introduction by *Owen Lattimore*

&

Introductions in 2006

by

Juha Janhunen

Paul Nietupski

Gray Tuttle

Keith Slater

Jeroom Heyndrickx

Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart

....

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED

by

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge

Pennsylvania

the United States of America

in 1954, 1957, and 1961

This 2006 edition edited by Charles Kevin Stuart.

Xining City: Plateau Publications

PREFACE TO THE 2006 EDITION

I arrived in Qinghai in 1987 and, after meeting some Monguor, having a few Monguor students and learning more about the Monguor, I also discovered Schram. Father Schram was a Catholic missionary and his work is, at times, colored by that perspective, as well as the late-nineteenth-century--early-twentieth-century academic world he was a product of. Nevertheless, Schram records important information about the Monguor that is unavailable elsewhere and, in 2006, that many Monguor/Mangghuer/Mongghul are unaware of.

In 2004, a search for Schram's three-volume work on abebooks.com "the world's largest online marketplace for books," produced four results. Three were for Volume I. The fourth was for the complete set and was priced at 676.40 US dollars,¹ making this unique material no longer available at a price affordable to ordinary individuals with an interest in the area. THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY kindly gave permission to republish Schram's three-volume study, which we have now made available at a price that more people can afford. We hope that Schram's materials republished will attract a new generation of readers.

Although well-edited for its time, current word processing spell-checking features and automated ways of creating footnotes provide tools that raised the question of correcting inconsistencies in spellings and footnote numberings. In the end, I kept original spellings and punctuations. Footnotes have, however, been numbered uniformly. A bibliography on the Monguor has also been added. In addition, the figures that appeared in the original versions have been collected and presented together at the beginning of the text, the three parts have been numbered consecutively and there is no index, given the availability of a searchable .pdf version.

I thank Juha Janhunen, Paul Nietupski, Gray Tuttle, Keith Slater, Jeroom Heyndrickx and Limusishiden for writing new introductions and the Verbiest Institute for providing photographs of Louis Schram. I also sincerely thank Mr. Tshe dbang rdo rje (Caixiangduojie) for his invaluable help in producing this edition.

Charles Kevin Stuart
Xining City, Qinghai Province
August 2006

¹ <http://dogbert.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?&imageField.y=0&imageField.x=0&ph=2&cmid=hp-search-form&tn=monguors&sts=t>

LOUIS SCHRAM²

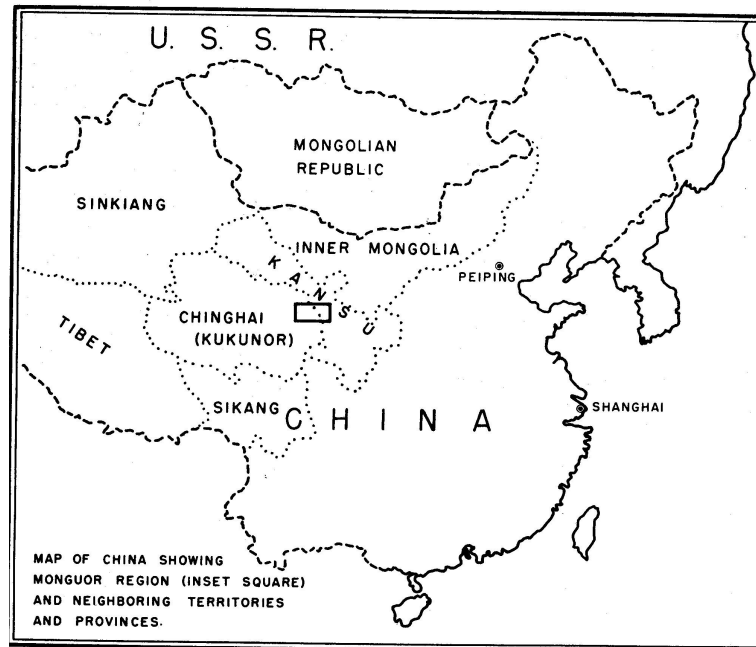


康國泰神父 Schram Louis
1909 年派遣至北甘肅

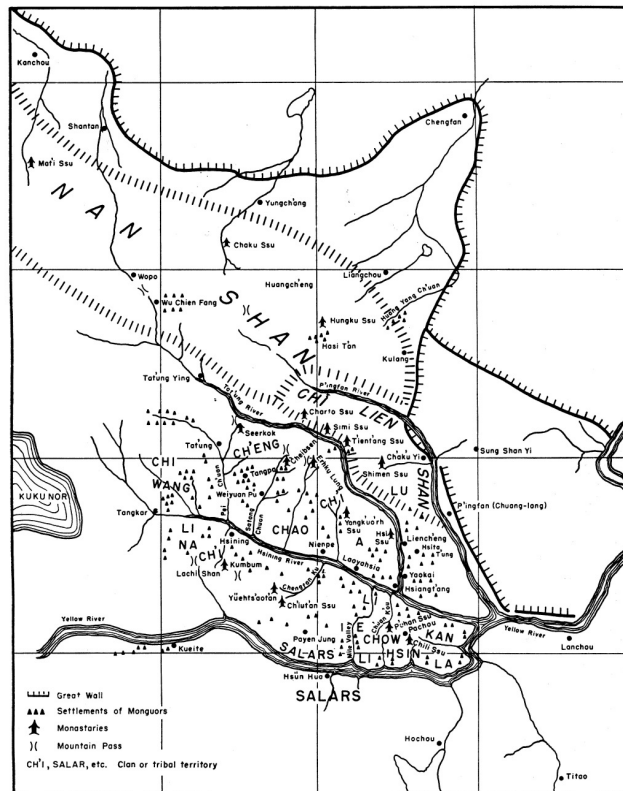


² These two photographs were provided courtesy of the Verbiest Institute in 2005 and 2006.

FIGURES



Map 1 (III:8). Map of China showing the Monguor region (inset square) and neighboring territories and provinces.



Map 2 (III:7). The Monguor region.

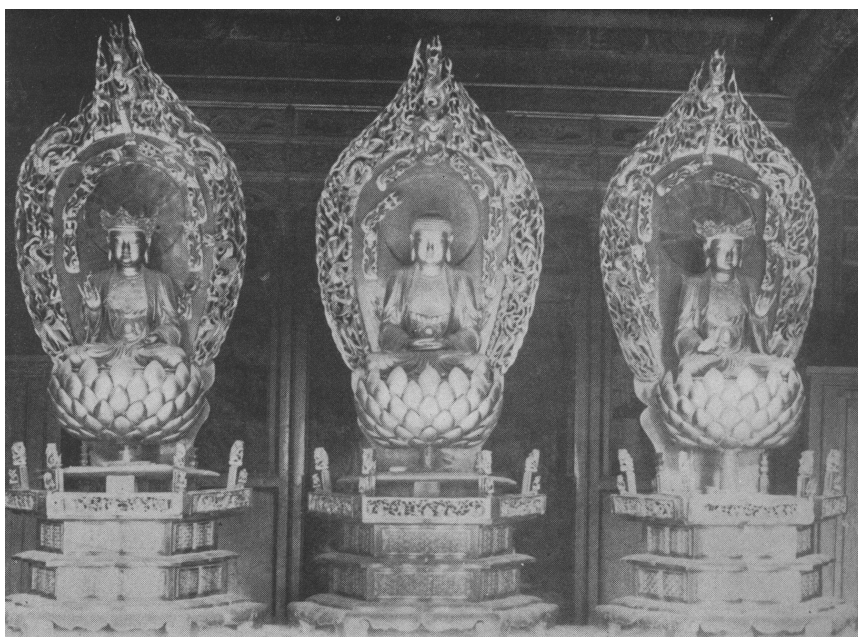


FIG. 1 (I:29). The three celebrated Buddha images, said to have been brought to Hsining by the first Chinese military colonists under the Ming, from their native province of Kiangsu in 1370. They are worshipped in the Ch'eng Huang Miao (temple of the guardian spirit of the city). On the fifteenth of the first moon all the inhabitants of Hsining never omit to pay them a visit, prostrating themselves and burning incense. In the summer of every year a theatrical comedy is played in honor of these images brought from the ancestral homeland.

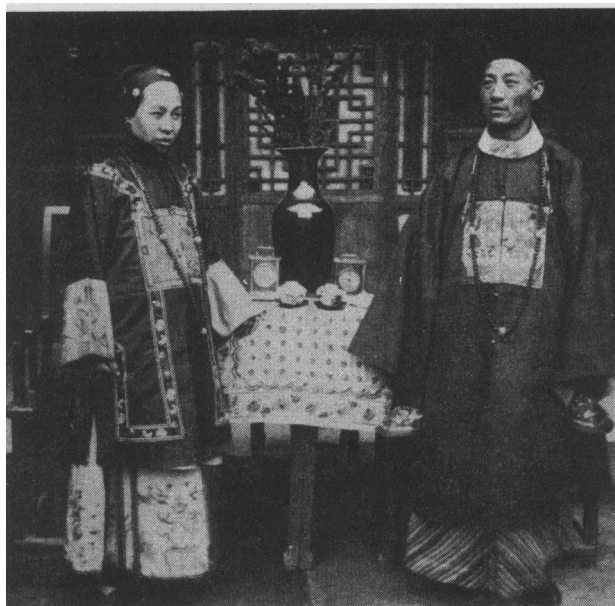


FIG 2 (I:47). Li Tusi and his wife. Taken at his home in Xining in 1914. According to Li Tusi, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723-35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which the ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.



FIG 3 (I:69). The summer camp of Lu 65, a rich Monguor, subject of Lu T'u-ssu, who enrolled in the Tibetan tribe of Waza. His T'ussu was unable to prevent his departure. The author's small white tent is at the left. The whole family wore Tibetan clothes and were already speaking Tibetan. This Monguor had left the clan of his T'u-ssu because of troubles with the T'u-ssu's officials, and also because in the Monguor country the pasturage was insufficient for his big herds. It was remarkable how the whole family, in a very few years, had adapted itself so completely to the Tibetan pattern of life. (Picture taken in 1917.)

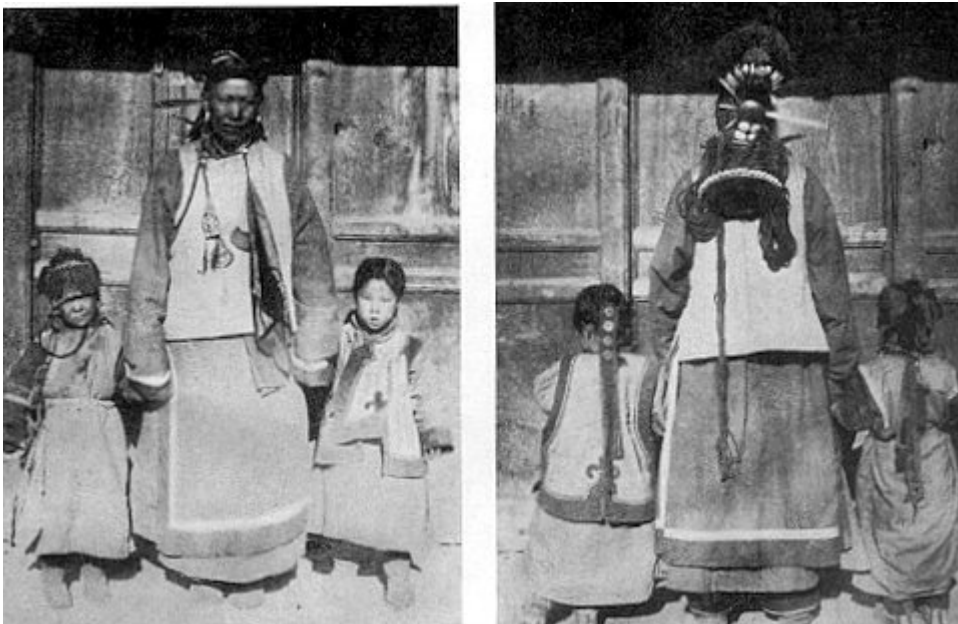


FIG 4 (1:122). *Huari niudar*. Front and back views of a poor Monguor widow with her two children. She wears the headdress called "*huari niudar*." Note details: shield, spear, disc, red strings, coral, etc.



FIG 5 (I:123). A rich Monguor woman in home dress, wearing the *huari niudar* or “crested headdress,” but without the encumbering disc on the back. She wears the winter jacket, wadded with wool or cotton, and is proud of her motherly sleeves.



FIG 6 (I:124). Sge Niudar, the “great” or “honorable” headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental “great” or “honorable” headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.



FIG. 7 (I:125). The *sge niudar*, the “great” or “honorable” headdress. Back view of the costume shown in FIG. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the “heart of the hair,” and the tassels and fringes.



FIG 8 (I:126). Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch’i T’u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

CONTENTS

PREFACE TO THE 2006 EDITION <2>

LOUIS SCHRAM <3>

FIGURES <4>

CONTENTS <9>

PREFACE (*Louis Schram*) <23>

INTRODUCTIONS IN 2006 <26>

- **The Monguor: The Emerging Diversity of a Vanishing People** (*Juha Janhunen*) <26>
- **Louis Schram and the Study of Social and Political History** (*Paul Nietupski*) <30>
- **The Middle Ground: The Monguor Place in History, Between China and Tibet** (*Gray Tuttle*) <37>
- **Language in Schram's Work** (*Keith Slater*) <44>
- **Louis J. M. Schram, CICM: Missionary and Ethnologist** (*Jerome Heyndrickx*) <51>
- **Louis M. J. Schram's Relevance to Current Monguor Ethnographic Research** (*Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart*) <60>
- **Selected Bibliography** <80>

Part I: Their Origin, History, and Social Organization

INTRODUCTION (*Owen Lattimore*) <86>

I. THE LAND IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE <109>

- The country <109>
- The historical background <110>
- Population of the country <112>
 - Tibetans <112>
 - Monguors <113>
 - Muslims <113>
 - Salars <114>
- Conclusions <115>

II. THE MONGUORS <115>

- The Monguors an enigma to foreigners <116>
- The Monguors an enigma to the local people <119>
- The name of the Monguors <123>
- The language of the Monguors <123>
- Historical solution of the enigma <124>
- Settlement and distribution of the Monguor clans <126>
- Monguor population figures <129>

- Expansion of the Monguors over the country <129>
- Historical frame in which the Monguors lived <131>

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN <137>

- Composition of the clan <137>
- Process of clan formation at the time of Chingis Khan <140>
- Characteristics of chiefs and nobles in the Monguor clans <141>
- Development of clan structure <142>
 - The position of the T'u-ssu <142>
 - The organization of the noble houses <143>
- The chief of the clan <145>
 - Origin and evolution of the clan chief institution <145>
 - Rules of succession of the clan chief <146>
 - Installation of the clan chief <148>
- The clan chief becomes a Chinese official <149>
 - The T'u-ssu institution <149>
 - Choice of the clan chief ratified by the emperor <150>
 - Investiture of the T'u-ssu: ceremony, diploma, and seal <150>
- Role of the clan chief as Chinese official <154>
 - Warden of the Marches <154>
 - Guardian of the peace in his territory <156>
 - Extraterritorial jurisdiction <156>
 - Taxes upon T'u-ssu and their salary <157>
 - Trips of T'u-ssu to Peking <157>
- Commoners <159>
 - Mongols <159>
 - Shat'o, Turkish origin <160>
 - Chinese <163>
 - Tibetans <166>
- The T'u-ssu and his subjects <168>
 - The T'u-ssu ultimate landowner of the clan territory <168>
- The T'u-ssu lord of the commoners <171>
 - Taxes <173>
 - Corvées <175>
 - Military service <176>
 - Triennial inspection <178>
- The T'u-ssu lord of the nobles <180>
 - The triennial visit <181>
 - Nobles exempted from taxes, corvée, military service <181>
 - Authority of T'u-ssu over nobles <182>
 - Waning influence of nobles <183>

- Nobles and Commoners <184>
- The clan assembly <184>
 - Monguor cemeteries <185>
 - Worshipping of the ancestors <187>
 - Genealogical register <188>
 - Festival <189>
 - Assizes of the clan <189>
- Remarks <190>

IV. THE VILLAGE <191>

- Formation of the village <191>
- Dwellings <192>
- Social structure of the village <193>
- Village administration <195>
 - Officials <195>
 - Administrative procedures <196>
 - Topics of the meetings <197>
 - Limits of authority of the village officials <201>
- Relationship between villages <202>

V. FAMILY LIFE <203>

- The extended family <203>
- The family chief <204>
- Breakup of the extended family <205>
- Establishment of new families <206>
- Classification of kinship <206>
- Glossary of kinship terms <208>
- Nuclear and extended family <209>
- Adoption <210>
- Interpersonal behavior in the family <211>
- Marriage and its regulation <211>
- The position of women <213>
- Legends of the past <217>
- The maternal uncle <218>
- The child <230>
 - Name giving <233>
 - Feast in the village <235>
 - Dedication of the child to the spirits <236>
 - Education of the child <239>
- Institutional kinship <240>
- Property and inheritance <243>

- Conclusions <246>
- Morality in the Monguor family <247>

VI. ECONOMIC LIFE <247>

- The historical shift from pastoralism to farming <248>
- Farming <248>
- Pastoral economy <250>
- Hunting and fishing <251>
- Trade <253>
- Dwellings <256>
- Food, drink, and narcotics <257>
- Clothing and headdresses <259>
- Handicrafts and origin of artisans <267>
- The city becomes the center of economic life <269>

VII. CONCLUSIONS <271>

APPENDIX

- The Shat'o Turks <275>
- Political and economic significance of Lama Buddhism <282>

Part II: Their Religious Life

PREFACE <284>

I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS <286>

- Private and public religious life <286>
- Position of Lamaism <288>
- Failure of Lamaism to supersede shamanism completely <288>
- Position of shamanism <289>

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANGCHUNG) <290>

- No historical data before 1227 in the *Annals* of Hsining <290>
 - Old occupants of Huangchung were not Buddhists <290>
 - First temple built in Huangchung <291>
 - Not a Buddhist temple <292>
 - It is actually called Pei Ch'an-ssu <292>
 - Was Buddhism spread by colonists or by monks from Turkistan? <292>
 - Was Buddhism spread by Hsin-pi tribes? <294>

- Was Buddhism spread by the Buddhist kings of Liang-chou <294>
- Historical data according to Tibetan sources <296>
 - Diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty (1280-1367) <299>
 - Godan <299>
 - Ta-fo-ssu <300>
 - Sha-ch'ung <301>
 - Diffusion of Lamaism during the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) <303>
 - General policy of the Ming <303>
 - Peculiar policy in Huangchung <304>
 - Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an <304>
 - Titles and domains granted to lamas <304>
 - Reasons for this policy <305>
 - Three peculiar institutions for lamas <306>
 - Nang-suo <307>
 - Karwa <308>
 - Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) <309>
 - No living Buddhas in Huangchung during the Ming dynasty <311>
 - Temples built during the Ming dynasty <311>
 - Ch'ü-t'an-ssu, first lamasery built during the Ming dynasty <312>
 - Legends <312>
 - Temples and history of the lamasery <314>
 - Stagnation in the diffusion of Lamaism <316>
 - Kumbum <317>
 - Erh-ku-lung <320>
 - Legends <320>
 - History of the Lamasery <321>
 - Lamaism at the end of the Ming dynasty <322>
 - Diffusion of Lamaism during the Ch'ing (1644-1911) <322>
 - General policy of the Ch'ing <322>
 - Lamaism diffused by Monguor lamas of Erh-ku-lung <323>
 - Chang-chia Hutukhtu <323>
 - T'u-kuan Hutukhtu <328>
 - Sumpa Hutukhtu <329>
 - Subsidiary lamaseries founding by Erh-ku-lung <330>
 - Revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin and the lamas <332>
 - What were the underlying causes of these calamities? <333>
 - Where were the three celebrities of Erh-ku-lung at that time? <334>
 - Consequences of the revolt <334>
 - Conditions of Erh-ku-lung in 1910-1920 <335>

III. LAMASERIES IN HUANGCHUNG <337>

- The Yellow Sect in Huangchung <337>
- The lamaseries of Huangchung independent of Lhasa <338>
- The internal organization of the lamaseries <339>
- Administration of lamaseries: material aspects <340>
 - Officials and their attributes <340>
 - Environment of the administration <342>
 - Means of subsistence of the lamaseries <346>
 - Domains <346>
 - Rents <347>
 - Herds <348>
 - Oil and grain mills <348>
 - Forests <348>
 - Toll on bridges <348>
 - Collection of alms in far-off countries <349>
 - Taxes <350>
 - Moneylending <350>
 - Subjects of the lamaseries <351>
 - Kinds of subjects <351>
 - Present status of the subjects in relation to the lamaseries <352>
 - Farmers offering oil and pigs <352>
 - Service for prayers and alms collections <352>
 - Repair of the lamasery <353>
 - Travel of the chief of the lamasery <353>
 - Administration of justice <353>
 - Lamaseries as administrative centers of the country and conditions of the subjects before 1723 <354>
 - Branch lamaseries <358>
 - Administration and officials <358>
 - Domains and revenues <358>
 - Obligation to a Fa-t'ai when invited <359>
 - Obligation to join the retinue of the chief of the lamasery <359>
 - Autonomy of branch lamaseries <359>
 - Lama army <360>
 - Interference of the emperor and T'u-ssu with the lamaseries <361>

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMASERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS <361>

- Lamas <362>
 - Lack of candidates <362>
 - Causes contributing to lack of candidates <362>

- Number of lamas in Huang-chung <363>
- Centers for recruiting lamas in Huang-chung <364>
- Ways and means of recruitment <365>
- Pupil and master <366>
 - Novice <366>
 - First vows <366>
 - Second vows <367>
 - Relations between pupil and master <367>
- The ideal Monguor lama in Huang-chung <369>
- How lamas provide for their subsistence <371>
- Community of lamas <372>
 - Organization of the community of the lamas <372>
 - Fa-t'ai, called "Master of the Doctrine" ("Lobpon" or "mK'ampo") <372>
 - Intendant <374>
 - Disciplinarians <374>
 - Precentor—Um-dse <375>
 - Councillors <375>
- Colleges <375>
 - Predilection for the college of philosophy, its causes <377>
- Living Buddhas <379>
 - Abode <379>
 - What is a Living Buddha? <379>
 - Application of the system in Huang-chung <380>
 - Procedure of becoming a Living Buddha in Huang-chung <380>
 - Search for the incarnation <381>
 - Education of the Monguor Living Buddhas <383>
 - Behavior of the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung <384>
- Lamaism and monasticism <386>

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG <390>

- General aspects and former conditions of the Red Sect in Huang-chung <390>
- Present conditions of the Red Sect in Huang-chung <391>
- Relations between the Red and Yellow lamas in Huang-chung <392>
- The Rite of the 108 Springs <393>
- Hermits <395>

VI. SHAMANISM <395>

- Introduction <395>
- Social and economic conditions of the Monguor shamans within the clan <397>
- What is a shaman according to the Monguors and ethnologists? <399>
- Succession of the shamans <399>

- Different kinds of shamans <400>
- Behavior among shamans and between shamans and Monguors <400>
- No enthusiasm among the Monguors for duty of shaman <401>
- Dedication and training of the Monguor shamans <402>
- Physical training <402>
- Intellectual and religious training of the apprentices <403>
- Monguor shamans and neurosis <404>
- Shaman dress and implements <405>
 - Dresses <405>
 - Cincture <405>
 - Caps <405>
 - The drum <406>
 - The knife <407>
 - The magic staff <407>
- Spirits honored by shamans <407>
 - Shamans, disciples of the Taoist god of the Five Roads <408>
 - "God of the Five Roads <408>
 - Temples of the god of the Five Roads <409>
 - Shamans and their own Twelve Tengris <411>
 - Cult of the Twelve Tengris traced <411>
 - Monguor shamans—Wu of old China—shamans of Central Asia <414>
 - Cult of the Twelve Tengris specifically shamanist <414>
- Monguor shamans enter the Taoist guild <416>
- Conclusion <417>

VII. THE KURTAİN <417>

- The type of the Kurtain <417>
- By what spirits are Kurtains possessed? <418>
- Authorization of tests of the Kurtain <418>
- Tests of the Kurtains possessed by a Lamaist deity <420>

VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS <423>

- World of religion and fear in which the Monguors live <424>

IX. PUBLIC RITES <427>

- Religious activities in regard to hailstorms <427>
 - Rite of the White Tiger <428>
 - The rites of the Taoists against hail <431>
 - Strengthening of the old mounds <431>
 - More precautions against hail <432>
 - Lamas invited to recite texts <432>

- Procession with the sacred books <432>
- The goatskin rite <433>
- Rite on the highest mountain of the village <434>
- Call of the goddesses on the god Erh-lang <434>
- Old custom recalled <437>
- Offer of bones to the spirits of hail <437>
- Last regulations of the chief of the village <437>
- Fighting the hailstorms <438>
- Shamans and statues of the temples <438>
- Conclusion <439>

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES <439>

- Public rites on New Year's <439>
- Rite of the sacred animal of the community <440>
- Shamanist rites of spring <441>
 - Preparations <441>
 - First day <442>
 - Invocation of the spirits <442>
 - Entertainment of the spirits <443>
 - Second day <446>
 - Possession by the White Tiger <446>
 - Greeting of the Goddess of Joy <446>
 - Leave-taking of the spirits <447>
 - Nurturing of the gods of the temple <449>
 - Fear of human sacrifices <450>
 - Cult of the mountains <451>
 - Obligations toward the mountain gods <452>
 - Cult of the Obo <453>
 - The five great Obos in the country <453>
 - The sick Obo spirit healed <455>
 - Cult of the sacred hill of the village <456>
 - Conclusion <456>
- Rites of autumn <457>
 - Thanksgiving rite <457>
 - Meaning of the rite <459>

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGIONS <459>

- Sacred animals in private families <459>
- Cult of the fire <462>
 - Fire in the open air <462>
 - Magical power of the fire <463>

- The hearth fire <464>
- Fire and fecundity <464>
 - Fire as the protector of children <465>
 - Cult of the hearth god <465>
 - Rite at the end of the year <465>
 - Rites during the year <466>
 - Image of the hearth god <467>
- Offering to Heaven and all the spirits <468>
 - The family offering after the harvest <468>
 - The offering of the sheep <468>
- Calendar of religious activities <469>

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGIONS <471>

- The cult of family deities <471>
- Spirits honored in the families—peculiar concept <471>
 - Most spirits are Taoist <472>
 - Cult of the family guardian deity <473>
- Spirits expelled from the families <474>
- Spirits expelled from the villages <476>
- Shamans and bewitchment <477>
- Rites concerning the guarding spirits of the wealth of the family <478>
- Om Mani days and Bumkhang <481>
- Fasting rites among the Monguors <482>
 - Organization and rules <483>
 - Topics of the instructions <485>
 - Impact of the fasting rites upon Monguor society <487>
- Prodigality of the Monguors concerning cult and religion <488>
- Celebration of the cycle of age <489>
 - General rite <488>
 - Lamaist rite <491>

XIII. DEATH <492>

- Souls <492>
 - The first soul <493>
 - The second soul <494>
 - The third soul <496>
- Cemeteries <496>
- Different modes of disposing of the dead <497>
- Death <498>
- Guests and the maternal uncle <499>
- Cremation <500>

- Mourning customs <502>
- Ominous deaths and the abodes of evil spirits <503>
 - Women who die in childbirth <503>
 - Suicides <504>
- Burying of the dead <505>
- Confucianist burial of Monguors <505>
- Incineration of lamas <506>
- Funeral of the shamans <506>

XIV. Cult of Heaven <507>

- The meaning of the formula “Heaven and all the spirits” <507>
- Behavior of the Monguors towards Heaven <509>
- Prayers and offerings for Heaven <510>
- Cult of Heaven among the Turkic-Mongols <512>
- Impact of foreign relations in Central Asia <514>
- Impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols <515>
- Nestorianism among the Monguors <518>
- Conclusion <519>

XV. Religion and the cohesion of the clan <520>

XVI. Conclusion <523>

- Policy of China toward Lamaism <523>
- Failure of Lamaism to transform the Monguor society <525>

Part III: Records of the Monguor Clans

History of the Monguors in Huangchung and the Chronicles of the Lu Family <528>

PREFACE <528>

I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG <530>

- Geographical Conditions <531>
- The population of Huangchung at the time of the conquest by the Mongols <533>
- Huangchung during the T'ang period <535>
- Huangchung during the Wu Tai (Five Dynasties) period, 907-960 <535>
- Disintegration of the Shat'o nation and Huangchung and East Kansu <536>
- First data about Buddhism in Huangchung <536>
- Huangchung during the Sung period (960-1280) <537>
- Several ten thousands of Uighurs fled to Huangchung <539>
- Hsining in the heyday of its glory <539>

- Moslem traders in Hsining <541>
- Buddhism in Huangchung <541>
- Shamanism and Manicheism <542>
- Settlement of the Uighurs <542>
- Uighurs and subjects of t'u-ssu <544>
- Settlement of Uighurs and Shat'o in East Kansu <545>
- Saro and Shera Uighurs <545>
- Ma T'i Ssu, the Horseshoe monastery <547>
- Ethnography of Huangchung and East Kansu <548>
- Collapse of the T'u-fan Kingdom of Huangchung <548>
- Huangchung during the Yuan dynasty <550>
- Conquest of Huangchung by the Ming <555>
 - Conquest of Kansu <555>
- Surrender of Mongol princes and officials <555>
- General surrender of the Monguor officials in Huangchung <557>
- Who were the officials who surrendered in a group in 1371? <558>
- Ming policy toward surrendering tribes <560>
- Ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan <560>
- Historical value of the documents <562>
- The spirit way steles <565>
- The cemetery of Hsiang t'ang <565>
- History of Huangchung and the t'u-ssu during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) <566>
- Bureau for exchange of tea against horses <567>
- Surrender of tribes in Huangchung <569>
- 1386 marks a new era in Huangchung <570>
- First lamasery built by emperor—creation of Board of Lamas <571>
- Death of Emperor T'ai Tsung (Hung-Wu), 1398 <572>
- Monguors of Huangchung during the reign of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung (Yung Lo), 1403-1424 <572>
- T'u-ssu Li Yin <575>
- Huangchung t'u-ssu under the subsequent emperors <577>
- Height of Oirat Hegemony <579>
- T'u-ssu Li Wen <579>
- Hegemony of the Western Mongols <581>
- Ruin of Huangchung <583>
- Revolt of Tibetan tribes in Huangchung <587>
- Help sent by the Emperor <591>
- The Monguors and the fall of the Ming dynasty <595>
- Huangchung Monguors and their t'u-ssu during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) <598>
- Revolt of 1723-1724 <605>
- The t'u-ssu had participated in quelling the revolt <607>

- Persecution of Christians <608>
- Huangchung reorganized <611>
- First Mohammedan revolt—Wahhabism <613>
- Yen Ch'a Hui revolt <615>
- New sect in Hsining <616>
- Tibetans revenge upon the Mongols of Kokonor <616>
- Revolt of the East Kansu and Huangchung Mohammedans, 1860-1873 <617>
- Revolt of Mohammedans in 1895-1896 <620>

II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN <623>

- General Introduction <623>
 - Nature of the Chronicles <623>
 - Authors of the Chronicles and the time of their composition <623>
 - Note about the authors of the Chronicles <624>
 - T'o Huan, founding ancestor of the clan <625>
- Ancestors of T'o Huan <626>
 - Kolgan <626>
 - Hu Ch'a <627>
 - Hulut'ai <627>
 - The sons of Hulut'ai <627>
 - Yeh Pu Kan <628>
 - Yeh Mei Kan, Papala, Peitahan, and Papa <628>
 - T'o Huan <629>
 - The sons of T'o Huan <629>
- Geneological register of the family Lu <630>
 - Preface <630>
 - Geneological register <630>
- Chronological biographies <631>
 - Preface <630>
 - Chronological biographies <631>
- Primordial clan ancestor: T'o Huan <631>
- Second generation: Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh <632>
- Third generation: Lu Hsien <632>
- Fourth generation: Lu Chien <636>
- Fifth generation: Lu Lin <643>
- Sixth generation: Lu Chin <646>
- Seventh generation: Lu Tung <650>
- Eighth generation: Lu Kuang-tsu <651>
- Ninth generation: Lu Yung-ch'ang <653>
- Tenth generation: Lu Hung <653>
- Eleventh generation: Lu Ti-hsin <654>

- Twelfth generation: Lu Hua-lin <655>
- Thirteenth generation: Lu Feng-chu <655>
- Fourteenth generation: Lu Fan <655>
- Fifteenth generation: Lu Chi-hsun <656>
- Sixteenth generation: Lu K'ung-chao (Cho) <658>
- Seventeenth generation: Lu Wan-ch'ing (Jukao) <659>
- Biographies (Lieh Chuan) <660>
 - Preface <660>
 - Sire to T'o Huan, the original ancestor <661>
 - Kung-pu-shih-tieh of the second generation <662>
 - Piao-ch'i Chiang chun, Sire Hsien of the third generation <663>
 - Chien, Sire Ching Lu of the fourth generation <664>
 - Lin, Sire the Governor of the fifth generation <666>
 - Chin, Sire Pacifier of the Mongols, of the sixth generation <667>
 - Tung, Sire Chao I of the seventh generation <669>
 - Kuang Tsu, Sire Kuang Lu of the eighth generation <670>
 - Yung Ch'ang, Sire Chung Ti of the ninth generation <671>
 - Commandant Sire Hung of the tenth generation <672>
 - Ti-hsin, Kao-tsu Chao-yung, the great-great-grandfather of the eleventh generation <673>
 - Hua-lin, Sire Wu Kung, the great-grandfather (tseng-tsu) of the twelfth generation <674>
 - Feng-chu, Sire Wu I, the grandfather of the thirteenth generation <675>
 - Fan, Sire Wu Kung, the father of the fourteenth generation <676>
 - Chi Hsun of the fifteenth generation <678>
 - K'ung Chao of the sixteenth generation <679>
 - Wan Ch'ing, the Cheng-wei Chiang-chum of the seventeenth generation <680>
- Foundation of a second clan within the Lu clan <681>
- The Pa-chih-han clan <682>
- The T'o Huan clan on the brink of disaster <683>
- First group of seceders from the T'o Huan clan in 1645 <684>
- Social status of chiefs of groups of seceders from the clan <685>
- Seceders from the Lu clan in 1645 <685>
- Second Group of seceders <686>
- Group of Lu Chih-ting, third group of seceders <687>
- Group of Lu kuo-yin, the fourth group <688>
- Group of Lu San-ch', the fifth group <688>
- The disintegrated Lu clan <689>
- The clan members and the seceders <691>
- Conclusion <692>
- The glory of the Monguor clans in Huangchung <693>

PREFACE

During the years from 1911 to 1922 I lived as a missionary in the frontier region of Hsining in Northwest China. Among the peoples living in the region there were Chinese, Tibetans, Turkish-speaking Salars, Chinese-speaking Muslims, and a people who call themselves Monguors, and are called by the Chinese *T'u-jen*, a name that means "autochthones." Of these, I was most interested in the Monguors. The present study is drawn from notes written down at that time as well as from information in the local Chinese annals of the cities of the region and the annals of the Province of Kansu. During the years that I lived in the region, Hsining was the most important city of the Tibetan frontier of the Province of Kansu. It was only in 1928 that the vast frontier district was detached and formed into the new Province of Ch'ing-hai, with Hsining as its capital. (The Chinese name Ch'ing-hai is a translation of the Mongol name Kuke Nuur, Blue Lake, also rendered as Kukunor or Kokonor, the name of one of the outstanding geographical features of the region.)

It was in the winter of 1909 that I arrived in Kansu Province. This was the first year of the period of Hsüan T'ung when the "boy Emperor" P'u I, last of the Manchu sovereigns, ascended the throne. The Empire still had an external appearance of power and grandeur, but in less than three years it collapsed, the Emperor was forced to abdicate, and there began a long period of trouble and civil war. In 1911, the year of the Chinese Revolution, I was assigned to Hsining and studied Tibetan for half a year in the famous lamasery of Kumbum. I was then sent to a mission stationed in the sub prefecture of Nienpei, forty-five miles east of Hsining, where I continued the study of Tibetan for four years.

The Monguor people, with whom I came in contact in the course of my work as a missionary, seemed to me to be more interesting than the Tibetan tribes. All kinds of conflicting and incredible tales were current about their mysterious origin and their social organization, and very little was known about them. Having studied the history of religions and anthropology at the University of Louvain, and having studied the religions of China and taken the courses in Chinese at the University of Leiden in Holland, from 1908 to 1909, I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguors.

Later I was transferred to the mission station of Hsining, where I was in charge of more than thirty small mission stations scattered all over the prefecture. I was in daily contact with Chinese, Monguors, and Tibetans, and had an opportunity to jot down notes from first hand observations. Some of the Christians were subjects of Monguor *T'u-ssu* or "native chiefs," and lived in Monguor villages. As a missionary, moreover, I had a certain amount of medical work to do, and in the course of this kind of work one gains the heart and confidence of the people and becomes conversant with their most intimate personal and family problems. It so happened that during this period I was teaching geometry and algebra to the son of the highest-ranking Chinese city official of the prefecture, and thus had an opportunity to become well acquainted with all the Chinese officials and scholars of the city. As a consequence, I was often asked by village headmen, by

Tibetan and Monguor *T'u-ssu*, and by the heads of lamaseries, to help them by explaining their problems to the Chinese officials and acting as a friendly intermediary on their behalf.

Thus for a period of years my associations with Monguors were close and cordial and it was possible for me to learn something about them. On account of the pressure of my daily work, however, it was not possible at that time for me to prepare my material for publication. All that I could do was to make notes from my daily observations and scan the Chinese annals of the region. In 1922 I was transferred to the mission of Ningshia on the borders of the Alashan Mongol Territory. In 1927-28 I went to Europe to recover from a debility caused by malaria. Returning to China, I spent the years from 1928 to 1947 in charge of different mission stations in the Hou-t'ao region on the northern edge of the Ordos Mongol territory, and could not be released to prepare publications, because of the shortage of missionaries and the trying times in which we were living. More than once I had to bury my notes and photographs, along with my other possessions, for fear of local bandits and, in later years, for fear of Japanese raids. Finally in March 1948 I arrived in Peking, hoping to prepare my material for publication. On the way, the train carrying my papers was looted by Chinese Communists in T'u-mu. One-third of the cases disappeared. Fortunately most of my notes were saved, though most of the photographs were lost.

In November 1948, the political and military situation in Peking having become much worse, I came to Washington in order to finish the preparation of my material and to continue research work, making use of Chinese sources in the Library of Congress. In 1949-50 Mr. Owen Lattimore invited me to take part in the program of research on the Mongol region under his direction at the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. In the following academic year 1950-51 I received a grant from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to enable me to complete my work. It is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge, with the appearance of this publication, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation, the American Philosophical Society, my American and Mongol colleagues at the Johns Hopkins, and especially the time and care which Mr. H. H. Vreeland 3rd devoted to helping me in the preparation of the manuscript, and Mr. Lattimore's assistance in the final editing.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Rev. Father A. Mostaert, who helped me with his excellent linguistic and ethnological knowledge about the Monguors and the Mongols in general, and to Rev. Father Henri Serruys for his valuable suggestions. I cannot conclude these remarks without remembering with gratitude the considerable help graciously rendered by Mrs. Clarence D. Sasscer and Mrs. William H. Wright in preparing parts of the English draft. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. A. Hummel of the Library of Congress, for his courtesy and interest, and to the staff members for all the help rendered in making the research work possible.

Following this first volume I plan to publish a second volume to deal with the religious life of the Monguors, and the significance in their society of Lama Buddhism, shamanism, and certain religious practices which do not seem to belong either to Lamaism or to shamanism.

A third volume will then deal with the recorded history of the Monguor clans, and the records of civil and military offices held by Monguor officials. This volume will include a translation of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, first written in 1600 and containing, with its

later continuation, a record of the clan from 1368 to 1900, a document unique of its kind among the local and especially the frontier historical materials of China.

L. M. J. S.

Arlington, Virginia

November, 1951

NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih*, *New annals of Hsining prefecture*, in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these “new” Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.
2. *Kansu hsin t’ung chih*, *New collected annals of Kansu*, in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsüan-t’ung period (1909-1911). The edition is called “new” because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.



THE MONGUOR: THE EMERGING DIVERSITY OF A VANISHING PEOPLE³

*Juha Janhunen*⁴

When measuring distances and differences in space and time, the human mind uses a logarithmic scale. The more remote and exotic an object is, the more gaps there are in our knowledge, and the more vague and generalized our understanding of the situation is bound to be. With increasing amounts of information, however, we start discerning differences in places where earlier only a uniform mass of undifferentiated substance was seen.

In ancient times, the Chinese used the term “Qiang” to refer to the populations of the Amdo Qinghai region. We will never know what the ethnic identity of the Qiang was in terms of language and culture, for their basic property was being *not* Chinese. However, it is certain that the Qiang were a heterogeneous group of local ethnic groups with different languages and cultures. It is possible that the Qiang existed only as a concept to the Chinese, who used this ethnonym to refer to an ethnic situation too complex for them to grasp.

In the course of history, many other ethnonymic entities are known to have occupied the land of the ancient Qiang. In the Middle Ages, corresponding to the Tang and Song periods of Chinese history (7th to 12th centuries), the main actors on the scene were the Tufan, Dangxiang, Shatuo and Tuyuhun. Of these, the Tufan may be identified as Tibetans, while the Shatuo were a local section of the Ancient Turks. The Dangxiang are also known by the Turko-Mongolic name Tangut, but information concerning their actual ethnic identity remains controversial. Of the Tuyuhun we do not know much more than the principal developments in their political history (Molè 1970), as well as some vague myths claiming that they were of a Manchurian origin. With the exception of the Tibetans, all these mediaeval entities were subsequently dissolved, and with their dissolution we have also lost any possibility to trace the diversity that must have existed behind the generic ethnonyms.

At the threshold to the modern period, in Ming and early Qing times (15th to 18th centuries),

³This text was produced within the framework of the project “Patterns of Ethnic Adaptation and Interaction in Amdo Qinghai,” supported by the Academy of Finland (No. 210192) and the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters (*Societas Scientiarum Fennica*).

⁴ Juha A. Janhunen is Professor, East Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Helsinki, Finland. He trained in Uralic and Altaic studies in Finland, Hungary and Japan; has numerous publications on the languages and cultures of northern, central and eastern Eurasia; has done extensive fieldwork in Siberia, Mongolia, Manchuria (NE China) and Amdo (NW China) and has special interest in phonology, etymology, ethnic taxonomy and ethnic history.

the Chinese distinguished basically three non-Chinese ethnonymic entities in the Amdo Qinghai region: the *Fan* or “Barbarians,” the *Tu* or *Turen* or “Locals,” and the Hui or Huihui or “Moslems.” The *Fan* represented the “savages” of the Tibetan borderland, who were experienced as a constant threat to the Middle Kingdom. The Hui were best known for their recurrent involvement in the “Moslem rebellions” that violently interfered with the lives of the peaceful Chinese peasants. The *Tu*, finally, were the loyal borderguards whose role it was to protect the empire from internal and external unrest. In this context, it was irrelevant what languages the local populations spoke, how they dressed, and what their actual religions were.

A more diversified picture of the ethnic situation of the Amdo Qinghai region emerged only with the involvement of Western ethnographic research. Most importantly, Western scholars were the first to recognize the role of language as a criterion for ethnic classification. Consequently, they preferred to operate with ethnolinguistic, rather than ethnopolitical or sociocultural entities. The first serious scholars to reach the region were the Russian explorers N. M. Przewalski (1839-1888) and G. N. Potanin (1835-1920), who became the founders of the ethnic taxonomy of Amdo Qinghai.

Potanin’s significant contribution to the ethnic terminology of Amdo Qinghai was the term *Shirongol* (Potanin 1893), by which he referred to the populations speaking a specific group of Mongolic languages irrespective of cultural and religious adherence. According to Potanin, the *Shirongol* complex comprised most of the populations classified as *Turen* in the traditional Chinese terminology, but also some of the populations classified as Hui, notably the so-called *Dongxiang Hui*. Another distinct ethnic group that Potanin identified among the local Moslems was the Turkic-speaking *Salar*. Recognizing the distinct status of these Turkic and Mongolic populations, Potanin was able to classify the rest of the local Moslems as a separate Chinese-speaking group, known in Russian by the ethnonym *Dungan*.

However, although the term *Shirongol* continues to be useful for linguistic and ethnohistorical purposes (Janhunen 2003), Potanin’s understanding of the linguistic diversity *within* the *Shirongol* complex remained incomplete. Apart from *Dongxiang*, he noted down *Shirongol* linguistic data from three localities: *Huzhu* (*Wuyangbu* in Potanin’s terminology), *Minhe* (*Sanchuan*) and *Baoan* (*Bonan*), suggesting the existence of four clearly distinct varieties of *Shirongol* speech. This remained the level of knowledge for several decades. With no new material available on the situation, the *Shirongol* complex remained the last unexplored area in Mongolic language studies.

It was with the Belgian scholars of the Scheut Mission that the term *Monguor* was established as a name corresponding, on the one hand, to the *Shirongol* complex of Potanin, and, on the other hand, to the *Turen* of the traditional Chinese classification. The term *Monguor* was introduced by Albrecht De Smedt and Antoine Mostaert (1929-1931, 1933, 1945) in their documentation of one specific form of *Shirongol* speech that they identified as the *Monguor* “dialect” of “Mongol” as spoken in the village of *Alima Hangshar* in *Narin Ghuor Valley*, in present-day *Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County*.

De Smedt and Mostaert were fully aware of the fact that the “dialect” they documented did not represent the entire linguistic diversity of the *Shirongol* complex. Even so, in the absence of positive information on other “dialects,” the term *Monguor* became fixed as a generic label

referring to all the Mongolic populations and idioms of the Amdo Qinghai region. Louis M. J. Schram also adopted this label in his work on Monguor ethnic history. Although the term Monguor for Schram means basically the Turen of Huzhu and Minhe, he also discusses, although more marginally, the other Turen groups elsewhere in the region, as well as the Moslem populations speaking related idioms of the Shirongol complex.

More solid information on the linguistic situation of the Monguor started to be available only with the systematic field survey carried out by a Sino-Russian team of linguists in the mid 1950s. B. Kh. Todaeva first published the results of this work, which confirmed the separate linguistic status of Potanin's Baoan and Dongxiang materials (Todaeva 1959, 1961, 1963, 1966). Instead of a single Monguor "dialect," the Shirongol complex was found to be at least three different *languages*: Monguor, Bonan (Baoan), and Santa (Dongxiang). Data corroborating this conclusion were later also published by Chinese and Inner Mongolian scholars.

Indirectly, the status of Bonan and Santa as distinct languages is also recognized by the Chinese government, which classifies the speakers of these languages as two separate minority nationalities (*minzu*), termed Baoanzu and Dongxiangzu, respectively. A third official entity of the Shirongol complex is the Tuzu nationality, which is often understood to correspond to the very concept of Monguor in Western terminology. The official classification is not, however, taxonomically consistent, for it is based on an arbitrary mixture of linguistic and religious factors. While the Baoan and Dongxiang nationalities are defined positively on the basis of both language (Mongolic) and religion (Islam), the Tu nationality is defined only in negative terms, in that the Tu populations are supposed to be *not* Han, *not* Tibetan and *not* Moslem. The linguistic factor is more or less adequately considered only for the Moslem populations, which are divided into four linguistic entities: Hui (Sinitic), Salar (Turkic), as well as Dongxiang and Baoan (Mongolic).

With increasing information on the local forms of Monguor, the idiom described by De Smedt and Mostaert has turned out to be only one of at least three very different *major* varieties of Monguor speech, all of which would linguistically qualify as separate languages. Another variety, also spoken in Huzhu, was first documented by Dominik Schröder (1959-1970, 1964) and later also by Todaeva (1973). The third variety, spoken in Minhe, remained virtually unknown until only recently described by Keith Slater (2003). At the same time, it has become obvious that among the populations officially classified as Tuzu there are also speakers of three other languages: Bonan (Mongolic), Wutun (hybridized Chinese), and Shaowa (Gannan Tibetan).

As a result, the Monguor, as described by Schram can no longer be considered to form a single ethnolinguistic entity. Although they do share a common history, as is also evident from Schram's invaluable ethnohistorical account, they are linguistically divided into speakers of at least three clearly distinct, though closely related languages that are perhaps best referred to as *Mongghul*, *Mongghuor*, and *Mangghuer*. These three languages, in turn, belong to the larger context of the Shirongol complex of Mongolic that also comprises the Bonan and Santa languages. By an administrative decision, the Islamic Bonan speakers (in modern Gansu) are classified as a separate minority nationality, while the non-Islamic (Buddhist) Bonan speakers (in modern Qinghai) are classified as a part of the Tuzu nationality, which also comprises the non-Mongolic Wutun and Shaowa communities.

This all means that our understanding of the ethnolinguistic complexity of the Monguor has increased considerably since the time Schram made his study. But the information available on the overall ethnolinguistic situation of Amdo Qinghai is still far from complete. A previously unknown Mongolic language of the Shirongol complex, today known as the Kangjia language, was discovered only a decade ago (Sechenchogtu 1999). Its speakers are officially classified as members of the Hui nationality. Other unknown varieties of Shirongol speech may still be in use among rural populations of Amdo Qinghai. Moreover, apart from the Mongolic languages, the region is the home of several little known forms of Tibetan and Chinese that await classification and description.

There is no doubt that, with the increasing accessibility of even the most remote regions of Amdo Qinghai, the last white spots on the ethnolinguistic map of the region will sooner or later be filled with information. Unfortunately, there is a cruel paradox about this. At the same time as we are finally able to discover the full human diversity of the region, much of this diversity is bound to disappear in the course of a generation or two. Although Amdo Qinghai is not yet a region facing the most serious degree of ethnic endangerment, the threat to the extant diversity is already obvious.

The Monguor are a case in point. At the time of Schram, when the Monguor still appeared to be a more or less uniform entity classified, by the logarithmic principle, as a single ethnic group congruent with the Chinese concept of Turen, the local forms of speech and traditions of culture were still well preserved and continued to be transmitted to the next generation in most parts of Monguor territory. Today, when we are much better informed about the actual diversity *within* the Monguor population, the inherited linguistic and cultural patterns are rapidly disappearing.

For reasons not yet fully understood, the prospects of ethnic continuity among the Monguor have also become polarized. In certain areas, notably in the Guanting region (Sanchuan) of Minhe County, the Monguor (linguistically Mangghuer) are surprisingly vigorous and still appear to have a chance to survive as a distinct ethnic group. In other areas, especially in Huzhu County, the continuity of Monguor (linguistically Mongghuor and Mongghul) identity is becoming increasingly seriously endangered and may already be unrecoverable. In still other areas, as in the neighboring Datong County, the ethnicity has already been completely discontinued.

Ethnic history is a field that documents the processes of ethnic formation, evolution and extinction. In his monograph, Schram describes the historical development and traditional society of the Monguor population, but the last chapter to the ethnic history of the Monguor still remains to be written. In the past, many ethnic groups have appeared, prospered and vanished in the Amdo Qinghai region. From this point of view, the Monguor are not unique. Even so, the fate of the Monguor is not only a matter of subjective concern, for the extinction of an ethnic tradition is also always a universal loss. It is difficult to judge whether anything can be done to save Monguor ethnic identity but, in any case, this book by Schram gives an idea of what Monguor ethnic identity is, or was, about.

LOUIS SCHRAM AND THE STUDY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY

*Paul Nietupski*⁵

1

Louis Schram's project on the Monguor is a rich source of information for the study of Monguor social and political history. It is well organized and clearly written, and is based on first hand knowledge of Monguor culture. Schram described Monguor society, culture, languages, religions, economy, the role of Chinese political authority, and the strong presence of local Tibetan monastic institutions, all in precise detail. His keen organizational and literary skills and his first person observations of events, places, and people in the Monguor regions make his three volume study a rich resource for historians, sociologists, political scientists, ethnographers, and scholars of religion. It should be noted however, that Schram's work is presented from the perspectives of 1950s scholarship, and thus is most useful when evaluated as an early field research project recast in a later academic environment.

Schram worked in Monguor territory from 1911 to 1922, but did not publish his work until 1954-1961, a gap of over thirty years. He made good use of available secondary scholarship, but his reference to only a limited number of primary literary sources⁶ detracts from his familiarity with 1950s-era secondary research. In addition, like many Westerners of his day, Schram's Orientalist perspective was a result of misunderstanding Asian culture—Monguor culture in this case. Yet, such mistakes seem possible in all scholarly research and are perhaps too easily judged in retrospect.

Chinese institutions were well established in the Monguor area during Schram's time there and served as hosts for Christian missionaries. Accordingly, missionaries in China frequently adopted the Chinese assessments of local peoples within and beyond their borders, in this case, the Monguor, Mongols, Tibetans, and Muslims. Schram's work shows that he understood the Chinese, Monguor, and other local groups from the perspectives of the Chinese. This is evident in the closing comments to the whole work that include a list of local *tusi*, Chinese-appointed or inherited-post officials who "died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives" in the service of the Ming and Qing emperors. This, he wrote, is "the most glorious page in the history of the

⁵ Paul Nietupski's broad interests include Amdo studies, medieval Tibet, South and Southeast Asia and the transmissions of religion and culture in those regions. His forthcoming publications include works on Amdo and on twelfth century Buddhism. He teaches Asian religions and cultures at John Carroll University in Cleveland, Ohio.

⁶ Schram's primary sources included the *Xining fu xin zhi* (ca. 1755-1762), *Gansu xin tong zhi* (edition 1909-1911, based on edition 1728-1736), a local annal called the *Wu liang kao zhi* and the *Chronicles of Lu* in Part Three.

Monguors.”⁷ The motives and activities of local *tusi* were rather more nuanced. Schram was influenced by the often prejudicial Chinese classification of ethnic minorities. These perspectives are nonetheless valuable subjects for study because they are specific, articulated items of concern to Westerners, illustrating social and political priorities and biases. They are useful for the study of Chinese policies, nationalism, missionary movements and psychologies in Asia.

2

Schram’s accounts portray various local ethnic groups, signaling that the Monguor lived in an interethnic borderland between the Chinese, Tibetans, Mongols, Muslim Hui, Salar and others. Their location between neighboring communities of different ethnic, linguistic, historical and religious backgrounds is of particular interest. Different peoples met for economic, defensive or political ends in Monguor territory and imitated each other’s cultural habits—with varying degrees of success—in order to gain acceptance. Monguor territory and culture were in a “middle ground,” a meeting place for contact and exchange between cultures, thus making Monguor history one of ethnic conflict and interaction, mimicry, and negotiation. Many Monguor wore Chinese clothes and spoke Chinese in efforts to conform to their Chinese neighbor’s culture, while the Chinese themselves tried to communicate with their neighbors in mutually understandable terms and in each other’s ritual contexts.

To a large extent, Schram and Lattimore missed or were uninterested in these interactive components of Monguor society. These pioneering scholars accepted the traditional Manchu and Chinese categories of “barbarian” and “civilized,” and the essentialist vision of the Qing Empire. In addition, both Schram and Lattimore seemed to misunderstand the extent of Muslim power in the region in the early twentieth century, the impact of the Chinese warlords to the east, and the extent of Tibetan monastic, social, and political power.

Ironically, these problems emerge at the beginning of the work at the point when Lattimore describes the dynamics of interethnic contacts in China: “[I]n the discussion of Chinese history no concept is more widely and indeed complacently accepted than that of the absorption of barbarian invaders by the superior culture of the Chinese. This concept is a basic tenet of Chinese historiography, and has been taken over without dispute by Western students of Chinese history.”⁸ Lattimore continues with the admission that we know very little about the details of these cultures, but tells us that Schram’s work will show us how the Monguor integrated Chinese culture into their own. The irony is that Lattimore explains that Schram’s work will correct standard Western misperceptions, but Lattimore and Schram themselves have in years since the publication of the *Transactions* been shown to suffer from Western misconceptions.

Schram’s work should be understood from a more balanced perspective, one with greater appreciation of Monguor civilization. Indeed, the Chinese have, at various times, regarded all non-

⁷ III:115.

⁸ I:4.

Han peoples as barbarians.⁹ Such ethnocentric perceptions based on ideas of “self” and “other,” and resultant misunderstandings are the subject of much modern scholarship, all of which question Lattimore’s models and also put Schram’s work in a different light. The point is that Monguor culture does support a high civilization fortified by its own history and distinctive social structures. The Monguor, for their part, had a sense of pride, a worldview, and ironically like their Chinese neighbors, the perception that outsiders were barbarians.

Schram’s three volumes were written more than a quarter of a century after his fieldwork when he came to live in the United States in 1949. He consulted certain Chinese and numerous secondary sources in the course of his writing and used them in the course of presenting and interpreting his field data, resulting in excellent bibliographic work. However, the then prevailing scholarship was written based on inaccurate presuppositions in certain cases, such as the assumption that all officials with Manchu or Chinese titles were effective political functionaries. Scholarship on the Qing Dynasty, including Schram’s work, often reflects a vision of the Qing as a seamless empire, with historically consistent assumptions and uniform political legislation, tax revenues, enforced legal codes and centralized authority.¹⁰ On the contrary, more recent scholarship has shown that the Qing Dynasty’s control over what is called its empire was often minimal, intermittent, and in decline by the early 1800s.

The Manchu were able to colonize Mongolia and later in the eighteenth century, defeat the Xinjiang Zunghars. However, the nineteenth century brought civil chaos and foreign concessions to coastal China, a successful separatist movement to Xinjiang and soon thereafter, Muslim rebellions in Gansu, Qinghai, and elsewhere. The Qing continued to send expeditionary forces to frontier regions up to the twentieth century, followed by much Chinese acculturation. While Schram rightly points out that the Monguor regions were unstable¹¹ during the historical dynasties, he and his sources wrongly supposed that this frontier was “stabilized after the Manchu conquest” and the region experienced a “long period of stable rule.”¹² Schram notes that this acculturation was not due to Qing or Chinese imperial power or policy, but rather to economic and other factors peculiar to borderland cultures characterized by cross-cultural exchanges. These points need further study.

One of Schram’s important contributions is his data on authority structures in Monguor and other regional ethnic groups that give modern scholars vivid impressions of authentic regional societies. He includes the nuances and difficulties inherent in broad generalizations, and provides a valuable record of local patterns of governance and of regional diplomatic formalities. However, Schram’s retrospective interpretations of his own data are at times incomplete. The reader is faced with much excellent primary data and the challenge to assess, update, and further contextualize Schram’s interpretations. Schram wrote, for example, that Xining was under the jurisdiction of the

⁹ The Chinese and other cultures’ traditions of regarding outsiders as barbarians have been studied in some detail. For China, see for example Liu (2004) and Crossley (1999).

¹⁰ For some explicit comments on this see Buck (1994:5), Perdue (1998:255) and Rawski (1996).

¹¹ I:19, 23.

¹² I:21.

Manchu-appointed *amban* (evidently even after the end of the Manchu dynasty) from 1911 to 1922: “[L]aw and order were assured by a local army commanded by a Chinese Muslim general. The formerly turbulent Mongol and Tibetan tribes of the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.”¹³ More exactly, from 1862 until the 1930s there was nearly constant regional warfare between various groups of Muslims, Tibetans, Manchu, and Chinese. These conflicts in Qinghai and Gansu were often extremely bloody and resulted in simmering hatred between Manchu/Han Chinese authorities and Muslims in and around Monguor regions. These factors are absent from Schram’s accounts.

Moreover, during Schram’s residence in Qinghai (1911-1922), Muslim generals, arguably not a “Chinese Muslim general,” were the key regional powers in Monguor territory, not the Han Chinese, and definitely not the Manchu *amban*. Meanwhile, local Tibetans were for all practical purposes independent of any outside authority until the mid-1920s, when they made allied with the Chinese against the Muslims that Schram inadequately explains. These regional conflicts and alliances have been studied by contemporary scholars, and provide Schram’s account with important contextualization.¹⁴

An example of Monguor authority structures is the *tusi*, a Chinese word for a local official, or in Schram’s words, a “hereditary local chief.” The source of authority for this post is crucial, for at the outset the literal term and station indicate that *tusi* were functionaries of the Manchu and Chinese central governments working in local communities. While there were contacts with the Manchu emperors (ending in about 1830) in years past, local Monguor officers did not derive their authority from the central Manchu or Chinese government. Monguor occupied certain official posts¹⁵ that were sometimes inherited and sometimes not.¹⁶ These authority structures warrant further study.

Further, the word *tusi* in Schram’s work is often used to mean a local native Monguor clan chief or lord with many duties that went well beyond political representation and again, not a Chinese government appointee or functionary.¹⁷ On the one hand Schram records local claims to authority of *tusi* chieftains, but goes on to list four types of “clan chiefs” whom he does not name *tusi*: 1) descendants of Mongol imperial families, 2) commoners, 3) descendants of warriors, and 4) chiefs who submitted to national authorities. This broad description of community leadership challenges the notion of supreme Manchu and Chinese authority in Monguor regions. This, plus the fact that in 1911-1922 regional authority was in the hands of the Ma clan in Xining, and the fact that Qing polity was inconsistent, leads one to wonder just what the central national administrative influence was in these local communities. Schram attempts to reconcile local authority with the central Chinese appointed office, as a “dual function of T’u-ssu as ‘native chief’

¹³ I:21.

¹⁴ See Lipman (1981) and Sheridan (1975).

¹⁵ I:30.

¹⁶ I:26 ff, 31-33, 38, 41, 43-68, et al.

¹⁷ I:41.

and as Chinese official,”¹⁸ and he is careful to describe the position in detail, but his conclusions are not supported by the evidence now at the disposal of modern scholars.

3

In Part Two, Schram admirably describes Monguor religious life and rituals as he experienced them. He discusses the pervasiveness of Buddhism, what he calls “shamanism” in Monguor regions, religion in Monguor culture, the power of monasteries, the nature and extent of belief systems, and the adjudication of disputes. These descriptions give modern researchers a rare and very useful picture of the dominant Tibetan religion as known and practiced in eclectic Monguor society.

Conversely, Schram did not understand the depth or extent of Tibetan literature or the profundity of its ideas, and he did not appreciate the social-political structures of its monastic culture or its lay society. His lack of knowledge about Tibetan Buddhism is not surprising given the state of scholarship on Tibetan religion at the time of his fieldwork and at the time he wrote, and given his Catholic missionary prejudice. The irony in one account is clear—he confesses his lack of knowledge of the common mantra for Avalokiteśvara, but does a good job of relating its pervasive use. This pattern of not understanding Tibetan religion, his criticism of the different levels of religious education in this culture, his lack of appreciation for popular piety, and his misunderstanding of the breadth of the Tibetan ritual corpus and deity worship pervade the volume. He does not grasp how formal monastic practice could co-exist with village level spirituality and ritual, despite this being the religious reality in the region. He describes the conflicts between the Yellow (dGe lugs pa) and Red (rNying ma) sects, and the continuity of Bon and “shaman” religious practices, yet does not attempt to show how these disparate groups were often reconciled.

Schram describes the central role of monasteries in this culture, writing:

They were the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.¹⁹

He then describes community sponsorship, including the contributions of the local Chinese officials, the historic endorsements from the Chinese court, and reciprocal formalities between local religious leaders. In this respect, he relies too heavily on Chinese historical documents, as by the time of his fieldwork and well before, local relations with the Chinese central government had declined to routine acknowledgements. These data are thus useful, but need further evaluation.

The author’s detailed bibliographic studies on the origins and evolutions of Monguor religion and of Buddhism are thorough, but these too have been superseded by recent scholarship. For example, his reliance on sources written in Chinese and exclusion of the rich corpus of materials

¹⁸ I:68.

¹⁹ II:6.

in Tibetan language make his historical work less useful than his observations of actual practice in Monguor society. His work on Buddhism in the Qing Dynasty is a case in point; accurate for his time, but outdated when compared to modern studies. His attention to such major monasteries in the region as Taer/Kumbum, Qutan/Gro tshang and Youning/dGon lung (Erh-ku-lung) and their sponsors, regional authority and impact on local society, as well as his detailed work on the relationships between these local monasteries and their major scholars and the Chinese and Manchu courts are nonetheless valuable. Above all, he shows that local power was shared between local nobles and officials, many of whom preserved inherited Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol pedigrees. He shows that monastic officials exerted much financial, legal, political, and social control over local populations. His reliance on secondary scholarship limits his work, but his clarity and attention to detail, and the way he applies the historical heritage to his fieldwork²⁰ make this section a valuable resource.

Schram's thorough approach continues throughout, with treatment of numerous components of this culture. His descriptions of monastic and local economies, religion and monasticism, taxes and revenues, corvée, lay social classes, monastic authority structures, conflict resolution, and law are excellent sources not found elsewhere. He describes monastic life and curriculum, and extensive corpus of calendrical and life rituals, albeit from an outsider's perspective. Even though these are accurate accounts, and though he admits of certain positive impacts on Monguor culture—even describing the rigorous standards of the high monastic education—he shows a serious lack of understanding of basic Buddhist principles.²¹ His account includes anecdotes of corruption in monastic communities, and stories of dissolute monks and otherwise highly regarded Buddhist teachers. These accounts are not corroborated. Though corruption may have been present in these communities, there were also checks and balances and limits of tolerance. In sum, this account of Monguor religious life is a valuable resource for scholars in many disciplines, but it must be filtered through the present state of historical research and by modern methods in religious studies and related fields.

4

The first section of Volume III is a well-written and articulate but dated historical outline of Huangzhong from antiquity to the twentieth century. The second section of Volume III includes a study of lineage of one of the local *tusi*, based on the *Chronicles of the Lu Clan* and a literary table of events of a typical local political lineage. It provides a record of ethnic Monguor clan lineage from its own perspective and gives detail about the *tusi* office and heritage. It also includes comprehensive material about the Tibetan, Mongol, and Muslim heritage of the Monguor region, and the medieval and classical history of Huangzhong. His detailed chronology is based on secondary research and primary texts and, for later periods, oral and witnessed information that includes Schram's firsthand insights into local cultures and sometimes rare historical data, e.g., mention of local Christian missions.

²⁰ II:39 ff.

²¹ II:65, 68-69.

While describing the office of *tusi* well, he again fails to include the nearby and often integrated Tibetan and Mongol authority structures. In the early twentieth century, the Xining Muslim Ma Clan was the most prominent local group in contact with the Chinese government, with the local Tibetans and Mongols, and the Monguor. However, Schram omits any analysis of the centrally important Ma Qi and Ma Bufang, who have been identified as the key power figures in the Xining and Salar regions.

Modern scholars have the advantage of intellectual hindsight that renders Schram's errors easy to see. Schram's strengths are in his precise records of the sociology and anthropology of the Monguor. His bibliographical scholarship, his writing skill and attention to detail bring valuable data to life. With the filters of modern scholarship and updated methodological approaches, Schram's data is a valuable ethnographic record of fully developed local culture and a source for understanding regional societies on their own terms.



THE MIDDLE GROUND: THE MONGUOR PLACE IN HISTORY, BETWEEN CHINA AND TIBET

*Gray Tuttle*²²

Louis Schram's three volume survey of the Monguor anticipates the contemporary attention to the importance of small distinct ethnic populations on the borderlands of China proper now so prevalent in Asian Studies, as exemplified by such scholars as Stevan Harrell and his series *Studies on Ethnic Groups in China*. Schram was singularly fortunate to have access to the community he studied in a critical period of transition from dynastic rule to the rise of the modern Chinese state. Although he was severely limited by his attention only to Chinese (and not Tibetan) language sources, he did undertake a thorough study of both Chinese documents and field informants for his research.

As attention returns to China's western borderlands with the advent of China's most recent campaign to "develop the West," the historic place of the Monguor deserves reconsideration. For centuries, the Monguor were major power brokers in a broad region extending east from the great Blue Lake known as "Qinghai" and "Kokonor," north and west to the Gansu Corridor and south to the Yellow River. Although Monguor ethnic origins lay mostly with the invading Mongols sent to rule the region after the fall of the Western Xia Empire in 1227, remnants of Tang Dynasty Shato Turks and even an immigrant Chinese family (originally from Jiangnan) were also incorporated into this amalgam.²³ Despite their historic importance within local secular politics, when they are noticed at all today, the Monguor are mostly mentioned as having played an important role in the Tibetan Buddhist cultural interface that mediated relations between Qing China and Central Tibet.

²² Gray Tuttle, Leila Hadley Luce Assistant Professor of Modern Tibetan Studies, received his PhD in Inner Asian Studies from Harvard University in 2002. He studies the history of twentieth century Sino-Tibetan relations and Tibet's relations with the China-based Manchu Qing empire. The role of Tibetan Buddhism in these historical relations is central to all his research. For the modern period, in his *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (Columbia UP, 2005), he examined the failure of nationalism and race-based ideology to maintain the Tibetan territory of the former Qing empire as integral to the Chinese nation-state. Instead, a new sense of pan-Asian Buddhism was critical to Chinese efforts to retain Tibetan regions (one quarter of China's current territory). His current research project focuses on the history and growth of Tibetan Buddhist institutions in Amdo (northeastern Tibet) from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, with special attention to the influences from Lhasa and Beijing, as well as the development of local identity. Other long term writing projects include co-editing *Sources of Tibetan Tradition* for the series *Introduction to Asian Civilizations*.

²³ I:30.

For instance, six monographs have been devoted to a single Tibetan Buddhist incarnation series, that of the Lcang skya lamas, that hails from this region and population.²⁴

Given this modern tendency to see the Monguor mostly in light of this mediation, I would like to use this introductory essay as an opportunity to explore a critical question that Schram's work helps us address: In Tibetan Buddhist culture, does religion trump ethnicity? The best known Monguor have been famous Tibetan Buddhist lamas. Yet, the Monguor have their own ethnic identity, history and language that have only been studied by a handful of scholars, Schram the chief among them. Partially for this reason, Monguor are too often mistaken for—or considered identical to—Tibetans. For instance, in Evelyn Rawski's *The Last Emperors*, which brings important insights about the real complexity of Qing court society to modern Chinese historical studies, she often seems to view the most famous of Monguor lamas as ethnically Tibetan. First, she describes this lama's homeland as "the former Tibetan kingdom of Amdo... the native place of the first and second Lcang skya Khutughtu," but such an ethnic political polity never existed, Amdo being merely a cultural region (Rawski, 1998:256). Elsewhere she described the second of these Lcang skya Khutughtus, as "the highest Tibetan dignitary in Peking" (273). These statements are understandable in light of the lama's status as a Tibetan Buddhist prelate. However, they are mistaken in light of the lama's actual ethnic origin in local (non-Tibetan) polities ruled over by whatever power (Mongol, Chinese, Manchu) happened to be controlling the territory at any one time.

Schram's records give a historical presentation of the changing relations between Chinese, Mongols, Tibetans, and the Monguor that can correct certain misperceptions that color current understandings of Chinese and Tibetan relations during the Qing. From his account, like few others, the interests that motivated the Monguor to serve as crucial middlemen between the Chinese state and Tibetan institutional religion are apparent. In this respect, the Monguor served as the fertile "middle ground" (to use Richard White's (1991) term) between these rival civilizations as they sought to steer between competition and accommodation.²⁵

I argue that it is critical that we understand the ethnic origins and interests of this group and the famous individuals drawn from it in order to explain why this ethnic group enjoyed such a unique position in the history of Tibet and Sino-Tibetan relations. To return to the most important of such figures, Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje was drawn from a population originally subject to the Qi Clan (Tib. *Chi kyâ*, Ch. *Qijia*). The origins of the Qi Clan are clearly Mongol, as outlined by Elliot Sperling (1997), and he agrees with other scholars that this clan was later identified as becoming Monguor (Tib. [*Rgya*] *Hor*, Ch. *Tu*). At least one Tibetan language source for the life of this Lcang skya Qutughtu makes it clear that Lcang skya was not ethnically Tibetan. Instead, his family lineage was Monguor (Tib. *rigs ru ni Hor yin*) (Thu'u bkwan (III) Blo bzang chos kyi nyi

²⁴ For monographs on these central figures in Qing-Tibetan relations, see Everding (1988), Ngag dbang chos ldan and Sagaster (1967), Kämpfe (1976), Wang (1995) and Marina Illich's Columbia University PhD dissertation (2006). Not all of the incarnations of the Lcang skya lamas were Mongour, but the famous Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje was, as described below.

²⁵ I thank Paul Nietupski for pointing out this valuable history to me.

ma (1989 [1792-4]:44).²⁶ But is being a Tibetan Buddhist Monguor somehow synonymous with being Tibetan? As Donald Lopez (2004:22) has so perceptively stated in a recent article, it is “perfectly acceptable to refer to a Mongol, for example, as Tibetan Buddhist, much as one might say that a Spaniard is a Roman Catholic.” However, we would be remiss in either case to mistake or ignore a subject’s ethnicity, whether Mongol, Monguor, or Spanish, especially when they served as political mediators between Tibetan Buddhists of other ethnic groups.

Although the Monguor now only constitute a relatively small population (about 220,000 people) I believe more attention needs to be paid to their critical role in Ming and Qing history. Several scholars of Chinese history and Sino-Tibetan relations have justifiably seized on Chen Qingying’s translation of the nineteenth century biography of Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje (1717-1786) as a critical source of insight into Sino-Tibetan relations. Yet it seems to me that Qing scholars have yet to sufficiently explore the importance of the ethnic and historic background of these frontier figures (especially Lcang skya and his biographer Tu’u bkwan).²⁷ For instance, none of these authors seems to have fully digested Gene Smith’s excellent introduction to the biography, which recommends: “extreme caution” in using the source as both figures were “Tibetanized Mongols ... [who served] as willing agents of Chinese [that is, Qing] imperial policy.” Their “strong pro-Chinese bias” and “notable role in the manipulations [of the Qing empire]” are not at all surprising if we understand the role that Monguor played in managing border affairs from before the fall of the Yuan until the rise of Muslim power in the region in the late nineteenth century.²⁸ The Monguor were loyal subjects to each of the dynasties (Yuan, Ming, Qing) that dominated China and their region, until each successive dynasty was driven out of the region.

The Monguor’s dynastic loyalty was made clear in Schram’s work on the Monguor, based on his years of research and fieldwork in the area in the early twentieth century. His narrative of Monguor history depicts them not as uniformly devoted to Tibetanized Buddhism, but mainly as servants of the empire, whether ruled by Mongols, Chinese, or Manchu. Of course, as Paul Nietupski has pointed out in his essay accompanying this reissue of Schram’s work, the fact that the records are preserved in Chinese reflects a Confucian historiographic tradition that has effected the contents of the records. Nevertheless, at least for certain Monguor, these records represent something of how they perceived their role in local affairs. This central role for the Monguor

²⁶ This is also reflected in the Chinese translation, where *zu* translates *rigs ru*, and *Tuzu* translates *Hor* (Chen and Ma 1988:39).

²⁷ I have already mentioned Rawski and Wang Xiangyun’s work above. Berger (2003) noted that the lama in question was Monguor (which she equates with Mongol) but makes no comment on what this might mean for his special position in Qing-Tibetan relations. Naquin (2000) described the incarnation series as a Mongol one, which is close to accurate for the lama in question, but is also imprecise because the various incarnations fluctuated between ethnicities. For a list of the various incarnations and their (unfortunately undocumented) ethnicities, see Nian and Bai (1993: 123-125).

²⁸ See Gene Smith (2001:133).

explains much of the importance attributed to the Monguor lamas of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. When the Manchu needed assistance in understanding and resolving problems in Tibet, it is not surprising that they would turn to a loyal corps of imperial subjects for this task. The linguistic range of these Monguor, described in these introductory essays by Janhunen and Slater, was a key factor in their success as intermediaries. And as we can see from Schram's work, it was not only their languages that were hybridized; their culture and their traditions also reflected this hybridity and intermediary role.

A careful and critical reading of Schram's account in light of these introductory essays will go far to serving as a corrective to the trend of viewing Monguor as nearly identical to one or the other of the ethnicities with which they were in such close contact. Rather than taking the Monguor local leader (*tusi*) as a sinified civil servant, or the Monguor lama as an ethnically Tibetan Buddhist, Schram's account helps us recognize the agency of these borderland people located between powerful civilizational forces. And lest I reproduce another construction too firmly, I should say that the origins of this modern concept of ethnicity under consideration here should be recognized historically as a tool of nationalism or, as applied more recently in China, part of the expansion of Communist ideology. Trying to retroactively pigeon-hole historical agents as "Monguor" is nearly as problematic as taking them as "Chinese" or "Tibetan." Janhunen effectively makes this point through a linguistic and ethnological analysis of who the Monguor were according to Schram versus who the Chinese now describe as Monguor. The best strategy for understanding the Monguor is to focus closely on the details of particular individuals and groups and analyze them as best we can. For the prominent lama Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje this means trying to maintain (in translation) the terms with which this historical actor was identified by his peers. In the eighteenth century, when his biography was written, Mongols were called *Sog* in Tibetan, so the term *Hor* used to describe his family origin indicates the earlier Mongols who had moved into the area in the Yuan period, and is thus translated Monguor.

Having examined this particular case, what are some of the wider perspectives to be gained from a close reading of Schram? First, he reveals a detailed local history of the region and its role in dynastic politics from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. Chief among these local actors, the Mongol (later Monguor) Qi Clan had a prominent role in ruling Huangzhong, Tibetan: Ru shar--home of the famous lama Tsong kha pa, from before the fall of the Yuan. By 1369 the Huangzhong Monguor prince, a seventh generation descendant of Chinghis, had surrendered to the Ming. According to Schram, the Monguor were the dominant presence in the region, as few Tibetans and no Chinese lived there at the time.²⁹ This explains why the Chinese called them "indigenous" (*tumin, tujen*), a name that has persisted to this day. Though the Monguor themselves acknowledge their arrival with the Mongol conquest of the Xixia Empire, certain current Chinese scholars assert that the Monguor represent remnants of the Tuyuhun present in the area at the time of the Tibetan and Tang imperial rivalry in the seventh to ninth centuries.

In any case, it is clear that they continued to dominate this region for centuries. The Ming also turned to lamas in the region to assist with the surrender of Tibetan tribes but at that time, local

²⁹ I:2; 3: 27.

Tibetan Buddhist lamas were not affiliated with the Monguor. In 1392, when a lama secured the surrender of Tibetan tribes, the Ming built Qutan Monastery and created a board of lamas in Xining to assist with governance of the region. By 1423, a Xining-based lama appointed by the Yongle emperor as a translator of texts had become so corrupt and powerful, according to Monguor records at least, that a Monguor leader killed the lama.³⁰ For the next 175 years, there are no records of cooperation between Monguor and Tibetans. In fact, for most of the sixteenth century, Tibetans seem to have joined invading Ordos Mongol forces in efforts to plunder and wreak havoc on the settled Monguor regions.³¹ The Monguor faithfully did their best to defend this corner of the Ming empire, but many of their leaders were killed by Tibetans (some originally subjects of the Monguor), especially in the last half of the sixteenth century. Ironically, these very threats to the Monguor dominance of the region eventually contributed to the growth of some unity between the Chinese, Shato, Uighur, Tibetan, and Monguor population of this region.³²

Yet, it was only in the seventeenth century that the Monguor started consistently to work with Tibetans in any kind of positive way, and only after Gusri Khan asserted his rule over the region that the Monguor demonstrated an active interest in Tibetan Buddhism. In 1604, a Tibetan lama founded the monastery of Dgon lung in Monguor territory; this would become the home to several of the preeminent figures of the Qing, including the Lcang skya and Thu'u bkwan incarnations.³³ In 1641, Tibetans and Monguor formed a rare alliance to defend the region from rebels challenging the failing Ming Dynasty.³⁴ Although the growth of Monguor interest in Tibetan Buddhism developed apace after this alliance, most Monguor leaders still joined the Qing forces in the effort to put down the 1723 so-called “rebellion” of the Mongol prince Lobsang Danjin and the Tibetan and Monguor monks who supported him.³⁵

It is clear that not all Monguor were Tibetan Buddhist or supported this religious tradition, but obviously many did. And the Monguor lamas who did so became important to Tibetan cultural and intellectual history—notably Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje and his disciple and biographer Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma—and continued to serve the empire as their secular leaders had done for centuries.

Are these lamas somehow Tibetan in ways that other Mongols/Monguor were not? Just as Nietupski cautions us against being taken in by Schram's reading of only Chinese language accounts, we should be cautious about a similar over-reliance on Tibetan language material, specifically the biographical/hagiographical records of lamas. Because Tibetan was the canonical language of this Buddhist tradition, it is easy to make the assumption that the lamas were

³⁰ III:35-37.

³¹ III:43-55. Again, the similarity with Richard White's work in native America is striking in that these tribal forces sought their own interests against their rival neighbors by joining this outside invasion.

³² III:51-52.

³³ II:27; III:50.

³⁴ III:51.

³⁵ III:58-59.

essentially “Tibetan,” whatever their familial origin. However, Vesna Wallace recently noted that starting in the seventeenth century, some two hundred Mongolian authors wrote in Tibetan, with over seven hundred “publishing houses” printing Tibetan language materials (as opposed to only sixty for Mongol texts) in seventeenth century Mongolia.³⁶ Very few of these are given much attention by Tibetologists or Sinologists examining the relations between the Qing and Tibetan regions. Why are the Monguor, as well as some neighboring Amdo/Kokonor Mongols such as Sum pa mkhen po Ishibaljor / Ye shes dpal 'byor, more often treated as if they were Tibetans? And should the historians of Qing China examining the roles of these prominent lamas be questioned for failing to adequately explore the origins of these intermediary figures?

To explore this question, I will close this essay with a story drawn from Thu'u bkwan's biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's life. The Lcang skya lama returned to his native region for a second time in 1763 upon the death of his father. He stayed into 1764, when he dreamed of Dpal ldan lha mo, the protector of his home institution Dgon lung. She said to him, “Having lived in the Chinese country (*Rgya yul*), you have forgotten your own country's monastic community (*rang yul gyi dgon sde*).” She was basically accusing him of deserting his Monguor roots. Rol pa'i rdo rje's reply broadened the scope of how he hoped to be evaluated. He answered her by arguing for the value of his time in China—specifically his success in making the Qianlong emperor desire the dharma—was not only helpful to his own country's monastery but was also helpful to upholding the teachings in Mdo (presumably including both Mdo khams and Mdo smad, i.e., Khams and Amdo), Dbus and Gstang (i.e. central Tibet). In this way, Rol pa'i rdo rje, or at least his biographer, Thu'u bkwan, may have been trying to defend nagging doubts or critiques leveled at Rol pa'i rdo rje for his participation in Qing imperialism. This passage also suggests that despite his Monguor origins, Rol pa'i rdo rje did indeed identify with a larger community that included all the Tibetan cultural region.

But do we, looking back on this history, accept the views of these men without critique or contextualization? The effort to include such lamas in the sweep of Tibetan cultural history reached an extreme in the account that traced the Lcang skya incarnation series back to famous ethnic Tibetan figures: Dgongs ba rab gsal, Gtsang smyon He ru ka, 'Phags pa, Shakya Ye shes.³⁷ And current historians of Tibet and China largely seem to have accepted that the Lcang skya incarnation was essentially a Tibetan. Even if they note his ethnic origins, aside from Gene Smith, they scarcely explore what these origins might mean. Three centuries from now, will students of Tibetan history accept without question that white American-, Canadian- or European-born incarnations of lamas were indistinguishable from “Tibetans,” forgetting the place of Euro-American identity in the politics of the late twentieth century? Will their ethnic identity vanish or diminish from view if they use a Tibetan name, pen texts in Tibetan and trace their lineage not through blood but through rebirth? In a word, will religious identity continue to trump ethnic identity in the world that Tibetan Buddhism shapes?

³⁶ Wallace (2004).

³⁷ Everding (1988).

Despite the very real scholarly weaknesses of Schram's work described by Nietupski, an awareness of the material in these three volumes is vital to providing a corrective to the facile assumption, so prevalent in Tibetan and Qing history, that the Monguor lamas who served as such crucial intermediary figures between the Chinese and the Tibetans were somehow more or less Tibetans, simply by virtue of being Tibetan Buddhist. A close reading of Schram, not surprisingly, suggests that the Monguor effectively deployed a variety of strategies to negotiate their relations with the powerful cultural and civilizational forces that surrounded them. In the Qing, this meant serving as the critical "middle ground" between Chinese political institutions (such as that of the *tusi*) maintained by the Manchu as well as embracing the potent politico-religious world of Gelukpa traditions spreading out of Central Tibet and so appreciated at the Qing court.



LANGUAGE IN SCHRAM'S WORK³⁸

Keith W. Slater³⁹

Introduction

Louis M. J. Schram's three-volume study of the Monguor is valuable for the level of detail it provides regarding cultural aspects of Monguor life. Schram gives a great deal of evidence that he was intimately familiar with many cultural events, and that he had a close personal relationship with certain Monguor leaders. For example, he gives extensive descriptions of community events, such as the yearly diet of the Ch'i (Qi) Clan on April 5, 1913 that he personally attended (I:37-8), and further tells us that he was "on terms of intimate friendship" with the T'u-ssu (Tusi) of the Chi Clan of Nienpei (I:45). The descriptions of events that he attended often give us a window on the linguistic practices of the people, such as when he tells us that songs were sung in Tibetan, not in Monguor, at the ceremony of presenting the official seal to a new Tusi; Schram himself attended such a ceremony in 1916 (I:46-8).

We also encounter numerous references to Schram's conversations with what appear to have been ordinary Monguor, such as when he tells us (I:52) that "two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about" a particular historical event, and when he reports (I:52) "I frequently inquired of both commoners and nobles" about an issue of interest to him. In one passage (II:110)), Schram relates a folktale and tells us "this story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting." Indeed, his descriptions are peppered throughout with phrases such as "I was told," indicating a large number of personal conversations with the Monguor people whose customs captured so much of his attention for a decade.

Furthermore, Schram mentions having noted in person certain details of the linguistic behavior of individuals and communities, such as when he tells us (I:61) "In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language..." Thus we learn of his interest in linguistic topics.

Schram was not a linguist and as we will see below, his writing suggests that he did not personally study Monguor language. We are fortunate to have available the structural linguistic descriptions penned by his contemporaries de Smedt and Mostaert (1929-31; 1933; 1964). Alongside these structural works, Schram's cultural observations give us significant insight into the sociolinguistic situation of the Monguor in his day. In the course of his intimate contacts with Monguor life, Schram encountered and recorded much interesting information about language use, and from his discussions we are able to supplement our understanding of the sociocultural roles of the various languages in the region, including (to our joy) the Monguor languages. Though Schram was not a linguist, in the modern sense, his anthropological studies do help linguists.

³⁸ I am grateful to Kevin Stuart and Bryan Allen for helpful comments on this essay.

³⁹ Keith W. Slater is a linguist who works with SIL International. He is the author of *A Grammar of Mangghuer: A Mongolic Language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

Did Schram learn to speak Monguor?

A number of Schram's observations suggest that he was not personally familiar with the languages spoken by the Monguor, and that he must have related to the many Monguor whom he knew through the medium of Chinese or Tibetan—the latter is perhaps less likely, though we know that he studied Tibetan extensively.

Schram's many observations regarding the use of Chinese for official functions (see below), as well as from his telling remark (II:158) that "long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects" suggests that Chinese was the language he used with Monguor he knew. Since it was precisely the *tusi* with whom Schram reports his closest personal relationships, this comment regarding loss of the Monguor language by these clan leaders that Schram assigns to days long before his own time, is relevant to our understanding of Schram's own interactions with the Tusi; most likely, Schram himself spoke Chinese with them.

A second point can be made from the fact that Schram relays (I:28) Mostaert's observation that the name *Monguor* is equivalent to the name *Mongol*, since in the Monguor language word-final *l* has become *r*. This is true however, only of the language spoken in certain Monguor regions. In many Mongghul dialect areas, Mongolic word-final *l* has been retained (Georg 2003). Both Mostaert and Schram thus seem to be allowing what they know about the speech of certain Monguor communities to represent the wider group, and this is inaccurate in this case.

Thirdly, Schram cites Mostaert's personal communication in saying (I:29) "that the Monguors are unable to converse with either eastern or western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language." This observation is undoubtedly true, but it is odd that neither Mostaert nor Schram comment on the degree of mutual intelligibility of the various Monguor speech forms. Contemporary Monguor tell us that, for example, speakers from Huzhu and Guanting have great difficulty understanding each other's speech, and generally resort to Chinese to communicate. It is odd that Schram had no opportunity to observe this phenomenon, which must have been noticeable during his residence in eastern Qinghai, just a century ago.⁴⁰

Lastly, when Schram devotes a small section to the subject of "The Language of the Monguor" (I:28-29), or when he gives glossaries of Monguor vocabulary, such as the list of kinship terms (I:84-5) or the styles of headdress and hat (I:121-25), he tells us that the information comes from de Smedt and Mostaert's (1933) *Dictionnaire* or from personal correspondence with Mostaert. Schram does employ a simplified version of de Smedt and Mostaert's transcription system, which might imply that he had enough experience with the language to have developed his own opinions about how it should be represented, but this is unlikely because he gives no other evidence of such familiarity, and instead tells us that he relies on the work of these linguists.

There are times, to be sure, when Schram mentions aspects of Monguor vocabulary without referring to outside sources, such as when he tells us (I:112) that "the Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich." But such statements do not tell us what the source of his

⁴⁰ For evidence that the "Monguor" speak at least two distinct languages, see Janhunen 2003 and Slater 2003.

information might be, nor its accuracy. It may be simply that a Monguor individual told him that this was the case, and that Schram knows no more about it than the impressionistic claim that he relates.

In sum, it seems likely that Schram never undertook any detailed linguistic study among the Monguor and that he did not attempt to learn to speak any form of the language. Perhaps his command of Chinese and Tibetan was already sufficient for the communicative needs at hand; and it is likely that his duties would have discouraged the investment of significant time and energy in the learning of yet another language.

What does Schram tell us about language use in the region?

Although Schram was not a linguist, and did not particularly address questions of Monguor speech, we can nonetheless glean some valuable linguistic insights from his work, chiefly in the area of the prevalent attitudes toward language that must have been current in the community that he observed. Schram's observations largely line up with the current sociolinguistic situation as well, but the modern situation also shows us that Schram probably missed significant details about the sociolinguistic situation of his time.

We have already observed that Schram apparently felt no compulsion to learn to speak Monguor. This suggests that Monguor was not a language of high prestige in the region; and we will soon see further evidence to support this claim. If it had been, Schram would probably have reported on its prestige, and indirectly we ought to find some reports of, for example, his need to use it when interacting with monolingual Monguor speakers; but no such reports can be found, and it appears that Chinese was a sufficient tool for all the direct interaction that Schram had with Monguor.

Let us consider some specific evidence Schram provides about language use in the Monguor context.

The use of Chinese

Schram gives information about the social functions of the Chinese language among the Monguor. Both spoken and written Chinese had prominent functions within Monguor society.

An extended passage from Volume II (158) may be cited, showing Schram's impression of the pervasiveness of Chinese particularly among members of the higher socio-economic classes:

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese became more intensive through commercial relations. The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves.

The use of the Chinese language can thus be seen to have pervaded many different spheres of Monguor life, including economic relations, education, governmental functions, and religious rites. Literacy, except among monks and lamas, as we will see below, was always in Chinese—there was no written form of Monguor until the late 1980s—and all official documents were recorded in written Chinese.

The passage just cited describes Schram's interpretation of the historical process by which Chinese assumed a prominent position in Monguor society. However, Schram frequently makes observations that show his description applies to the sociolinguistic situation in his own day. We note that Chinese served numerous ritual functions in the community: gravestones were inscribed in Chinese (I:70); the Chinese character for "longevity" was used by Taoist priests as a form of spiritual protection for children (I:104); "strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on the horns of the oxen" at the beginning of the plowing season (I:111); and the prayers of shamans are said in Chinese (II:82), to name just a few such functions.

Legal claims submitted to a *tusi* had to be made in writing, and, signifying the high status of those who could read and write Chinese well, Schram tells us (I:65) that "those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration;" functional literacy in Chinese was clearly not universal and could be exploited for economic gain.

In sum, the set of social functions that Schram describes for the use of Chinese language among the Monguor makes it clear that Chinese occupied a position of high social status in the Monguor environment.

The use of Tibetan

References to the use of Tibetan languages are not infrequent in Schram's descriptions. We notice that Tibetan is nearly always mentioned in religious and other ritual contexts. Thus, prayer flags written in Tibetan are found in "all Monguor courtyards" (I:116), and Tibetan prayers are written by a lama to protect a child from spiritual harm (I:104). In the religious life of a monk, we learn that a novice's education in Tibetan "starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts" (II:57), which shows us that Tibetan literacy was an important part of professional religious life, and also that Tibetan literacy would not normally have been expected for lay persons, since instruction began only once a boy entered a monastery.

As the reference to the recitation of texts suggests, ritual Tibetan was not simply a written language for it was read aloud by educated monks and lamas. Furthermore, Schram tells us that songs were sung in Tibetan at the political ceremony in which a *tusi* was invested with his authority (I:48); these were likely memorized songs, rather than improvised ones.

Beyond this, Schram was also aware of certain individuals and communities among the Monguor who were able to speak the local Amdo Tibetan variety. He tells us that being able to speak Tibetan had economic implications: "a large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans" (I:115). And finally, Schram offers an interesting portrait of a family whose clan affiliation changed from a Monguor one to a Tibetan one, and who were, by the time Schram personally met them, "already speaking Tibetan."

The use of Turkic

The Turkic languages should be mentioned, mostly for their absence in Schram's descriptions of the practices of the Monguor. Schram makes much of the presence of Turkic peoples among the Monguor ancestors, and claims that some Monguor of his own day were "of Turkish stock" (for example, I:53). This is an issue of some importance in current discussions of the origins, not only of the Monguor, but also of related languages and their speakers.⁴¹ But the fact is that Schram, in his fairly detailed study of the Monguor, never mentions any actual use of Turkic language among the Monguor. If Monguor ancestors spoke any Turkic language, it must have predated Schram's residence in the area.

Multilingualism and language shift

The foregoing examples have provided evidence of bilingualism and multilingual practice. I will now examine more closely the relationship of multilingualism and language shift. Schram comments on the topic, and his observations help to clarify the relative status of the various languages during his residence in the area.

Schram's descriptions give extensive evidence of bilingual and multilingual practice. Furthermore, based on the claims I have made about Schram's own language abilities, we can infer that there must have been a high level of bilingual ability among his Monguor associates; Schram must have communicated with the Monguor through Chinese and/or Tibetan, and this implies a high level of ability in one or both of these languages on the part of his Monguor friends.

Schram also comments on particular groups that did or did not retain the Monguor language, which means that this was a topic of discussion in the early twentieth century. I cited one such example at the outset, where Schram tells us (I:61) "in 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language..." Such comments lead us to wonder if this was a topic that Schram himself asked about, or if facts of this sort were something that people spontaneously mentioned as part of the important information about other people.

Another interesting example that I have already mentioned is Schram's portrayal of a family that had switched clan membership and become Tibetan in affiliation. This description is accompanied by a photograph of Schram's own tent beside that of the family in question, so it is clear that he had some personal familiarity with the situation. Schram seems to suggest that this family switched suddenly from speaking Monguor to speaking Tibetan, but it is unlikely that this switch was sudden or complete. Most likely, the family had some competence in both Monguor and Tibetan to begin with; and in any case, what changed was almost certainly the language that they used for relations with their fellow clan members, not the language used in their home.

Schram also comments on members of other groups who enrolled in the Monguor clans and makes a distinction between Tibetans, who (he tells us) tended to adopt Monguor customs and language, and Chinese, who (he tells us) tended to resist this assimilation, retaining instead their prior cultural and linguistic practices (see for example I:56-7, 129). This indicates that during the time of Schram's stay in the area, local attitudes elevated the Chinese language to a higher level

⁴¹ See, for example, Field's (1997:7-15) discussion of Santa.

than that of the surrounding minority languages, and this is much the same as the situation that can be observed in the area today.

In Schram's analysis, great significance is attached to the enrollment of Chinese citizens within the Monguor clans; we are for example told (I:57) that "owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook." While it is undoubtedly true that many Monguor had become culturally and linguistically indistinguishable from their Chinese neighbors, Schram is certainly mistaken in attributing the phenomenon to "the enrollment of Chinese" within the Monguor clans. Chinese citizens who enrolled in Monguor clans did bring elements of Chinese culture into Monguor communities, but Schram has given us ample evidence of the high prestige of Chinese culture, in Monguor eyes, including the adoption of Chinese customs and language by the Monguor elite classes. The fundamental motivation for sinicization of language and culture among the Monguor was the basic sociocultural attitude prevalent across the region; as Schram puts it (I:56), "while the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture as a whole is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese."

Insights from the modern situation

When we look at the current Monguor situation we see that the claims just cited, while generally correct, were somewhat overstated. Schram's descriptions of culture and language attitudes and shift are too simplistic, lending the impression that all Monguor felt the same way about their own culture and about Chinese culture, and that those who did become increasingly sinicized had no mixed feelings about this process. We observe today that sinicization has affected different Monguor individuals, regions, dialects, and cultural patterns to widely varying degrees, and it is overly simplistic to assert, as Schram does, that the Monguor uniformly looked up to Chinese culture and down on their own. Individuals may have reported their attitudes in terms something approaching that, but the fact that there presently remain significant markers of Monguor cultural and linguistic identity suggests that the situation was never so straightforward. Nonetheless, as I have already suggested, it was not the absorption of Chinese citizens that led Monguor to become like the Chinese, but rather, the overall set of social attitudes held by the Monguor toward themselves and their neighbors. Chinese culture was generally held in high esteem.

What Schram tells us about the Tibetan languages suggests that they had a fairly restricted set of functions among the Monguor communities with which he was familiar. Schram was aware that certain Monguor could speak Tibetan, and that this ability opened economic doors, but he does not seem to have had a very strong sense of how extensive Tibetan language ability was. We know from today's situation that ability to speak Tibetan is fairly widespread. For example, I have spoken with a Monguor primary school teacher from the Mangghuer area (Minhe County) whose village includes both Mangghuer-speaking families and Tibetan-speaking ones, and who feels it necessary to explain his school lessons in both Mangghuer and Tibetan (neither group of children understands Chinese well). This illustrates a modern Mangghuer community in which daily

interaction in Tibetan is an important fact of life; it seems that Schram rarely observed such communities, but there must certainly have been a number of them in his time.

On the other hand, the role of the lamaseries in the Monguor areas is now vastly more restricted than it was in Schram's day, and this has significant implications for the use of Tibetan among Monguor. Where at one time as many as fifty percent of male Monguor would have had opportunity to learn some ritual Tibetan in the monasteries, today the number of Monguor monks amounts to only a tiny fraction of this. Ability to read and recite written Tibetan has declined precipitously in the decades since Schram left the region.

General Comments

Concluding that Schram did not learn to speak Monguor raises questions about the form his research methodology took. He relates many episodes, such as festivals and formal events, which he personally witnessed. Did he understand the proceedings, or have them translated for him? Were they conducted entirely in Chinese? Further, Schram gives many intimate details of Monguor customs, as well as many retellings of events from the lives of Monguor communities. How were these details gathered? Based on the evidence I have presented here, we can only assume that he conducted much of this research by interview, through the medium of Chinese.

There is no doubt that Schram personally observed many cultural events, and some of these events, particularly those involving the elite classes, who, he suggests, were not all fluent in Monguor, were conducted in Chinese, which he could understand. But it appears that for his understanding of many other cultural events, as well as for many of his interviews with the common people, Schram relied on translation and interpretation of the proceedings by bilingual Monguor. Thus, we may surmise that his explanations of the proceedings and their significance may have been influenced by the folk theories of his translators, whoever they may have been, and that in using his materials today we should put energy into uncovering just what contribution these interpreters may have made to Schram's theories and explanations; but this is a task best left to anthropologists and historians, not linguists.



LOUIS J.M. SCHRAM, CICM⁴²:

MISSIONARY AND ETHNOLOGIST

*Jeroom Heyndrickx*⁴³, CICM⁴⁴

Louis Schram, a tall, joyful young man of Bruges⁴⁵

Louis Schram was born in Bruges, Belgium on February 20, 1883. His parents, Frans Schram and Marie-Louise Gilliaert, had ten children. Members of the Schram family can be found in Belgium in the region of Bruges and Antwerpen and also in the Netherlands,

⁴² The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (*Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae*) was founded by Father Theophile Verbist (1823-1868), a native of Antwerp, Belgium in 1862 for the conversion of China. In 2005, there were over 1,000 CICM missionaries in 23 African, Asian, North and South American, and European countries [http://www.catholic.org.sg/web_links/scheut-cicm/about/index.php].

⁴³ Jeroom Heyndrickx (b. 1931) is a native of Haasdonk, Belgium. A member of the Missionary Congregation to which Louis Schram also belonged, Heyndrickx earned an MA in Education from Loyola University-Chicago, a Licenciante in Pastoral Theology and Licenciante in Education at the Institut Catholique in Paris. In 1957 he began work as a missionary in Taiwan and initiated the Taiwan Pastoral Center while teaching Pastoral Theology at Fugen University. He founded the Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, University of Louvain, Belgium in 1982 that aims to develop exchanges with institutes in PR China, where he has traveled annually and initiated various forms of cooperation. Since 1986, the Verbiest Institute has organized eight international symposia on the history of the Chinese Catholic Church and published 16 research volumes in the series “Leuven Chinese Studies,” in conjunction with Leuven University Press. Beginning in 1985 he has taught Pastoral Theology at the Catholic Sheshan Seminary (Shanghai) and at the National Seminary (Beijing). His numerous publications on the Catholic Mission in China include *Philip Couplet, the man who brought China to Europe* (1990. *Monumenta Serica* XXII) and *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1994. Leuven: Verbiest Institute).

⁴⁴ In this article I combined and translated from Dutch the content of Van Hecken (1977), Anonymous (1977) and Mostaert (1963-1964).

⁴⁵ Bruges (Brugge) was founded in the 9th century by Vikings. Its proximity to the North Sea soon made the settlement an important international harbor. In the 13th and 14th centuries Bruges was an important international trading and financial center. In the middle of the 1800’s however, Brugge was the poorest city in Belgium. In the 20th century the city was discovered by international tourists and its medieval heritage became a new source of wealth for the ‘Venice of the North’ [<http://www.trabel.com/brugge/bruges-history.htm>]. In 2005, Bruges had 45,000 people (the old center) or 120,000 people (center together with the suburbs) and was the capital of the Belgian province of West-Flanders [<http://www.trabel.com/brugge.htm>].

Germany, and the USA. The Schram family of Bruges were merchants in salt and coal and lived along Lane Nr 17, Bruges during the nineteenth century.

Louis Schram went to the kindergarten of the Maricolen sisters.⁴⁶ In 1896 he attended St. Sauveur, the primary school of the St. Louis Institute⁴⁷ where he received his secondary (Latin & Greek) education. When L. Schram was doing his “sixieme Latine,” Antoine Mostaert,⁴⁸ the future famous Mongolist, was three years ahead of him doing his “troisième Latine.”⁴⁹ Mostaert wrote that Louis was a very talented, brilliant student. His talents included music and he became the organ player in the school chapel.

Louis grew tall and strong. He liked student songs and recorded several old humorous typically Bruges songs⁵⁰ in his own handwritten personal songbook. He was known among the students as a joyful humorous comrade. Mostaert relates how L. Schram amused his whole class when he arrived much too late to school one day. This had happened before and he had promised the teacher that it would never happen again. But when he found himself once again on his knees in front of all the students, hard pressed to invent a reason to justify his coming late, Schram shrewdly managed to mislead the teacher yet again by saying that he “lost a lot of time waiting in front of the turning bridge” (in Bruges known as “de Slenterbrugge”). The angry but distracted

⁴⁶ The “Zusters van Maria” was founded in 1664 in Dendermonde and were called Maricolen—from the Latin *Mariam colere* or “adoring Mary.” The founder, Father Herman, was a cleric of the Carmel Order. They did not want to be recognized as an “Order” with privileges, but simply a family where they related to God and each other on a free basis, without holy vows nor a closed convent—a totally new form of life. In 13 years’ time the Maricolen had settled in all of Flanders’ big cities including Bruges [http://www.esat.kuleuven.ac.be/teo/citizen/SM_history.html].

⁴⁷ A well-known Catholic Secondary School in Bruges.

⁴⁸ Antoine Mostaert was born in Brugge, Belgium, in 1881, and joined CICM in 1899. At nineteen years of age he began reading Schmidt’s *Grammatik der Mongolischen Sprache* that encouraged his interest in Mongolia. After his ordination in 1905, Mostaert was assigned to what later became the diocese of Ningxia. A year later, the bishop sent him to the Mongol station of Boro-Balghasu (Poro Balgason), where he remained for two decades. In 1926, Mostaert left for Beijing where he published a series of books and articles, including the *Dictionnaire Monguor-Francais* (in collaboration with Fr Albert De Smedt, CICM). Political events forced him to leave Beijing in the fall of 1948. In 1949 he took up residence in Arlington, Virginia, USA, until his retirement at eighty-four. He died at the age of eighty-nine in 1971 [http://www.veritas.org.sg/web_links/scheut-cicm/serve/mongolia.shtml].

⁴⁹ At that time there were two kinds of secondary schools in Belgium—either six years of “classical studies,” including Latin and Greek or six years of “modern studies,” stressing more positive science. The “sixieme Latine” (sixth Latin) was the first of the six years of “classical studies.” They counted down starting from “sixieme” (6th) to “cinquieme” (5th) etc... “troisieme Latine” (third Latin) which in fact, was the fourth of the six years of Latin studies.

⁵⁰ These songs were sung in the Bruges dialect (a dialect of the Flemish language) and mostly humorous.

professor reluctantly accepted this clever excuse while all the students laughed secretly as they knew that “de Slenterbrugge” was not a “turning bridge” at all but a fixed stone bridge. Schram, as always, got away with it.⁵¹

The young Schram joined other CICM’s in studies of ethnology

On September 7, 1902 Louis entered the novitiate of the Missionaries of Scheut (near Brussels), along with another classmate of St. Louis Institute, Gabriel Kervyn,⁵² who would later become a CICM missionary in Jehol,⁵³ Inner Mongolia. Schram immediately began learning Chinese. Later, while a student in Louvain he studied linguistics taught by the then still young Jozef Lodewijk Maria Mullie,⁵⁴ CICM. Because manuals of linguistics were mostly written in Russian, he also studied Russian. He wanted to create a broad basis for his future missionary activity. His interest focused on the study of the customs and religions of Asian people rather than on their languages. Young Scheut missionaries at the beginning of the twentieth century competed with each other to add anthropology and ethnology to their theological studies. CICM superiors encouraged this and allowed several young CICM students to subscribe to *Anthropos*, which was directed by P.W. Schmidt, SVD⁵⁵ (1868-1954). When *Anthropos* first became available in Vienna in 1906 they

⁵¹ Bruges has many canals and bridges over the canals. Some bridges could be moved upwards, so as to let ships pass, but then the people on bicycle or on foot had to wait in front of the bridge. They were called “*draaibrug*” (a turning bridge). The “Slenterbrugge” was not a “turning bridge.” It was a fixed bridge that could not move. The bridge joke was funny because Louis Schram “cheated” the teacher by telling him that he came late because he had to wait in front of the “Slenterbrugge,” making the teacher believe that this was a “turning bridge,” which it was not. All the students realized it, but the teacher did not and Schram got away with it.

⁵² Gabriel Kervyn was a CICM missionary, like Louis Schram. He was born in Hooglede (Belgium) in 1883, left for China in 1908, worked in China in Jehol Province and died there January 7, 1944.

⁵³ Jehol or Rehe was a former province (44,000 sq mi/114,000 sq km) in northeast China. Chengde was the capital. Rehe was divided between Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the provinces of Hebei and Liaoning. Jehol was the traditional gateway to Mongolia and from time to time was overrun by Tatars, Huns, and Khitan Mongols. It was the seat (10th–12th centuries) of the Liao (Khitan) Empire. Conquered by the Manchu in the 17th century, Jehol became an imperial pastureland. Japanese took control early in 1933 and it was not restored to China until the end of World War II [<http://www.factmonster.com/ce6/world/A0841447.html>].

⁵⁴ A CICM missionary born in Sint Denijs (Belgium) in 1886, he went to China in 1909 and worked in Jehol Province. He was a linguist who wrote several books and grammars on the Chinese literary language. He taught Chinese at the University of Utrecht (Holland) upon his return to Europe. He died in Korbeek-Lo (near Leuven, Belgium) July 13, 1976.

⁵⁵ The SVD (Society of the Divine Word or “Societas Verbi Divini”) was founded by the German, Arnold Janssen (1837-1909) who pictured the Incarnate Word sowing missionaries around the world [<http://www.svd-ca.com/WhoWeAre.htm>].

became avid readers—Louis Schram included. *Anthropos*'s scientific articles developed his interest in anthropological research. He also purchased several German books on anthropology and ethnology for his studies. After his ordination to the priesthood (July 12, 1908) he was sent to the University of Leiden (Netherlands) to study the History of World Religions and Ethnology and thus became the first CICM allowed to go abroad for specialized studies in order to prepare for his mission work. On September 21, 1909 he traveled to China via Russia and Siberia. Upon arrival he was assigned to Northern Gansu to work under Bishop Hubert Otto CICM.⁵⁶ He spent one year studying the Chinese language in the central CICM mission of Xixiang (Liangzhou) and was then a procurator⁵⁷ of the CICM Vicariat of Northern Gansu for one year.

Schram sides with oppressed Monguor and Tibetans

At that time, in the district of Xining in Southern Gansu,⁵⁸ which is also part of the Tibetan region of Amdo, there was no Catholic Church. There were about one hundred protestant Christians living in various cities in Southern Gansu. In 1912 Bishop Otto sent two missionaries to this region between Gansu and Tibet—Fr. Joseph Essens⁵⁹ and Louis Schram. Certain of the original inhabitants of Xining were the Monguor (Tu-ren), making the Xining region attractive to anthropologists, ethnologists and linguists.

Schram felt he should make his Christian faith known to the Tibetans, who, inside Tibet, proved to be beyond the reach of foreign influence. Consequently, he began studying Tibetan while living for six months in Kumbum, one of the most famous Buddhist temples of Central Asia, where he studied customs and habits. Later he would tell many stories from this experience to the CICM confreres.

He was then appointed to start a new mission in Nienpei, a town forty-five km from Xining, where many Monguor lived. “I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguor,” he said, as he started his study of the customs, the laws, the social situation, and religion of the Monguor.

In 1916 Louis Schram was assigned as a pastor in Xining succeeding J. Essens. In keeping with his usual custom, he looked for good relations with the official authorities and he was fortunate. One day, Governor Ma Ji sent a messenger to ask Louis Schram if he was willing to teach geometry to his son. Schram did not hesitate to accept, even though he had forgotten a great deal of his geometry. He thus developed a friendship with the highest authority of Xining. This would help him during the years to come as he went to considerable personal risk to help the oppressed.

⁵⁶ Hubert Otto, CICM missionary, was born in Brussels (Belgium) in 1850. He left for China in 1876 and worked successively in Gansu, where he became a bishop; then in Ningxia and finally in Suiyuan (now Hohhot) Inner Mongolia where he died 26 February 1938.

⁵⁷ Mission accountant who buys whatever missionaries need for their work.

⁵⁸ “Southern Gansu” refers to the area around the present Tianshui and Pingliang.

⁵⁹ Joseph Essens was a CICM missionary. He was born in Best (the Netherlands) in 1877 and went to China in 1903. After working in Gansu he was appointed to the mission in Ningxia Province where he died in Shaanba (near the town of Dengkou) on November 11, 1926.

He wrote, “This is a dangerous operation. But I am confronted with it and I take the challenge!” Schram was not only a thinker but also a fighter.

The success of his first interventions echoed through the Xining region as a big victory of the oppressed. Soon many more Monguor and Chinese came to see Schram and explained their individual cases to him. People from Kumbum and Ergulong also knocked at his door asking for his intervention and even acclaimed him as the protector of their temples.

Meanwhile Schram continued his work as Catholic missionary. He wrote a short pamphlet introducing Christian faith: “Jing feng wei yi zhen zhu” (Venerate the only true Lord) and personally visited the valleys where Monguor and Chinese lived. He also bought land for the construction of churches and schools. Some of those who had received Schram’s help registered their names as catechumens in the Catholic Church. This happened for the first time in 1917.

During several decades the number of Catholics in the Apostolic Vicariate of Gansu stagnated at 2,000-3,000, the number that Bishop Hamer⁶⁰ had found there upon his arrival in 1879. Now suddenly dozens of converts were added. Two years later a thousand new Catholics joined the Church. In 1920 Schram registered 5,000 catechumens and this number doubled in 1921. In five years time, he had brought 10,000 Monguor and Chinese into the Catholic Church. Never had any Scheut missionary met with such a personal success. Bishop Hubert Otto, who had sacrificed everything for years in order to increase the number of catechumens, cried for joy learning this news and in 1918 he resigned as Vicar Apostolic of Gansu and proposed to personally go and work as ordinary catechist in the mission of Louis Schram.

Schram’s first book “Le Mariage chez les T’ou-jen du Kansu”

In 1922 Rome decided that the SVD fathers should take over the Gansu Mission from CICM consequently, Louis Schram left Xining in early 1922 to the newly created Apostolic Vicariate of Ningxia with Bishop Frederix (1866-1928) as first bishop. The bishop was happy to have L. Schram in his diocese and assigned him to Ningxia (Chuan), a city of Moslems, to establish a mission, where he intended to establish his Episcopal residence.⁶¹ Schram undertook this new task with his usual zeal and using all his talents. He succeeded in buying enough land at one of the best locations of Ningxia City to establish a church, a seminary, a school, and a clinic. He supervised the church, the residence for the bishop and priests and initiated the building of a school.

Fr. Leo van Dijck (1878-1951), who had been a professor at Lanzhou (Lanchou) University, also moved to Ningxia with Schram. Van Dijck had begun adapting Christian art to Chinese symbolism and art and painted catechetical charts with Chinese figures and scenes chosen from Chinese daily life to help the catechumens better grasp the faith content and moral prescriptions

⁶⁰ Ferdinand Hamer, a CICM missionary, was born in Nijmegen (the Netherlands) in 1840. He was one of the four founders of the CICM mission in China that began in 1865. He worked first in Jehol Province, then in Gansu where he was appointed a bishop. He then was appointed to Inner Mongolia where he was killed in the Boxer Rebellion July 27, 1900 in Tokto (near Baotou, Inner Mongolia).

⁶¹ The residence of the bishop.

explained in the classes. Schram fully supported van Dijck in this, penning a study about the meaning of this missionary effort, which was published in *Bulletin Catholique de Peking*. Schram took the paintings of van Dijck with him in order to publish them in 1927 when the CICM General Superior J. Rutten called him back to Belgium. During his stay, he presented a well-documented report on this at the *VIst Missiological Week in Leuven*.⁶² He also gave many lectures in Belgium illustrating van Dijck's work with slides.

Schram returned to Ningxia in 1928 and was assigned by his bishop to Long Xing Chang (Wuyuan) a town situated halfway between Baotou and the Episcopal residence of San Sheng Gong (Dengkou). There he found the time to organize the notes he had taken while researching the Monguor. He published these notes in his first ethnological publication *Le mariage chez les T'ou- jen du Kansu*. "The Sino-Belgian Commission for Education and Philanthropy" subsidized the publication. The Russian Professor, Sergei Mikhailovich Shirokogorov (1887-1939), who was then teaching at Qinghua University in Beijing, praised the book and recommended it to his students.

In the year 2000 however, we found the book for sale in Taipei. It was published in 1999 in Liaoning Province by the famous Chinese anthropologist Prof. Dr. Fei Xiaotong⁶³ who that year was ninety years old. Fr. Schram is mentioned as the author, under the name of Xu Rang (the real Chinese name used by L. Schram was Kang Guotai). As told by Prof. Fei Xiaotong, it was Prof. Shirokogoroff who introduced the book to Wang Tonghui, then schoolmate and girlfriend of Fei Xiaotong. They translated the book together, but before it was ever published Wang Tonghui died accidentally during a fieldtrip in the mountains of Guangxi Province. Many years later, Fei Xiaotong found the manuscript among his books. It had miraculously survived the sacking of his library during the Sino-Japanese War and the many movements before and after the Cultural

⁶² Leuven. 1928: 22-223.

⁶³ Fei Xiaotong was born in Wujiang County, Jiangsu Province November 2, 1910, less than a year before the national revolution that toppled the Qing Dynasty. After high school, Fei enrolled in Suzhou University and later, Yanjing University where education was in English. From the Yanjing faculty, Fei learned the fundamentals of sociology, especially as they had been developed in American universities. At age twenty-four, Fei completed his BA and enrolled in Qinghua University to begin graduate studies in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Here the dominating figure was S. M. Shirokogoroff. After graduation, Fei attended the London School of Economics, where Bronislaw Malinowski was the leading figure. After earning his degree, Fei returned to China in 1938. During the turmoil of China's early years, he was stripped of his authoritative posts, reduced to a professor of the lowest rank and forbidden to teach. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1977), Fei lived in a dormitory-like room that he shared with other men. For about a year, his job was cleaning the campus toilets. At the age of sixty-eight, Fei Xiaotong reemerged. In 1979 he began writing and publishing again. He was soon traveling widely in China and abroad and was appointed to many important posts. In 1980, he traveled to the United States to receive a prestigious anthropology award named after his mentor Malinowski (http://www.multiworld.org/m_versity/articles/feixiaotong.htm). He died in 2005.

Revolution during which he was also condemned and demoted while his library was sacked several times. While ordering the books he had left, Prof. Fei found the old manuscript of the translation of Schram's book. At the age of ninety, remembering the admiration for this book expressed by Prof. Shirokogoroff as well as by himself and Wang Tonghui and finding it still an example of important scientific research done in China by this Belgian missionary seventy years earlier, he decided to publish it.

Before he did, however, he sent two young anthropologists of Beijing University to the same region of Father Louis Schram in order to do the same research, so many years later using the same approach and the same questions, which they analyzed and put together in two reports published as an appendix to the book. The newly published book of Schram thus became a report on research done on the same spot in Gansu Province, in the beginning and at the end of the twentieth century.⁶⁴

L. Schram, via the Verbist Academy Beijing, to the USA

Even before the publication of his first book Archbishop Constantini, then Apostolic Delegate in China, invited L. Schram and F. X. Biallas SVD (1878-1936) to become members of the commission created in Shanghai for the publication of a Chinese Catholic encyclopedia. But unforeseen financial problems prevented the realization of this project. As a result L. Schram was appointed as pastor and deacon of the Shaanba District, the biggest parish in Ningxia in the region of "the Tao-zi."⁶⁵ In cooperation with his two assistant priests—Antoon Schotte and Maurice Cornelis—he established several new mission stations in the district.

In 1941 he was asked to replace his old colleague Fr. A. De Smedt (1884-1941) in Manhui,⁶⁶ a parish that had 5,000 Catholics. Here he suffered through the years of World War II, when all financial support from outside was suspended. Only the support of Christians in Manhui enabled him to keep his schools and other institutions going. That same year he also became vice-provincial and from 1947-48 he was acting provincial superior while the provincial went to the CICM Chapter.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ When learning about the publication of Prof. Fei Xiaotong, the Verbiest Foundation Taipei Office bought fifty copies of the book and gave them as gifts to friends in Gansu.

⁶⁵ 'Tao-zi' means 'loop.' It is a the word local people in northern Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region use to indicate the region within the curve (loop) of the Yellow River northwards and then southwards.

⁶⁶ Manhui is a town located presently between Baotou and Dengkou (Inner Mongolia).

⁶⁷ The CICM missionary congregations are divided into "provinces," according to the countries or regions where various missions are established. Each "province" has a "provincial superior" who directs the missionary activities of his province. "Chapter" is a general meeting of all "provincial superiors" from the CICM missions all over the world together with delegates, elected by the missionaries. The Chapter meeting is called by the General Government of the CICM missionary congregation every six years to elect a new General Superior and his Council Members. The

Throughout these years L. Schram kept the notes on the Monguor that he had made when he was in Xining. The creation of the CICM Verbist Academy in Beijing (1947) was an occasion for him to put the notes in order with the goal of publishing them.

In 1948, after the CICM Chapter, he was appointed as member of the Verbist Academy in Beijing. At that time however, the Communist and Nationalist armies were in full conflict and the road to Beijing was unsafe. Nevertheless, Schram managed to pass through the frontlines but lost part of his books and documents in Tumu (near Nankewei). With what was left of his notes he started his work immediately after his arrival in Beijing. But by October that same year he had to leave China for the USA where he settled in Arlington, Virginia, the provincial house of CICM in the USA where he could finally complete his work as ethnologist with the help of the Library of Congress. This library provided materials that he needed.

Many scholars in the field of ethnology, history, and language were also in the United States at that time and he met them in Washington in the Far Eastern Association Inc. (the publishers of *The Far Eastern Quarterly*) of which he became a member. Interest in China grew in the USA during that time because books and documents could no longer be obtained from China.

Lattimore showed great interest in Schram's work, realizing its value to research in ethnology. Foreign ethnologists had, until then, heard little about the Monguor. A problem was however, that all the Schram's notes were written in Flemish or French and that they needed to be translated into English, arranged, and analyzed according to methods acceptable to ethnologists. Lattimore helped in this process. Schram once again showed himself to be a hard worker. For weeks and months he sat in his small room in the attic of the CICM house in Arlington, arranging and organizing his material according to Lattimore's instructions and a secretary typed the English text.

The first volume was ready in 1951 and sent to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Since the content was new and the author little known to ethnologists, Lattimore wrote a long introduction. The publisher submitted the manuscript to Nicholas Poppe, Professor of Mongol at the University of Washington-Seattle. Poppe wrote to the editor on March 15, 1952, "*I find this an excellent book, highly scientific. I consider everything in it as outstanding.*" The book was published in 1954 and received glowing reviews.

The second volume appeared three years later in 1957 and also received positive reviews.

A major unsolved question still remained. It was clear that the Monguor descended partly from the Mongols. But where was the link that connected the family clan to Chingis Khan (1162-1227)? Louis Schram offered an answer in the genealogy of the Lu family that linked their ancestors to Kolgan, the sixth son of Chingis and his second wife, Kulan. In his third volume published in 1961, Schram gives the genealogy history.

Enthusiastic reviews strengthened Schram's reputation as a competent scholar in Eastern anthropology and history. Schram was invited to become a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. Professors of Princeton University developed a plan to compose a biographical dictionary of the Ming Dynasty and invited Louis Schram to cooperate in this project

meeting lasts a month. While the "provincial superiors" meet, their vice-provincial superior replaces them to direct the activities of the missionaries.

(letter, June 18, 1958). By this time, however, Schram was seventy-five and planned to retire in Belgium. He wrote that he could not accept “for in Belgium I shall not be in the required conditions to help effectively on this project.”

Schram returned to Belgium in 1958 and continued a busy correspondence with the USA until the publication of his third volume in 1961. After he retired he passed his days in prayer, study, reading and taking notes of everything he considered important. Publishing was no longer on his agenda. He died March 3, 1971 in Grimbergen (near Brussels) having brilliantly realized his double vocation of being a missionary and an ethnologist.



Louis M. J. Schram's Relevance to
Current Monguor Ethnographic Research⁶⁸

*Limusishiden (Li Dechun)*⁶⁹

Qinghai University Affiliated Hospital, Xining City

&

*Kevin Stuart*⁷⁰

Qinghai Normal University, Xining City

Introduction

Founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743, the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia has maintained a reputation for scholarly excellence since the publication of its first *Transactions* in 1771.⁷¹ Although Benjamin Franklin surely had never heard of the Monguor, he likely would have approved of Louis Schram's publication of, between 1954 and 1961, under the auspices of the *Transactions*, a three-volume study of "The Monguors of the Kansu⁷²-Tibetan Frontier."

In a lengthy introduction, Owen Lattimore comments on the value of Schram's work:

In his account of the Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Father Schram has made a contribution to our understanding ... that is of very great value and that in one respect is outstanding: there are important studies of a number of the frontier peoples of China, but there is no other that, like this one, is based on twelve years of direct contact with the people studied... He went to the frontier province of Kansu in 1909, proceeded to the region where the Monguors live in 1911, the year of the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, and remained there through the first years of the Chinese Republic until 1922.⁷³

⁶⁸ An earlier version of this paper was presented by Limusishiden at "The International Symposium "Mongol Studies in Low Countries: Antoine Mostaert's Heritage" 10-11 August 2004, Ulaanbaatar.

⁶⁹ Limusishiden (b. 1968) is a Mongghul native of Tughuan Mongghul Village, Danma Town, Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County, Qinghai Province, the People's Republic of China. Since he graduated from Qinghai University Attached Medical Collage 1993, he has been working as an osteopathic surgeon at Qinghai University Attached Hospital. Simultaneously, he works on Mongghul cultural preservation.

⁷⁰ Kevin Stuart arrived in China in 1984 and has taught English at institutions in Inner Mongolia and in Qinghai, except for a year in Mongolia as a United Nations Volunteer. His numerous published writings have focused on minority people in China. In addition, he and his students have been extensively involved in the implementation of many small-scale rural development projects in Monguor and Tibetan communities in Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan provinces.

⁷¹ <http://www.aps-pub.com/>.

⁷² Gansu.

⁷³ I:4.

What is curious about Schram's work is that it is so little recognized and referred to today.

This paper evaluates the value of Schram's study to current ethnographic research by presenting a contemporary description of the Monguor and comparing it to Schram's, and examining certain of Schram's comments on the Monguor *tusi*, family, religion, and Sinicization in the context of 2006.

Who are the Monguor?

We use "Monguor" to refer to people classified by the Chinese government as "Tu"—one of China's fifty-six official ethnic groups. We employ this term rather than "Tu" because many Monguor have historically used this term, or very similar appellations (e.g., Mongghul, Mangghuer) rather than "Tu."⁷⁴ Monguor share Tibetan Buddhist beliefs, most Monguor share Mongolic-based lexical items in their several very different languages/dialects and live primarily in Qinghai and Gansu provinces in northwest China. We further use the term "Mongghul" to refer to, primarily, residents of Huzhu County and others who refer to themselves with the same term, for example, Mongghul in Datong Mongghul and Hui Autonomous County, Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, and Ledu County. We use the term "Mangghuer" for Monguor living in Minhe Hui and Mangghuer (Tu) Autonomous County.

Table One. 2001 Distribution of China's Monguor Population in Qinghai and Gansu.⁷⁵

Location	Population
Qinghai Province	199,470
Xining City	51,588
Haidong District	120,435
Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County	64,686
Minhe Hui and Mongghuer Autonomous County	43,182
Ledu County	10,877
Other Counties	1,690
Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous County	8,713
Tongren County	8,228
Haibei Tibetan Autonomous County	8,155
Hainan Tibetan Autonomous County	3,949
Guide County	1,345
Gonghe County	1,284
Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	6,166
Gansu Province	25,000

⁷⁴ However, the division of China's population into official groups and its geography into villages, townships, counties, and other administrative units that can be further designated as minority areas has brought with it the notion, especially to younger literate Monguor, that they are "Tu." This is encouraged by filling out forms requiring a statement of ethnicity. Additionally, non-Monguor speakers are not familiar with the term "Monguor," further encouraging Monguor to report that they are "Tu," a term that Qinghai-Gansu non-Monguor do recognize. The majority of Monguor are illiterate and do not know that their language is Mongolic.

⁷⁵ These are unpublished data and are only for Qinghai and Gansu.

Brief descriptions of Monguor groups follow:

- Huzhu County (officially: Huzhu Tu Autonomous County) and Ledu County, Haidong Region, Qinghai Province and Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province. Most older Mongghul speak Mongghul, but Sinicization is rapid with education only in the Chinese language, with the exception of a few Mongghul who study in schools where the Tibetan language is taught. Traditional Mongghul clothing is still worn, especially by women, but such clothing is increasingly seen only in more remote areas. Mongghul is linguistically a separate language from Mangghuer (Georg 2003:286).⁷⁶ It should also be mentioned that many people classified as “Tu” by the Chinese government in Wushi Town and Hongyazigou and Sunduo townships in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County and in Shdara (C: Dala Township) Ledu County refer to themselves as Kerilang. Many people in Danma and Weiyuan towns and Donggou, Dongshan, and Taizi townships refer to themselves as Mongghul.
- Minhe County (officially: Minhe Hui⁷⁷ and Tu Autonomous County), Haidong Region. Approximately ninety-five percent of those classified as Mangghuer (Tu) can speak Mangghuer. Education however, is only available in Chinese, except for a few villages in Xing’er Tibetan Autonomous Township⁷⁸ where a few Mangghuer students study Tibetan. Although Mangghuer core vocabulary and most of its morphosyntax are of Mongolic origin, Mangghuer has essentially Sinitic phonology as well as many Sinitic loanwords in its lexicon (Slater 2003:307). Mangghuer has never been taught in Minhe County.
- Datong Hui and Monguor Autonomous County. Limusishiden and his Mongghul wife, Jugui, visited Tuhun and Sunbu villages, Songrang Township, Datong County⁷⁹ during the Spring Festival of 2001. Of the seven Mongghul speakers they met, only four spoke Mongghul fluently. Based on information they gathered, they estimate that the total number of fluent Mongghul speakers in Datong County was approximately ten in 2001.
- Wutun People: The people living in Wutun (Tibetan: Sangexiong) claim to be Tibetan, and culturally they are so, though the Chinese government classifies them as “Tu.” Ethnologue (2004) describes their language as “a variety of Chinese heavily influenced by Tibetan or perhaps a Tibetan language undergoing relexification with Chinese forms” and “Chinese which converged to an agglutinative language, using only Chinese material, towards Tibetan-Mongolian.”
- Tongren County Monguor who do not speak the Wutun Language include residents of Gnyan

⁷⁶ A list of Mongghul language publications may be found in Limusishiden and Stuart (1999).

⁷⁷ Chinese Muslims.

⁷⁸ Minhe County’s only Tibetan autonomous township.

⁷⁹ Administratively within Xining City.

thog (Nianduhu), Ska gsar (Gashari) and Sgo dmar (Guomari) villages who speak mutually intelligible Monguor dialects and who all claim to be Tibetan.⁸⁰

- Shaowaru. In early May 2004, Limusishiden visited Shaowa Tu Autonomous Township, Joni County, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province. Limusishiden elicited local dialect for a wordlist of fifty items. Only two were similar to Mongghul.

In addition to Monguor, other Mongolic members of China's officially recognized fifty-six ethnic groups include the Daur (Dagur), Baoan (Bonan, Baonan), Yugu (Yughur, Yoghor), and Dongxiang (Santa). Collectively, this is a Mongolic population of 711,362⁸¹ that excludes the five million Mongols living in China.

Our definition and description of the Monguor differ mainly from those of Schram's in geographical distribution and the inclusion of people who are culturally and linguistically different from that of the Mongghul. Schram does not appear to have ever visited the people we refer to today as the "Minhe Mangghuer" nor the people currently classified as "Tu" living in the contemporary Tongren County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Schram represents the Monguor as culturally and linguistically homogeneous—a view that has changed with greatly increased access to Monguor populations, as Janhunnen makes clear in his introductory essay. Today, we understand the term "Tu" (following the official government nationality categories) to include speakers of Mongghul, Mangghuer, Wutun, Shaowa, and Baoan.⁸² Linguistically, these groups are very different and communication in Monguor between them is virtually impossible.⁸³ On the cultural front, there are also pronounced differences, but we hasten to add that description of many elements of the Monguor groups has yet to be done.⁸⁴

Where did Schram visit?

Schram writes that he was assigned to Xining in 1911 and subsequently studied Tibetan at Kumbum Monastery (for a half year) and in Nianbo (for four years), the current seat of Ledu County. The remainder of the time he seems to have stayed in Xining City where he was "in

⁸⁰ See Kalsang Norbu, Zhu Yongzhong, and Kevin Stuart (1999) for a discussion of the origin of Gnyan thog in the context of the village's annual winter exorcism.

⁸¹ These figures are based on 1990 census data: Dongxiang (373,872), Monguor (191,624), Daur (121,357), Yugu (12,297), and Boan (12,212) (Xinhua 2004).

⁸² This refers to the non-Islamic "Tu" of Baoan Township, Tongren County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. It does not refer to the group officially classified as "Baoan" and living in Gansu Province.

⁸³ Janhunnen (2003:83).

⁸⁴ Kevin Stuart and his co-workers have published materials since the early 1990s that have focused on Mangghuer funerals, the Huzhu *pram*, the Mangghuer *nadun*, Mangghuer funeral orations, and a number of papers, in collaboration with Qi Huimin, on Monguor songs.

charge of more than thirty small mission stations scattered all over the prefecture.”⁸⁵

In the table below, we present locations that Schram visited that we have been able to identify with place names in 2006.

Table Two. Monguor Areas Visited by Schram.

Schram's Spelling	2006 Name	Comment
Erhku-lung, Erh Ku Lung, Erhkulung Erh-ku- lung	Youning (Mongghul: Rgulang) Monastery, Wushi Mongghul Town.	Schram was a frequent visitor ⁸⁶ .
Sung-hua- ting	Sunhuating (Chinese) or Sangtuo (Mongghul) is located at the border of Sunduo and Bazha, two autonomous Tibetan townships, in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County and Ledu County in 2006.	Schram personally saw Tuguan Living Buddha ask his retinue to burn incense at the Sunhuating Obo as he and his group passed by. This <i>obo</i> is one of most venerated in the area. There is a flat area atop the mountain where the <i>obo</i> is located. Local people celebrate here on the 15 th day of the sixth lunar month with horse races and other rituals. Schram visited the <i>obo</i> . ⁸⁷
Halachih	Halazhigou (Chinese).	During Schram's time, Danma Village was part of today's Halazhigou Township. Schram's references suggest that he visited the area.
Lichiat'an	Lijiatan (Chinese) or Lijiatang (Mongghul) is located in Donggou Township in 2006.	Schram visited the village in November 1915 because a woman had hung herself from a beam in her husband's home after many quarrels with her mother-in-law and having been beaten by her husband. In keeping with old Mongghul custom, the dead woman's maternal uncle led his relatives to the home

⁸⁵ I:1.

⁸⁶ Schram rarely tells the reader specific dates of his visits to specific Monguor places. However, in I:26; 59; II:36-37; 40; 41; 43; 45; 48; 72; 94; 133; 150 it is obvious that he did visit Rgulang.

⁸⁷ II:115.

⁸⁸ I:92.

		and damaged the home in retaliation. ⁸⁸
Ch'ichialin	Jijialing is located in Dongshan Township in 2006.	It is 15 km from Xining. It is likely Schram visited here frequently. ⁸⁹
T'angpa	Tangba (Chinese and Mongghul). The village is near Weiyuan Town (county seat) in 2006.	Schram visited the Mongghul village that is very near Weiyuan Town. Tangba is today a completely Han area. ⁹⁰
Sa-t'ang	Shatangchuan (Chinese).	A township in Huzhu County that is adjacent to Xining City. Schram visited the area and described Mongghul shaman. ⁹¹ No Mongghul households were in this township in 2006.
Nienpei	Nianbo (Chinese; the seat of Ledu County in 2006).	Schram studied Tibetan here. ⁹²

Tusi

The *tusi* (native chief) system was not abrogated in the Monguor areas until 1931, consequently, Schram observed it first hand. He also had a personal relationship with three prominent Monguor *tusi*—Li, Lu, and Qi—who had, over the years, made great contributions to the central government in protecting western frontier from numerous invasions by Tibetans, Mongols, and Muslims. Furthermore, Schram's good connections with the *tusi* provided convenience in his missionary endeavors.

Limusishiden's Chinese surname, Li, is derived from Li Tusi. Limusishiden's father, Zhunmaa (b. 1942) reports that when his father, Limusirang (~1924-1987) was young, other people dismounted when they met Limusirang and others from Tughuan Village because they were of *tusi* family and were paid tax in grain and wheat straw.

Today, Mongghul born before 1950 have a vague sense of being a certain *tusi*'s subject, but would know little else, e.g., how the *tusi* system functioned in their local area. Young people would be hard-pressed to recognize the term, *tusi*. Schram's elaborate description of the position of *tusi* in historical context, the relationship between the *tusi* and their subjects, the number of Monguor *tusi*, and contributions Monguor *tusi* made during, particularly, the Ming and Qing dynasties, in safeguarding the western territories is a valuable resource for young Mongghul who wish to learn more about their history.

Schram's translation of and commentary on the Lu Tusi family chronicle is also a major contribution to Monguor history. We learn from this that thousands of Monguor became soldiers for their *tusi* and many died in countless battles. The influence of Tibetan Buddhism was such that many

⁸⁹ I:79 and II:129. Lei-chia-pu neighbors Ch'ichialin. It would have been convenient for Schram to visit because it is the nearest Mongghul village from Xining. At the time of Schram's visits, Mongghul shaman were common in Ch'ichialin area. At that time, Ch'ichialin Village belonged to the Sa-t'ang (today's Satangchuang Township), but now it belongs to Dongshan Township.

⁹⁰ I:27; 37; 69.

⁹¹ II:129.

⁹² I:1.

families sent their sons to monasteries to become monks. These two factors partially explain why the Monguor population is restricted in its development.

Simultaneously, *tusi* played a negative role in Monguor society. The *tusi* generally did not speak Monguor—instead they spoke only Chinese. In fact, Kevin Stuart was told that the reason many Minhe Mangghuer wedding songs are sung in Chinese is that the *tusi* did not understand Mangghuer. When *tusi* did attend weddings, they were the honored guests and songs were sung in Chinese so that they would understand. The *tusi*, as described by Schram, ensured that their children learned Chinese, they did not wear Monguor clothes, they married Chinese, and their daughters mostly married Chinese.

The Family

Limusishiden was born in 1968 in a Mongghul family and Mongghul village. He comments on his family:

Grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, parents, sisters, and grandchildren lived in a large household of seventeen members. This is a large family compared to today's typical household of around four members. In keeping with Mongghul tradition, Grandfather (Limusirang) ruled the family while Grandmother (~1916-1986) concentrated on ensuring there was a harmonious relationship between her daughters and the daughters-in-law.

My grandparents looked after their grandchildren during the daytime while sons and daughters-in-law worked in the fields. At night, my grandparents and their sons freely enjoyed visiting and in being visited, while their daughters-in-law and Father's sisters busily sewed clothes by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil.

Later, I personally experienced the division of family property between my father and his two brothers, who then established their new families in the Mongghul traditional way.

Because all the families in my village are Mongghul, we only spoke Mongghul. We only began to learn Chinese when we started school. We all dressed in Mongghul clothes. People visited each other's homes telling folktales at night and when they were free from fieldwork. It was a mental and physical world that seemed wholly Mongghul.

With a shared belief in Niidog, Pudang, and Nangou deities, residents of my own village of Tughuan undertook most public activities together. Families worked together to build household adobe walls and to undertake weddings and funerals. They contacted each other easily and helped each other generously.

Later in 1985, the three villages became more distant and mutual assistance was no longer practiced. My village divided into two groups, despite having only twenty households.

Limusishiden personally experienced what Louis Schram depicted in his description of the Mongghul village formation, dwellings, village social structure, relationships between villages, the extended family and the family chief, breakup of the extended family, establishment of new families, interpersonal behavior in the family, the position of women, the maternal uncle, child name giving, education of the child, property and inheritance, morality in the Mongghul family, Mongghul farming, food, drink, clothing, headdresses, handicrafts, and the origin of artisans. The rich detail Louis Schram provides testifies that he was personally rooted in Mongghul life, although he rarely informs the reader of the time and place of the data.

The table below provides examples of how the Mongghul family has changed since the time of Schram:

Table Three. The Mongghul Family—Schram’s Description and 2006.

Item	Schram’s Description	2006
A family living under one roof.	Sons, daughters-in-law, daughters, and many grandchildren live in a single big family under the rule of grandparents until later they the younger couples move out and establish their own household.	Under the national birth control policy, many families have only one son and some have no sons. Therefore the traditional big family characterized by sons moving out to establish their own households is increasingly rare.
The <i>kang</i> is a platform two or three feet high, built of bricks inside the kitchen room. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.	Monguor sat, ate, slept, and entertained visitors on the <i>k’ang</i> . In winter the <i>k’ang</i> is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. ⁹³	Traditionally, the Mongghul employed a <i>kang</i> -like arrangement called <i>pei</i> ⁹⁴ inside the kitchen, which was divided into two parts by the <i>langang</i> or low wall. The first part was where the cooking took place and the other half was a <i>pei</i> or a raised platform. The <i>pei</i> was where all the family slept at night (using fur-lined robes as quilts); entertained guests with food, liquor, and conversation. The <i>pei</i> was made of adobe bricks and heated in one of two ways: (1) Heat from the kitchen fire passed through the <i>pei</i> via channels to the chimney and (2) a fire fueled by animal dung and straw burned on the center of the <i>pei</i> . The smoke from (2) went outside through a hole in the roof called the <i>tenchuang</i> . People sat around the fire on the <i>pei</i> during the winter and could easily cook tea over this smoky tear-inducing fire. The <i>pei</i> was rarely found in 2006 in Mongghul homes. It was largely replaced by a metal heating stove, sofas, and

⁹³ I:75.

⁹⁴ *Tusho kang* or “earth-heat bed.”

		armchairs. People sleep on adobe heatable platforms.
Sewing	It was a mother's duty to teach girls to sew and embroider. Women sewed when they had free time. It was a disgrace if women could not sew well.	Few mothers teach their daughters sewing and traditional embroidery. All clothes are purchased from the market.
Maternal uncle	The maternal uncle exercised great power over the family into which his sister's child was born. The special rights of the maternal uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children, (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment. ⁹⁵	Youth are unfamiliar with the power of the maternal uncle in the past. A remnant of this important position is inviting the maternal uncle and when gifts are given, he is given gifts first. The maternal uncle also delivers the funeral eulogy.
Mongghul language	All people speak Mongghul in Mongghul villages and almost no people speak Chinese in villages.	Villagers speak Mongghul in the village. However, children frequently burst into Chinese in the village lanes because Chinese is the language of instruction in school.
Mongghul clothing	Mongghul wear their own ethnic clothes. Mongghul are proud of their national costume and Mongghul women wear <i>niudaari</i> (a traditional headdress).	Few people wear Mongghul clothing during ordinary times and this is especially true of the younger generation.
Education of children	The education of both boys and girls is mainly in the home. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village.	Nearly all children are sent to study Chinese in schools.
Hunting and fishing	Hunting is very common and some Mongghul went to Qinghai Lake to fish.	There is no hunting and we have never heard of Mongghul fishing in Qinghai Lake.
Handicrafts and origin of artisans	The handicrafts that are found among the Mongghul are limited to weaving, felt making, the	Weaving and felt making have disappeared. Silversmiths and carpenters can still be found.

⁹⁵ I:91.

	making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.	
Livestock	Many farming people also herded sheep and cattle.	The current policy of increasing the amount of grassland and forest means many people have stopped raising sheep and cattle.

Religion

“Having studied the history of religions and anthropology at the University of Louvain, and having studied the religions of China and taken the courses in Chinese at the University of Leiden in Holland, from 1908 to 1909, I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguors.”⁹⁶ This remark prepares the reader for Schram’s interest in Monguor religion—a topic that is the sole focus of Volume II.⁹⁷ Collectively, religion was seen as overwhelmingly important both in the life of private families and in the community.

Schram further concludes that,

“The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation.

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.⁹⁸

Louis Schram described the Monguor practice of Lamaism, shamanism, the Red Sect, and other practices and beliefs that seemed not to belong to any neat category. He also described the *kuriden* (Mongghul: *hguriden*).⁹⁹

Bog (BÖ) is a traditional ritual performed in Huzhu Mongghul villages and it also refers to the religious personality that officiates at such rituals.¹⁰⁰ Louis Schram devoted many pages to describing what he termed Monguor shamans and their rituals. The rituals are generally performed at Mongghul village temples, but they may also be performed in a home. It is commonly

⁹⁶ I:1.

⁹⁷ In 2006 there were more than 200 Christian missionaries working in Qinghai. None that we know are researching Qinghai culture.

⁹⁸ II:159

⁹⁹ A trance medium.

¹⁰⁰ Schram uses the term “shaman.”

performed between the second to the sixth lunar months. The biggest *bog* is currently observed on the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month in Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township. Words spoken and songs sung during *bog* are in Chinese. The ritual invites all ancestors and gods to assemble for a village banquet. It is hoped that this will delight the ancestors and gods who will then ensure good health to villagers and livestock and ensure a bumper harvest. Today it is only performed in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County and only in Mongghul villages.

Schram's omission of the Mongghul *pram* or a deity represented in the form of a sedaned image or a cloth-coved pole that is held by four men or a man, respectively, in his religious volume is noteworthy. As described by Limusishiden and Stuart (1994), the *pram* is used to find a suitable spouse, treat illness and in exorcisms, ensure well-being, guarantee good harvests, and alleviate drought.¹⁰¹ Geographical isolation, intermarriage, poverty, limited literacy, and little access to modern medical care combine to create conditions conducive to a continuing belief in the *pram*. Though a villager may lack money or the language skills to attempt a trip to Xining City to seek modern medical care, the *pram* is immediately available and within a cultural context she understands.¹⁰² The *pram* is the center of complex Mongghul religious practice.

In 2006, few Mongghul are willing to send their children to become monks in Erhku-lung Monastery. Bog rituals are on the decline and few *hguriden* continue to practice in Huzhu Mongghul areas. The detailed record left by Schram of Mongghul religious life in Volume II is thus invaluable.

Sinicization

The last news we have about the Huangchung Monguors is that the Monguor clans are broken up, the t'u-ssu regime is abolished, the ladies are forbidden to wear their distinctive clothes and headdress, the use of their language is prohibited, in every village a school is organized with teachers of the new ideology. Monguors and their wives are enlisted with the Chinese men and women in working groups. The aim is to obliterate the Monguor nation and mix it in the Chinese nation. In a few years from now the Monguors will have disappeared.¹⁰³

It is on this note of despair that Schram ends his study of the Monguor. While too severe and premature—many Mongghul children continue to speak only Mongghul at home and any official restrictions on wearing traditional clothing and headdresses have long since been removed—the loss of language and culture is accelerating. Tangba Village, in today's Weiyuan Town; Lijiatang Village, Donggou Township; and Nianbo Town are, in 2004, completely Sinicized and have been since at least 1970. Not only is there no Mongghul trace in Tangba Village, residents are registered as Han Chinese. Nianbo is a typical, booming county seat on the main road between Lanzhou and Xining. Characterized by roadfront shops; multi-storied government office buildings; banks; hotels; disordered open public markets selling spices, fresh meat, fruits and vegetables; numerous scurrying honking taxis; restaurants; hairdressers and bordellos, Nianbo is in the process of joining the urban sprawl emanating from Xining and other county towns in all directions. Nearby the

¹⁰¹ 408.

¹⁰² 425.

¹⁰³ III:116.

center of Nianbo runs the Xilan Expressway joining Xining and Lanzhou in a mere two hours by car. It is this process of “development” that spells an end to Monguor culture.

Lijiatang Village was visited on April 24, 2004. The village has been divided into two natural villages—Upper Lijiatang Village and Lower Lijiatang Village. They both belong to Zhanzha Administrative Village, Donggou Township. There are seventy households in Upper Lijiatang Village and more than 300 villagers. All are surnamed Li except for one household. Lower Lijiatang Village also has seventy households and more than half of the households are surnamed Li.

Mr. Li Hongde (b. 1931) confided:

Our ancestors are Mongghul. Our *tusi* was not the *tusi* of Wushi and Dongshan townships in the Huzhu area. Our ancestors were from Ledu County. Our villagers changed our nationality to Han in the 1940s because at the time of Ma Bufang,¹⁰⁴ Mongghul were despised and forbidden to wear Mongghul clothing and headdresses as well as discouraged from speaking their language. People willingly changed their ethnic classification to Han. In 1953, seven to eight families in Lower Lijiatang Village and ten families in Upper Lijiatang Village spoke Mongghul. In the next few years, the spoken language was not heard again.

In 1982 we thought that our ancestors were Mongghul and that there were many advantages in the nation's policy towards minority nationalities so we changed our nationality back to Mongghul.

Today, only a few Mongghul women who have married into the village from other Mongghul areas still can speak Mongghul. Everyone else does not speak Mongghul. All of our customs are completely the same as local Han Chinese.

Mongghul is spoken in Huzhu today, Mongghul clothes and headdress are worn, many traditional customs are extant, and Mongghul continue to practice their own religion. However, in line with national education policy, all children are strongly encouraged to attend school and few boys are sent to monasteries to be monks. Reduction in the amount of farming and grazing land in compliance with national policy that seeks to turn land into uncultivated grassland and forest forces increasing numbers of young people outside their home areas to collect medicinal herbs and into low-paying construction jobs in urban settings. Increasingly, mobile phones, motorcycles, televisions sets and VCD/DVD players in homes, and buses traversing ever better roads are seen. Modernity is rapidly replacing the traditional life described by Schram below:

Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self esteem, and when they went home they were better able to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper

¹⁰⁴ A warlord (1902-1973) of the “Ma Dynasty” that controlled a good deal of northwestern China beginning in the 1860s and lasting until 1949.

coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.¹⁰⁵

Improvement in roads, the near universal availability of electricity in villages, and the privatization of public transportation have all provided unprecedented contact with the outside world. Many educated people and young people prefer to speak Chinese rather than Mongghul in lanes; increasing numbers of Mongghul girls marry into Han homes; and educated and salaried people living in cities far from their homes means that Mongghul clothing, headdresses and religious practice will be even more rare in the next two decades.

Photographs and Commentary

Photographs 1 & 2. Dalan (b: 1979), the bride is from Yomajaa Village, Wushi Town. In 1998, she married a man from Qighaan Dawa Village, Dongshan Town. The left photograph is of Dalan. The groom stands next to Dalan in the right photograph. (Photograph by Jugui at the bride's home in Yomajaa Village in 1998.)



¹⁰⁵ I:125.



Photograph 3. Jugui (Limusishiden's wife; b. 1969) was born in Yomajaa Village, Wushi Town. Jugui's clothing is more typical of women in the village. (Photograph by Limusishiden in 1997.)

Photograph 4. Limusishiden's wedding day on the sixth day of the first lunar month in 1996. The people are (left to right): Limusishiden's mother (Saihua, b. 1945), originally from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township; a young woman from Tughuan Village, Wushi Town wears a fox fur hat; Limusishiden's father's older sister (Jiraqog; b. 1940) married a Tibetan-speaking Tibetan in Zhuashidi Village, Danma Town; and Sirinsu (b. 1940) originally from Njaa Village, Danma Town. In 2004, Sirinsu lived a poor life because her husband died years ago and she must care for her four sons. (Photograph by Limusishiden.)



Photographs 5 & 6. Local people regard the location pictured below (2004) as the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i (Qi) clan where Louis Schram visited the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held April 5, 1913. (Photograph by Luo Zhang.)



The graveyard was located on the border of the three villages of Duosidai, Tangba and Hataiyi in 2004. Local people refer to the cemetery as “The graveyard located at the foot of Niutou Mountain.”

Tangba Village is a completely Han village while Duosidai is a pure Mongghul village. Both villages have residents surnamed Qi. Duosidai Qi family residents all are Mongghul speaking and observe Mongghul custom. All people in Hayitai Village are Han Chinese. (In Schram's time the place was called "Tangba.")

Surprising to us is that no people come to mourn at the graveyard from the three villages, despite there being many Qi families during the time of Qingming or Tomb Sweeping Day.¹⁰⁶ All the mourners are from Huangzhong and Huangyuan counties and Xining City. In 2004, on the day before Qingming, about thirty people came to the graveyard from the Qijiachuan area by cars. They brought firecrackers, incense sticks, holy paper, and bread, which they displayed on tablets at the graveyard. For the rest of the day, the men (no women were present) joyfully drank liquor, cooked food, ate, and chatted.

On Qingming, a few groups of people come to the graveyard. The total number of visitors was around twenty. They came separately, did not seem to know each other, and stayed only a short time. Local villagers did not know where they came from but assumed they were from Huangzhong County.

Local people told us that the graveyard was demolished in 1958 and, afterwards, it was a long time before there were visitors. In the 1970s a brick plant was built near the graveyard, at which time certain valuable objects were dug up, e.g., bows and arrows. On the first day of the ninth month in 1993, many people surnamed Qi from Huangzhong County, recognizing the graveyard was the resting place of the founding ancestor of their clan, erected a stele. Since that time, the graveyard has become an annual site of pilgrimage. (Photographs by Luoang.)

Photograph 7. On the fourteenth day of the first lunar month (1994) the yearly Rgulang Lanja (Youning Lamasery Masked Dance) was held at Youning Lamasery (background). In the last stage of the ritual, monks take *shdirima* or ghost figures made of highland barley flour and butter to the place where the monks appear in the picture and cast them away in the hope that Mongghul villagers, their livestock, and crops will be safe during the new year. (Photograph by Limusishiden.)



¹⁰⁶ Held approximately fifteen days after the Vernal Equinox. Also known as the Day of Pure Brightness.

Photograph 8. Erhkulung Monastery in 2004. There were 290 Mongghul monks in residence in 2004. (Photograph by Luo Zhang.)



Photographs 9 & 10. The only Christian church in Huzhu (2004) was first built in 1914 atop a mountain near Dacuan Village, Donghsan Township. Initially, there were two churches. The church in this picture is one of them. The other was built at the foot of the mountain.





The two churches were demolished in the 1960s. In 1990, the church atop the mountain was rebuilt at the original site. Construction funds were from Huzhu Nationalities Bureau, priests, and local believers. The other church originally located at the foot of the mountain was not rebuilt because local people had built houses there.

Catholics are from the four natural villages among the ten natural villages of Dacuan Administrative Village. A total of ninety households and more than 350 residents from the four natural villages are said to be Catholic. In addition, aside from local village Catholics, believers from Caijiabu and Zongzhai villages, Shatangchuan Township; Xinyuanbu Village, Shuangshu Township; Majuan Village, Wufeng Township; Laohugou and Bawatai villages, Nanmenxia Township; and Dahualinggou and Xiaohualinggou villages, Donghe Township. In addition, Catholics from Ledu County, Huangzhong County, and Xining City come worship. They all are Han Chinese.

We were told that a Mongghul man surnamed Na brought the missionary who built the church. In 2004, there were people surnamed Na in the township, but later we were told that Mongghul Christians had all reverted to Buddhism.

Of the eight to nine Christian churches in the Huzhu area, only one was successfully rebuilt. Currently there are twelve nuns in the church. Nine are from Dacuan Village while the remaining ones are from Datong and Ledu counties. Of the two priests in the church, one is from Shanghai and the other is from Inner Mongolia.

There is a local memory of two foreign priests in the pre-1949 period—"Xiashide"¹⁰⁷ and "Degongwang." Our informants did not know any other names for them. (Photograph by Luo Zhang.)

¹⁰⁷ Dominik Schröder?

Appendix One

Table Four: Percent Of Mongghul Who Speak Mongghul And Where Mongghul Is Spoken In Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County.¹⁰⁸

Township	% Of Mongghul Speaking Mongghul	Mongghul-Speaking Villages
Danma	100 ¹⁰⁹	Huashixia, Qulang, Bujia, Xangshida, Huangcaogou, Gugun, Wama, Baizhuazi, Dongdanma, Liujia, Tuguan, Dongjia, Hualin, Julog, Sunde, Pudonggou, Nangou, Wenjia, Qiaojigou, Larilang, Qigaman, Suobutan, Wangjia, Donghajia, Xihajia, Lawagou
Halazhigou	100	Songbu ¹¹⁰
Donggou	100 ¹¹¹	Shiwo, Naka, Zanza, Tangla, Nianxian, Longer, Longyi, Luxuu, Gounao, Qazi, Dazhuang, Huayuan, Yomaja
Wushi	100	Wayan, Hualin, Tuguan, Zanghgua, Huobao, Lari, Wushi, Wughuang, Sitan, Bahong, Langja, Tiixi, Smee, Qayan, Shanggantun, Gakun, Kuilang
Dongshan	100	Baiyahe, Yuanbao, Dongshan, Dazhuang, Halija, Hamuri, Haba, Lenda, Jija Nuri, Qiaojiahe, Chaergou, Linjialiang, Daquan, Yahe, Naowugou, Shuulen
Taizi	60	Caizigou, Chuangshua, Duosidai
Wufeng	80	Qita, Zigao
Sunduo	85	Binkang, Xooshidi, Beicha, Dongcha, Hashi, Madun
Hongyazigou	80	Xingjia, Jangja, Majuan, Lucaogou, Dazhuang, Xishan
Jiading	60	Kenduo, Shangmajiu, Xiamajiu, Tahalong, Bahalong

¹⁰⁸Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart (1998:25-26).

¹⁰⁹Five percent of this number has listening skills that far exceed their speaking skills. Mongghul, Tibetans, and Han live in this village.

¹¹⁰There is only one Mongghul village in this area.

¹¹¹Five percent of this number have listening skills that far exceed their speaking skills.

Chinese Character List

Baizhuazi 白抓子	Huangzhong 湟中	Shanggantan 上甘滩
Baoan 保安	Huashixia 花石峡	Shaowa 勺哇
Bujia 补家	Hui 回	Shatangchuan 沙塘川
Chaergou 岔儿沟	Huzhu 互助	Shgeayili Dazhuang 大庄
Dacuan (Daquan) 大泉	Jijialing 吉家岭	Shuangshu 双树
Dahualingou 大桦林沟	Lu Wanfang 鲁万芳	Songrang 孙让
Danma 丹麻	(Joni) Zhuoni 卓尼	Sunbu 松布
Datong 大通	kang 炕	Sunduo 松多
Dongdanma 东丹麻	Lanzhou 兰州	Sunhuating 孙花亭
Donggou 东沟	Laohugou 老虎沟	Tangba 塘巴
Donghajia 东哈家	Li Dechun 李得春	Tangla 塘拉
Donghe 东和	Li Hongde 李红德	Tianzhu 天祝
Dongjia 东家	Lijiatang Lijiatan 李家滩	Tongren 同仁
Dongshan 东山	Ma Bufang 马步芳	Tughuan (Tuguan) 土官
Gannan 甘南	Majuan 马圈	tusi 土司
Gansu 甘肃	Minhe 民和	Tu 土
Gonghe 共和	Na 纳	Wama 哇麻
Guide 贵德	Nangou 南沟	Weiyuan 威远
Guomari 郭麻日	Nanmenxia 南门峡	Wufeng 五峰
Haibei 海北	Nianbo 碾伯	Wushi 五十
Hainan 海南	Nianduhu 年都呼	Xiaohualingou 小桦林沟
Halazhigou 哈拉直沟	Nianxian 年先	Xinjiang 新疆
Han 汉	Niutou 牛头	Xinyuanbu 杏园卜
Hongnai Hongya 红崖	(Pudang) Putonggou 普通沟	Youning 佑宁
Hsining (Xining) 西宁	Qijiachuan 祁家川	Zhanzha 湛扎
Hualin 桦林	Qinghai 青海	Zongzhai 总寨
Huangnan 黄南	Qingming 清明	
Huangyuan 湟源	Sanchuan 三川	

Selected Bibliography

- Anonymous. 1977. Pater Lodewijk, Jozef, Maria Schram (1883-1971), Een Brugs missionaris en etnoloog. *Haec Olim* 21: 16-24.
- Patricia Berger. 2003. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- David D. Buck. 1994. Introduction: Dimensions of Ethnic and Cultural Nationalism in Asia—A Symposium. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53(1):5.
- Chen Qingying and Ma Lianlong, translators. 1988. *Guoshi Ruobi duoji chuan*. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe.
- Pamela K. Crossley. 1999. *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dpal Idan bkra shis, Hu Jun, Hu Ping, Limusishiden (Li Dechun), Keith Slater, Kevin Stuart, Wang Xianzhen, and Zhu Yongzhong. 1996. Language Materials of China's Monguor Minority: Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer. *Sino-Platonic Papers* N° 69.
- Arienne M. Dwyer. 2005. *Language Contact and Variation: A Discourse-based Grammar of Monguor*. <http://neh.gov/grants/guidelines/delsamples/mongour.pdf>.
- Ethnologue*. 12 June 2004. http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=WUH
- Karl-Heinz Everding. 1988. *Die Präexistenzen der Lcang skya Qutuqtus: Untersuchungen zur Konstruktion und historischen Entwicklung einer lamaistischen Existenzenlinie*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Feng Lide and Kevin Stuart. 1992. Interethnic Cultural Contact on the Inner Asian Frontier: The Gangou People of Minhe County, Qinghai. *Sino-Platonic Papers* N° 33.
- Kenneth L. Field. 1997. *A Grammatical Overview of Santa Mongolian*. University of California, Santa Barbara PhD dissertation.
- Stefan Georg. 2003. Mongghul. IN Janhunen 2003:286-306.
- Hasibate, editor. 1986. *Tuzu yu cidian* [Tu Language Dictionary]. Mongolian Language Family Dialects Research Series Vol. 14. Huhehaote: Nei menggu renmin chubanshe [Inner Mongolia People's Press].
- J. Van Hecken. 1977. Schram, Lodewijk, Jozef, Maria, missionaris en etnoloog. *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* 7:856-865.
- <http://dogbert.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?&imageField.y=0&imageField.x=0&ph=2&amid=hp-search-form&tn=monguors&sts=t>
- <http://www.e-meld.org/school/case/monguor/storyofdata.html> [Case Studies: Monguor Data Collection].
- <http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/WebpageDobes1/DOBES/teams/Salar-Monguor/salar-monguorTemp.html> [Salar and Monguor grammatical sketches; pictures and sound samples].
- Hu Jun and Kevin Stuart. 1992. The Guanting Tu (Monguor) Wedding Ceremonies and Songs. *Anthropos* 87:109-132.
- Hu Jun and Kevin Stuart. 1992. Illness Among the Minhe Tu, Qinghai Province: Prevention and Etiology. *Mongolian Studies* 15:111-135.
- Merril Hunsberger. 1978. *Ma Pu-fang in Chinghai Province, 1931-1949*. Temple University PhD dissertation.

- Marina Illich. 2006. *Selections from the Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje), 1717-1786*. Columbia University PhD dissertation.
- Juha Janhunen, editor. 2003. *The Mongolic Languages*. London: Routledge.
- Juha Janhunen. 2003. Shirongol and Shirongolic. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 8:83-89.
- Juha Janhunen. 2006. On the Shirongolic Names of Amdo. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 11:95-103.
- Juha Janhunen, Lionel Ha Mingzong and Joseph Tshe.dpag.rnam.rgyal. 2007. On the Language of the Shaowa Tuzu in the Context of the Ethnic Taxonomy of Amdo Qinghai. *Central Asiatic Journal*.
- Hans-Rainer Kämpfe. 1974. *Die soziale Rolle des 2. Pekinger Lcang skya qutuqtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786): Beiträge zu einer Analyse anhand tibetischer und mongolischer Biographien*. Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität.
- Li Keyu. 1987. *Mongghul Qidar Merlong* [Mongghul-Chinese Dictionary]. Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe [Qinghai People's Press].
- Li Xuewei and Kevin Stuart. 1990. Population and Culture of the Mongols, Tu, Baoan, Dongxiang, and Yugu in Gansu. *Mongolian Studies* 12:71-93.
- Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart. 1994. 'Caring for All the World': The Huzhu Monguor (Tu) *Pram* (pp. 408-426) IN Edward H. Kaplan and Donald W. Whisenhunt, editors. *Opuscula Altaica: Essays in Honor of Henry Schwarz*. Bellingham: Western Washington University Press.
- Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart. 1995. Larinbuda and Jiminsu: A Monguor Tragedy. *Asian Theatre Journal* 12:2, 221-263.
- Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart. 1996. Review of Shilaode [Dominik Schröder] editor, translator, Li Keyu. *Tuzu gesaer* [Monguor Gesar]. *Anthropos* 91:297.
- Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart, editors. 1998. *Huzhu Mongghul Folklore: Texts and Translations*. München: Lincon Europa.
- Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart. 1999. Huzhu Mongghul Language Materials. *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja—Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 88:261-264.
- Limsishiden and Kevin Stuart, editors. 2001. *Huzhu Mongghul Texts: Chileb 1983 -1996 Selections*. 2 vol. München: Lincom Europa.
- Jonathan N. Lipman. 1981. *The Border World of Gansu, 1895-1935*. Stanford University PhD dissertation. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- Lydia H. Liu. 2004. *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Donald Lopez. Tibetan Buddhism IN Millward *et. al.* 2004:22-32.
- James Millward, Ruth Dunnell, Mark Elliot and Philippe Forêt, editors. 2004. *New Qing Imperial History: The Manchu Summer Palace at Chengde*. London: Routledge/Curzon.
- Missions de Scheut. 1920. *Geschiedenis van de Christenheid Si-ning*: 77-82 ; 110-116.
- Missions de Scheut. 1920. *Lettres du P.Schram*: 38-41.
- Missions de Scheut. 1920. *Notes sur la prefecture chinoise d Si-ning (Koukounor)*: 79-85 &112-119.
- Missions de Scheut. 1921. *De gelukkigste mens in Kansoe*: 138.
- Missions de Scheut. 1921. *L'Immaculee et les paiens de Chine*: 201-220.
- Missions de Scheut. 1921. *De zwarte ellende in Si-ning*: 217-223.
- Gabriella Molè (1970). *The Tu-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties*. Serie Orientale Roma 41. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

- Antoine Mostaert. 1931. The Mongols of Kansu and their Language. *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking* 8:75-89.
- Antoine Mostaert. 1963-1964. Over Pater Louis Schram CICM. *Haec Olim* 15:103-108.
- Susan Naquin. 2000. *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ngag dbang chos ldan (Shes rab dar rgyas) and Klaus Sagaster. 1967. *Subud erike, "ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen": die Biographie des 1. Pekingers lCang skya Khutukhtu, Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Ngag dbang thub bstan dbang phyug and Hans-Rainer Kämpfe. 1976. *Nyi ma'i 'od zer/ Naran-uggerel: Die Biographie des 2. Pekingers lCang skya Qutugtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786), Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung II: Vitae, Band 1*. St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.
- Nian Zhihai and Bai Zhengdeng. 1993. *Qinghai zangchuan fojiao siyuan ming jian [The Clear Mirror of Tibetan Buddhist Temples of Qinghai]*. Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe.
- Kalsang Norbu (Skal bzang nor bu), Zhu Yongzhong, and Kevin Stuart. 1999. A Ritual Winter Exorcism in Gnyan Thog Village, Qinghai. *Asian Folklore Studies* 58:189-203.
- Peter C. Perdue. 1988. Comparing Empires: Manchu Colonialism. *The International History Review* xx(2):255.
- Gerard A. Postiglione, editor. 1999. *China's National Minority Education: Ethnicity, Schooling and Development*. New York: Garland Press.
- G. N. Potanin. 1893. *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraïna Kitaya i Central'naya Mongoliya*, vols. 1-2. St. Petersburg.
- G. N. Potanin. 1950. *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya (The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia)*. Moscow. State Publisher. (An abridged edition of the 1893 version.)
- Qi Huimin, Limusishiden, and Kevin Stuart. 1997-1998. Huzhu Monguor Wedding Songs: Musical Characteristics. Parts I, II, III, IV. *Chinese Music* 20:1, 6-12, 14-17; 20:2, 32-37; 20:3, 43-52; 20:4, 68-71; 21:1, 10-13.
- Qi Huimin, Zhu Yongzhong, and Kevin Stuart. 1999. Minhe Mangghuer Wedding Songs: Musical Characteristics. *Asian Folklore Studies* 58:77-120.
- Evelyn S. Rawski. 1994. Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55(4): 841-842.
- Evelyn Rawski. 1998. *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Louis Schram. 1912. Kansou. *Missions en Chine et au Congo* 149.
- Louis Schram. 1918. Catholic Missions. *Ethnographic Notes* 229-231.
- Louis Schram. 1927. Christelijke Kunst in China. *Bulletin Catholique de Peking* 668-376.
- Louis MJ Schram. 1932. Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kan-sou [Marriage Among the Monguor of Gansu]. *Variétés Sinologiques* 58. [Available in an English translation (1962) by Jean H. Winchell in the *Human Relations Area Files* AE9].
- Louis MJ Schram. 1954. The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier: Their Origin, History, and Social Organization. Philadelphia: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 44:1.
- Louis MJ Schram. 1954. The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier: Part II. Their Religious Life. Philadelphia: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47:1.

- Louis MJ Schram. 1955. *Two letters to Marguerite Hebert*. Hebert (Raphael & Family) Papers Mss. 4769, Subseries 8. Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Special Collections, Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University Libraries, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University. [There are two letters in English (one three pages in length, the other four) from Schram to Marguerite Hebert, handwritten from Arlington, Virginia, in June and October of 1955. One letter includes three typescript pages of reviews of Schram's work by Joseph O. Baylen and Nicolas Poppe, and the other letter attaches two typescript pages of Lawrence Krader's commentary. The letters reveal information about the people whom Schram knew in the Brusly, Louisiana area, especially the second. Schram asks about several families in particular and expresses concern as well as happiness regarding what Marguerite Hebert reveals about them and herself. Schram does mention that for over a year he has not been able to receive any news concerning the people he left behind in China. See: http://www.lib.lsu.edu/special/findaid/4769_inv.htm.]¹
- Louis MJ Schram. 1961. The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier: Part III. Records of the Monguor Clans. Philadelphia: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 51:3.
- Louis Schram (Li Meiling, translator; Robert Fried and Heather Fried, proofreaders). 2006. 蒙古尔部族的组织 meng gu er bu zu de zu zhi [Organization of the Monguor Clan]. 青海民族研究 qing hai min zu yan jiu [Nationalities Research in Qinghai]. 1:29-36.
- Louis Schram (Li Meiling, translator; Robert Fried and Heather Fried, proofreaders). 2006. meng gu er bu zu de zu zhi 蒙古尔部族的组织 (xu yi) [Organization of the Monguor Clan (continuation of part 1)]. 青海民族研究 qing hai min zu yan jiu [Nationalities Research in Qinghai]. 2:10-14.
- Dominik Schröder. 1952/1953. *Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)* [On the Religion of the Monguor of the Xining Region (Koknor)]. *Anthropos* 47:1-79, 620-658, 822-870; 48:202-249. [Available in an English translation (1962) by Richard Neuse IN *Human Relations Area Files* AE9.]
- Dominik Schröder. 1959. *Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor [From the Popular Poetry of the Monguor]; 1. Teil: Das weibe Glücksschaf (Mythen, Märchen, Lieder)* [Part 1. The White Lucky-Sheep (Myths, Fairytales, Songs)]. *Asiatische Forschungen* 6. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Dominik Schröder. 1964. Der dialekt der Monguor In B. Spuler, editor *Mongolistik. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, 5. Band, 2. Abschnitt)*. Leiden: EJ Brill.
- Dominik Schröder. 1970. *Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor [From the Popular Poetry of the Monguor]; 2. Teil: In den Tagen der Urzeit (Ein Mythos vom Licht und vom Leben)* [Part 2. In the Days of Primeval Times (A Myth of Light and Life)]. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Sechenchogtu [Siqinchaoquetu]. 1999. *Kangjia yu yanjiu. Zhongguo xin faxian yuyan yanjiu congshu*. Shanghai: Yuandong chubanshe.
- James E. Sheridan. 1975. *China in Disintegration: The Republican Era in Chinese History*. New York: The Free Press.
- Keith Slater. nd. *Evidentiality in Minhe Mangghuer: a Case of Contact-Induced Change*. University of California-Santa Barbara, Department of Linguistics. Unpublished manuscript.

¹ Dr. Germain J. Bienvenu, Special Collections Public Services, Louisiana State University Libraries kindly provided this information.

- Keith Slater. Mangghuer In Janhun 2003:307-324.
- Keith W. Slater. 2003. *Minhe Mangghuer: A Mongolic Language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund*. Curzon Asian Linguistic Series 2. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Albrecht de Smedt & Antoine Mostaert (1929-1931). Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, Ière partie: Phonétique. *Anthropos* 24: 145-166, 801-815; 25: 657-669, 961-973; 26: 253.
- Albrecht De Smedt & Antoine Mostaert (1933). *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie: Dictionnaire monguor-français*. Pei-p'ing: Imprimerie de l'Université Catholique.
- Albrecht De Smedt & Antoine Mostaert (1945). *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIe partie: Grammaire*. Monumenta Serica, Monograph 6. Peking.
- Gene Smith (Kurtis Schaeffer, editor). 2001. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*. Boston: Wisdom.
- Elliot Sperling. 1997. A Note on the Chi-kya Tribe and the Two Qi Clans in Amdo. *Les habitants du Toit du monde, Recherches sur la Haute Asie*, 12:111-124.
- Kevin Stuart and Hu Jun. 1992. Death and Funerals Among the Minhe Tu (Monguor). *Asian Folklore Studies* 51:2, 67-87.
- Kevin Stuart and Hu Jun. 1993. 'That All May Prosper': The Monguor *Nadun* of the Guanting / Sanchuan Region. *Anthropos* 88:15-27.
- Kevin Stuart and Limusishiden, editors. 1994. China's Monguor Minority: Ethnography and Folktales. *Sino-Platonic Papers* N° 59.
- Sun Zhu, editor. 1990. *Menggu yuzu yuyan cidian* [Mongol Language Family Dictionary]. Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe [Qinghai People's Press].
- Thu'u bkwan (III) Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. 1989 [1794]. *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar*. Lanzhou: Gansu'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- Buljash Khojchievna Todaeva. 1959. Über die Sprache der Tung-hsiang. *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 9: 273-310.
- Buljash Khojchievna Todaeva. 1961. *Dunskyanskii yazyk*. Moskva: Institut narodov Azii AN SSSR.
- Buljash Khojchievna Todaeva. 1963. Einige Besonderheiten der Paoan-Sprache. *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 16: 175-197.
- Buljash Khojchievna Todaeva. 1966. *Baoan'skii yazyk*. Moskva: Institut narodov Azii AN SSSR.
- Buljash Khojchievna Todaeva. 1973. *Mongorskii yazyk: Issledovanie, teksty, slovar* [The Monguor Language: Analysis, Texts, and Glossary]. Moskva: Institut vostokovedeniya AN SSSR.
- Üjjiyediin Chuluu (Wu Chaolu). 1994. Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Monguor. *Sino-Platonic Papers* N° 57.
- Vesna Wallace. 2004. Lecture at Harvard University.
- Wang Xiangyun. 1995. *Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, 1717-86*. Harvard University PhD dissertation.
- Wang Xianzheng and Kevin Stuart. 1995. 'Blue Skies and Emoluments': Minhe Monguor Men Sing I and II. *Chinese Music* 18(1):13-18; 18(2):28-33.
- Wang Xianzheng, Zhu Yongzhong, and Kevin Stuart. 1995. 'The Brightness of the World': Minhe Monguor Women Sing. *Mongolian Studies* 18:65-83.
- Wang Xianzhen, writer; Zhu Yongzhong and Kevin Stuart, editors. 2001. *Mangghuerla Bihuang Keli* [Mangghuer Folktale Reader]. Chengdu, China-Chengdu Audio Press.

- Richard White. 1991. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- www.4corners.org [A site committed to making the Gospel of Jesus Christ available to the Tu (Monguor) people of northwest China in their own language—in this generation.]
- www.cybercities.com/t/westernyugur/new.htm [Several Monguor folktales.]
- www.tu.advocate.net [A site committed to converting Monguor to Christianity.]
- Xinhua. 8 May 2004. http://202.84.17.11/english/china_abc/minzu.htm.
- Zhaonasitu, editor. *Tuzu yu jianchi* [A Brief Account of the Monguor Language]. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe [Nationalities Press].
- Zhu Yongzhong and Kevin Stuart. 1996. Minhe Monguor *Nadun* Texts. *CHIME* 9:Autumn, 89-105.
- Zhu Yongzhong and Kevin Stuart. 1996. A Minhe Monguor Drinking Song. *Central Asiatic Journal* 40(2):283-289.
- Zhu Yongzhong and Kevin Stuart. 1997. Minhe Monguor Children's Games. *Orientalia Suecana* XLV-XLVI:179-216.
- Zhu Yongzhong and Kevin Stuart. Education Among the Minhe Monguor IN Postiglione (1999).
- Zhu Yongzhong and Kevin Stuart. 1999. 'Two Bodhisattvas From the East': Minhe Monguor Funeral Orations. *Journal of Contemporary China* 8(20):179-188.
- Zhu Yongzhong, Üjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu), Keith Slater, and Kevin Stuart. 1997. Gangou Chinese Dialect: A Comparative Study of a Strongly Altaicized Chinese Dialect and Its Mongolic Neighbor. *Anthropos* 92:433-450.
- Zhu Yongzhong, Üjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu), and Kevin Stuart. 1995. The Frog Boy: An Example of Minhe Monguor. *Orientalia Suecana* XLII-XLIV:197-207.
- Zhu Yongzhong, Üjiyediin Chuluu, and Kevin Stuart. 1999. *NI* in Minhe Mangghuer and Other Mongol Languages. *Archív Orientální* 67 (3):323-338.



PART I: THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION BY OWEN LATTIMORE

In the discussion of Chinese history no concept is more widely and indeed complacently accepted than that of the absorption of barbarian invaders by the superior culture of the Chinese. The concept is a basic tenet of Chinese historiography, and has been taken over without dispute by Western students of Chinese history. Yet, in spite of this widespread assumption, which acts like a lens through which we view all Chinese history, we know in fact surprisingly little about the actual phases of transformation resulting from the invasion of the Chinese society by barbarians, and the subsequent effect of Chinese contact on the various kinds of barbarian society.

In his account of the Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Father Schram has made a contribution to our understanding of these problems that is of very great value and that in one respect is outstanding: there are important studies of a number of the frontier peoples of China, but there is no other that, like this one, is based on twelve years of direct contact with the people studied, and another quarter of a century in comparable frontier regions, such as that of Ningshia. He went to the frontier province of Kansu in 1909, proceeded to the region where the Monguors live in 1911, the year of the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, and remained there through the first years of the Chinese Republic, until 1922.

As a missionary priest he was in contact with Monguors, with frontier Chinese living among the Monguors, and with Chinese officials administering the frontier. In the conditions of those times a missionary was often able to attain a position of great local prestige and influence, and this was perhaps especially true in frontier regions, where a non-Chinese people was often ready to regard a sympathetic missionary as being “like ourselves, not a Chinese.” His parishioners consulted him about their family and worldly affairs, in addition to looking to him for religious guidance. A mission had property; it bought and sold, and was therefore a part of the economic life of the community. A missionary stationed for a long time at one post was both resident and itinerant. As a resident, he had continuity of observation over a long period; at the same time in making occasional journeys he had the great advantage of being able to make frequent comparisons. In the region where Father Schram worked this was of special importance, as in a day’s journey a man could pass from a sub-region in which the principal social coloration was Chinese to one in which the prevailing element was Chinese Muslim, or Monguor, or Tibetan. This setting, inclusive of the interaction of minorities on each other, as well as the relations between each minority and the Chinese majority, is discussed with great insight by Ekvall—another observer of missionary origin, in this case Protestant.²

A charming consequence of Father Schram’s long intimacy with the Monguors was that he developed a deep affection for them. When he describes family life, the relations of parents, children, and in-laws, the daily round of work or the bustle and pageantry of ceremonial occasions, his pages are irradiated with a Flemish liveliness of delineation: his details are sharp, his colors

² Robert B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939.

accurate, his sense of movement perfectly balanced, and his earthy appreciation of men and women, with all their little human weaknesses, is pervaded with an affectionate sympathy.

At the same time his observation of the fabric of society is extremely realistic. On the one hand he analyzes the Monguor society so that personal, family, and community relationships can be set out with diagrammatic clarity. On the other hand, each relationship is illustrated by examples drawn from actual occurrences. In this way the reader is enabled to see first the structural framework and then which is invaluable the behavior of the society both under normal conditions and under stress.

One of Father Schram's most striking contributions is his study of the position and functions of the maternal uncle who, it may be observed, was often as important in the old Chinese rural society as in that of the Monguors. There were times when the maternal uncle decided between life and death, as when, without going to the courts, a man was considered guilty of something that deserved the death penalty. In such cases it was the senior brother of the mother of the guilty man or woman who decreed the penalty, and it could not be executed without his sanction.

It has often been suggested that, in societies where property and authority are concentrated in the hands of the father's side of the family, the reservation of a particular authority to the mother's side may indicate that the society was once matrilineal and that when the transition was made from a matrilineal to a patrilineal system the transformation was not complete, some forms of authority remaining on the woman's side. With convincing clarity, through the description of actual cases involving the assertion of the authority of the mother's brother, Father Schram has shown that this assumption is unnecessary, and that the authority of the mother's brother can be a rational and consistent phenomenon in a patrilineal and patriarchal society.

The explanation is provided by the need for a device capable of mitigating the dreadful blood feuds, inherited from generation to generation, that raged among patrilineal clans. Such a clan could not inbreed. It had to take its wives from other, similar clans. A woman was, therefore, the property of her father's clan until, at marriage, she passed into the possession not solely of her husband but of his whole clan. This concept favored, on the one hand, a tendency toward marriage alliances. Clan A took women from clan B and gave women in return. A woman of clan B taken as a wife into clan A became the chattel property of clan A, but clan B had a residual interest in her and in her children. Her daughters could not "return," as the saying went, to clan B as wives, because of their clan B blood; but her sons could continue the marriage alliance by taking wives from clan B in the next generation. On the other hand the very same concepts could lead to feuds inherited from generation to generation if clan A stole or captured a woman from clan B without negotiating for her.

For reasons like this the institutional significance of the authority assigned to the mother's brother was that it served as an excellent device for checking the tendency toward feuds. Various crimes called for the death penalty according to the customary law of a clan-organized society. Among these, to take an example given by Father Schram, was patricide, the killing either of an actual father or a "classification" father. For those who represented the paternal line of authority in the criminal's own family to take the whole responsibility was a dreadful thing, especially since they also represented "the prosecution." Yet community feeling required that the death penalty be exacted. By placing the final responsibility on the brother of the mother of the criminal the mother's clan was represented, this clan having an interest in the matter as an ally of the injured clan but the mother's clan was also in a sense intermediate between the primarily affected clan and the community as a whole, and it was represented by a man whose personal interest was such that he would see to it that death was not inflicted unless death were deserved. For this reason what

was required of the maternal uncle was not mere consent but a positive affirmation the effect of which was that clan B renounced the right to revenge by blood feud.

The same device served, on occasion, to involve more than clans A and B. Another type of tragedy described by Father Schram is the suicide of a married woman who has found life intolerable in the clan into which she has married. Though infrequent, such cases were frequent enough to require a recognized procedure. Here clan A was that of the husband of the suicide. The brother of the mother of the suicide represented clan B, demanding atonement for the wrongs that had driven its daughter to suicide. The head-on conflict involved could easily lead to a feud between the two clans, except for the fact that the brother of the mother of the suicide was not the only maternal uncle involved. He personified revenge; but the defense was personified by the brother of the mother of the husband of the suicide, a representative of still another clan, clan C. Through him as an individual the members of clan C were institutionally involved as mediators and buffers in the conflict between clan A and clan B.

As Father Schram shows, these are situations in which, although the “woman’s side” is represented, it is represented by those who hold the male line of authority in the woman’s clan; and since the line of authority runs through the males in both the mother’s clan and the father’s clan, no questions of “survival of matrilineal authority” are necessarily involved.

Essentially, Father Schram’s work is a study in the balance between factors of change and factors of stability in the relations between the society of China with its landfast peasants, walled cities, and heavy machinery of government, combining an imperial autocracy which was in theory absolute but in practice distant and often blind and deaf, with the satrap-like authority of provincial governors and the pervasive petty authority of local bureaucrats, and a society of Inner Asian nomad origin which had adhered to the fringe of the Chinese realm because its hereditary tribal chieftains had become feudal wardens of the marches against Tibetan raiders and the incursions of their own nomad kinsmen from the remoter depths of Inner Asia.

Some years ago, in reviewing the book by Ekvall to which the reader’s attention has just been drawn, I commented on the importance of analyzing the slow rate of change in a region like that of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier for the purpose of gaining insight into what happens under the accelerated rate of change in times of stress:

As a slow-motion movie makes it possible to study in detail the action of a runner or a boxer, [the] data can be applied to the much faster rate of change, under the stress of war, that is affecting the northwestern provinces of China, where Moslem and Chinese populations are so mixed, and fringing Mongol and Tibetan populations so important.³

By the same token, the analysis made by Father Schram gives us a realistic insight into the importance of what may be called the “collapse factor” in the taking over of China by the Communists. Even during the period when he lived among the Monguors, the cumulative effect of change was threatening to make the Monguor society no longer viable. As he himself writes, in a pregnant sentence in his short chapter of “Conclusions,” “During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point.” To this it need only be added that the Monguors were only one link in a chain; the decay of their society was part of the decay of the old frontier structure of China; the structure of the frontier was part of the old structure of China as a whole. The whole complex, as it changed, could remain a “going

³ Owen Lattimore, review of Ekvall, *op. cit.*, in *Pacific Affairs*, 13: 218, 1940.

concern” only “up to a certain point.” Once that point had been reached the alternatives were no longer preservation *versus* decay, but quick change in the direction of democratic evolution, which the Kuomintang failed to effectuate, *versus* quick change in the direction of violent revolution, which the Communists succeeded in forcing.

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the relationship between the factors of stability and change in the history of the society of China. Eberhard, for example in a recent publication of great interest and value,⁴ has shown that even in times of political chaos and chronic war, with repeated barbarian invasions and the erratic rise and fall of “dynasties” that controlled only fragments of North China and lasted only a few years, a large number of “gentry” families maintained their continuity: whatever happened, they remained wealthy and politically influential. These “gentry” families, moreover, included a number that were of “nomad barbarian” origin. What Eberhard has established by analyzing the biographical sections of the Chinese chronicles is confirmed by Father Schram’s description of the Monguor society in decay; it is clear from his data that the tendency was for some “T’u-ssu” or chieftain families to sink to the level of commoners, losing both wealth and privilege, but for others, partly through intermarriage with influential Chinese families, to convert themselves from the status of a frontier feudal nobility to that of powerful landlord families (“gentry,” in Eberhard’s sense), within the Chinese society.

The “gentry,” as Eberhard uses the term, were landed families collecting rents from tenants; with this revenue to give them economic assurance, part of the gentry family lived an urban life in big provincial cities or the imperial capital, sending those of its members who passed the bureaucratic examinations to make careers in the official service. The economic success and political success of such families thus interacted reciprocally, enabling them to survive for centuries.⁵

Another combination of continuity and instability must also be noted. Among the invaders studied by Eberhard who established ephemeral dynasties in North China were the Shat’o Turks, who were historical congeners of the Shat’o component of the Monguor tribal complex. They are first mentioned in the Chinese chronicles in the seventh century. In the tenth century they founded two brief dynasties in North China, the Later Tang and Later Chin. In part they tried to rule as a foreign military elite over their Chinese subjects; in part, however, they tried to run their Chinese domain as a “going concern,” taking over the Chinese political structure and using the “gentry” families who knew how to operate the Chinese system. When their rule ended, some of their upper-class families, assimilated to the Chinese, stayed on as “gentry” families; but that part of the Shat’o people (they were never very numerous; Eberhard estimates them at about 100,000) that was still “tribal” ebbed back into Southwest Mongolia. There they lingered as a minor tribal element. It is from these continuators of the tribal Shat’o that certain elements of the Monguor mostly, it would seem, noble families derive their ancestry.

Who were these Shat’o? The Chinese characters from which the reading “Shat’o” is taken are: *sha*, “sand,” and *t’o*, “a slope, a declivity”; Giles reads the two in combination as “sandy

⁴ Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*, Leiden, Brill, 1952. Other major publications of this prolific sociologist and social historian include: *Das Toba-Reich Nordchinas*, Leiden, Brill, 1949, and *A history of China*, London, Routledge, 1950 (first published in German, in Switzerland, in 1948, as *Chinas Geschichte*). His material on “barbarian” (especially Turkish) invaders of China is drawn mainly from Chinese sources and is worked and reworked in somewhat different ways in his various publications.

⁵ Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, as cited, chap. I, “Feudalism and gentry society.”

steppes.”⁶ The Chinese version of the name, however, is not an etymology. Sometimes the Chinese characters chosen to render foreign names happened to be descriptive; sometimes they were deliberately chosen for derogatory or laudatory purposes. Eberhard recognizes that the Chinese characters are not enough to explain the name.⁷ He cites a Chinese author, writing apparently in English, to whose work I have not had access, who “boldly identifies them with the ‘Sarts,’”⁸ but hesitates to accept this identification, saying that “As the Shat’o were not city dwellers but nomadic warriors, this term even if in use so early can not, logically speaking, have been adopted by them.”⁹

This objection, however, is not sufficient to rule out the identification of Sart and Shat’o. In the form Sarta’ul (written Sartagul), it exists as a clan and Banner name in Jasakhtu Khan Aimak, Outer Mongolia. These Sarta’ul are neighbors of the custodians, in Achitu Wang Banner, of a standard which was traditionally one of the standards of Chingis Khan and is now in the museum at Ulan Batur, capital of Outer Mongolia.¹⁰ In the annual ceremonies venerating this standard, ceremonies which were especially splendid every third year, one of the verses sung was:

Standard that struck and shattered the Sarta’ul,
Slaves it made of them good and bad.

In other words, this verse commemorates the defeat and capture of the ancestors of these Sarta’ul by Chingis Khan.¹¹ The Sarta’ul in question are now, of course, as completely Mongol as their neighbors, but their ancestors were of the Turkish-speaking, mainly Muslim Central Asian people whom the Mongols called “Sart.” In this sense the Mongol use (in the form Sarta’ul) is recorded as early as the “Stone of Chingis Khan,” dating from about 1225¹² found on the frontier of Outer Mongolia and Buryat Mongolia in 1818 by the Siberian explorer Spasskii.¹³ It is also found in the form Sartaq in the Qutadyu bilig.¹⁴

⁶ Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary*. No. 11, 358, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, and London, Bernard Quaritch, 2nd ed., 1912.

⁷ Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, as cited, chap. V, “The Shat’o and their culture.”

⁸ Chang Si-man, *New discoveries in the ancient west of China*, 19-31, Nanking, 1947, cited in Eberhard, as above, 92, n. 4.

⁹ Eberhard, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ I saw this standard, or *tug*, at Ulan Batur in 1944. It was a staff with an iron spearhead, and just below the spearhead a large tuft or collar of hair, apparently horse hair.

¹¹ The Dilowa Hutukhtu, *Autobiography* (unpublished).

¹² P. Pelliot, (*Euvres posthumes*, II, *Notes sur l’histoire de la Horde d’Or*, 34, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1950.

¹³ The mention of the Sarta’ul in this inscription refers to the conquest of them by Chingis Khan. 1. Klyulkin, *Drevneishaya mongol’skaya nadpis’ na Khorkhira’skom* (“Chingiskhanovom”) kamne, *Trudy gosudarstvennogo dal’nevostochnogo universiteta*, Ser. 6, No. 5: 5 and 9, Vladivostok, 1927.

¹⁴ P. Pelliot, Notes sur le “Turkestan” de M. Barthold, *T’oung Pao*, 27: 31, n. 2, 1930. The date of the Qutadyu bilig is given as 1069 in: W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 312, 2nd ed., H. A. R. Gibb, London, Luzac, 1928.

The name Sart, according to Pelliot,¹⁵ is from Sanskrit *sartha*, with the original meaning “merchant.” The form Sartaq may be from a possible Sanskrit derivative, **sārthaka*, or from an Iranian suffix. A Mongol adjectival form is *sartaqtai*, and a feminine form is *sartaqčîn* (Pelliot’s transcriptions);¹⁶ the use of the feminine form is one of the ways of forming a tribal name.¹⁷

It is apparent from the foregoing that the most justifiable part of Eberhard’s caution in accepting the identification of Shat’o and Sart is the lack of mention of “Sart” before the eleventh century, whereas Shat’o occurs in the seventh century. On the other hand lack of written mention does not preclude much earlier spoken use, and this word, of Sanskrit origin, must have entered Inner Asia much earlier than the eleventh century. It seems a reasonable surmise that it was first the name by which Indian traders identified themselves; then it was used by Inner Asian peoples, and later by others, as a name for “foreigners” especially foreigners who were conspicuous by differences of religion and language. By the nineteenth century, and until the Russian revolution, it was used by the Russians, and by Western travelers, as a name for any Turkish-speaking, Muslim, non-nomad, oasis dweller of Russian or Chinese Turkistan. Except for the fact that it must have been first used by wandering Indian merchants to describe themselves, it seems always to have been a name by which peoples described “foreign” peoples, rather than a name by which tribes or peoples called themselves.

This conclusion is on the whole supported by Barthold, who, while accepting the Chinese etymology of “Sha-t’o” as meaning “people of the steppe,” held that they were part of the Tokuz-Oguz group of Western Central Asian Turks.¹⁸

¹⁵ Pelliot, *Notes sur l’histoire de la Horde d’Or*, as cited.

¹⁶ P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la papauté*, *Revue de l’orient chrétien*, 3e sér., 3: 216, 1922-23.

¹⁷ For the form Sarta’ul, Pelliot in his *Notes on Barthold*, 1930, cited above, p. 31, n. 2, reviews the literature up to that date on the ending -’ul (-gul) for “names of functions.” The question has most recently been taken up by A. Mostaert et F. W. Cleaves, in their *Trois documents mongols des archives secrètes vaticanes*, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies*, 15 (3 and 4): 437, n. 21, 1952. They describe it as a deverbal suffix, used to form *nomina actoris*. I would add that it is used to form a sort of classificatory collective, which can be used as either singular or plural, e.g. *malta’ul*, “things for digging”; *alda’ul*, “stray cattle”; *nige alda’ul mori*, “a stray horse”—i.e. “a single horse belonging to the collective category of stray horses.” Is it possible that the form Sarta’ul, as contrasted with forms more regularly used as tribal plurals, could originally have been derogatory?

¹⁸ V. V. Bartol’d, *Ocherk istorii Semirech’ya*, 20, Frunze, Kirghiz Affiliate of U.S.S.R. Acad. of Sciences, 1943 reprint of the Vernyi, 1898 ed. Barthold, who did not himself use Chinese sources, adopted the Chinese etymology from p. 452 of vol. I (incorrectly cited; should be p. 453) of Iakin, *Sobranie svedenii a narodakh, obitavshikh v srednei Azii v drevniya vremena*, St. Petersburg, 1851; reprinted Moscow-Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1951; citation on p. 358 of vol. 1 of new edition. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, Acad. of Sciences, 1903, translating the same underlying passage from the (New) Tang Shu, chap. (*chuan*) 218, reads: “There was there a great stony desert the name of which was Sha-t’o; that is why they were called ‘Tou-kiue [T’u-chueh] of Sha-t’o.” In a later work, W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d’Asie centrale*, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1945, a translation of a series of lectures originally given at Istanbul in 1926 and published as *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*—unfortunately the translation, the only version available to me, has been stripped of

What the sources indicate is borne out by the usages of Inner Asia; tribes are known sometimes by their own names and sometimes by names that, originally, were given to them by others; a tribe may be diluted by new adherents until most of those in the group are not in fact descendants of the original tribal nucleus; a portion of a tribe, attached to a new tribe, may retain its old tribal name as a clan name within the new tribe; or conversely what was once a clan may grow until it becomes a tribe. These processes are complex. They include ebb and flow, ascendance and decay, repetition and divergence, the persistence of a name through changes of language, religion, and political allegiance, continuity and change. It is by such processes, which we perceive only incompletely through the thin documentation, and with the aid of that kind of clan tradition that can be at the same time factually inaccurate and historically true, that we must account for the Shat'o element among the Monguors.

Similar processes account for the derivation and formation of the Mongol element among the Monguors. Of these processes we know more. The period to which the quasi-tribal grouping of the Monguors is to be attributed is that of the fall of the Mongol empire in China.

By the second quarter of the fourteenth century (the Chinese and "nationalist" Ming dynasty, which overthrew Mongol rule in China, was established in 1368), contact with China had affected the Mongols of Outer Mongolia chiefly at the top levels of their society and chiefly through ostentatious and luxurious forms of "culture," such as grants and subsidies to princely families related to the Imperial House, and the expenditure of public funds on palaces and temples, which had little permanent effect on the body of the society.¹⁹

In Inner Mongolia, on the other hand, and frontier districts of China adjacent to what is now Inner Mongolia, important Mongol and Inner Asian officials and adherents of the Mongol dynasty were given grants of land and servitors.²⁰ When the dynasty fell, some of these families had

the bibliographical references--states (p. 42) that the double identification of Tokuz-Oguz from an Arab source (Mas'oudi) and Shat'o from the Chinese sources is unmistakable.

¹⁹ F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies*, 15 (I and 2), 1952, discusses one instance of temple-building at Karakorum, the Mongol capital in Outer Mongolia, and as part of his marshalling of relevant material translates the entry on Karakorum in the geographical section of the Yuan (Mongol) History, which lists important building enterprises and also changes in the institutional status of the city. The existence of a city on which so much had been spent did not in any important way change the manner of life in Outer Mongolia, much less "urbanize" it.

²⁰ Several important publications by F. W. Cleaves on bilingual inscriptions in Chinese and Mongol throw a great deal of light on the social stature of such individuals and their families. All of these are to be found in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies*. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu (12 [I and 2], 1949) he deals with "the genealogy and history of a family of Turkish origin, which served its Mongol rulers for five generations." They were Uigur Turks of what is now Sinkiang Province, and held an estate in the district of Wu-wei, Liang-chou, Kansu. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 in memory of Chang Yin-jui (13 [I and 2], 1950) the subject was a member of a Chinese family which for four generations was in the service of the Mongol family descended from the father of the first wife of Chingis Khan. The members of this Chinese family were therefore "subjects of the subjects" of the Mongol Emperor; they were ennobled, and their estates were in what is now Jehol Province. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 in memory of Jigünteï (14 [I and 2], 1951) the subject was a Mongol vassal of the Mongol

already become to all intents and purposes--including, probably, language, wealth based on agricultural tenantry, and alliances of interest with neighboring Chinese families--“gentry” in Eberhard’s sense, as cited above. When a new, strong dynasty put an end to the time of troubles and insecurity that had accompanied the fall of the old dynasty, families of this kind found it easy to support the “mandate of heaven” the “law and order” of the new dynasty, and to support it as Chinese, not as Mongol adherents of a new Chinese government.

For other powerful individuals and families on the territorial fringe between Chinese agriculture and the grazing lands along and beyond the Great Wall, the search for a new security was not so easy. If their major wealth was still in their herds; if their herdsmen (some of them economic dependents, others hereditary vassals granted to them by Mongol emperors) were still for the most part Mongols speaking the Mongol language, it was to their interest to find a new status that combined security with some institutional recognition of the difference between them and the Chinese subjects of the new dynasty. They had a reason for wanting to adhere territorially to the fringe of China. Though locally they might be little potentates, their future would be precarious if they called on their dependents to follow them in a migration out into the farther reaches of Mongolia; for in this more distant territory new tribal groupings were being formed on a rather large scale, independent of China, and here they would be at a disadvantage in competition with chieftains who had larger followings of warriors.

Here, as Father Schram shows, we have the mode of formation of the Mongol majority element in the Monguor people. The clarity with which he has analyzed the difference, in a Monguor clan, between those who are members of the true genealogical clan and those who, while adopting the clan name, are in fact merely adherents of the clan is especially significant. It confirms what we can discern from written sources: at such times as the fall of a dynasty and the establishment of a new dynasty the major frontier between agricultural Chinese and pastoral nomads had to be redrawn, and this redrawing caused a great fragmentation and dislocation of the tribal stocks. There were groups that, following their hereditary leaders, migrated in search of a more secure territory; others, also under their traditional leaders, sought an understanding with the administrative authorities of the new dynasty; others, breaking away from those who had been their leaders, adhered to new leaders in the hope of better status. Of this process we have a dramatic glimpse in the *Secret History* of the Mongols; on the death of the father of Chingis, his tribal following broke up. One faithful retainer, trying to hold back the deserters, was taunted: “The deep water has dried up, the bright rock is shattered” in other words, “the old order is no more, the old bonds no longer hold us.”²¹

In this break-up and re-grouping lies the explanation of the way in which, among the Inner Asian peoples, we find that a name that was once a great tribal name has disappeared as a tribal name, but survives, widely scattered, as a clan name; at other times the name of a clan is expanded until it covers a large tribal aggregation. Thus “Erküt” was the medieval Mongol name for “Christians.” In that sense it is no longer used or even understood in Mongolia; but in one of his most fascinating studies Father Mostaert describes the survival of “Erküt” as a clan name in two Banners of the Ordos, with crypto-Christian cult practices. He mentions the possibility that there are some also in Alashan, and cites Vladimirtsov for the survival of the same clan name in Outer

family just mentioned, descended from the father-in-law of Chingis Khan, and was adopted into that clan, the Unggirad (Qunggirad). His estates were also in Jehol.

²¹ See Paul Pelliot, (*Euvres posthumes*, I, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, 134, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949.

Mongolia.²² In another study, Father Mostaert deals with nearly two hundred clan names found among the Ordos Mongols (many of which also occur among other Mongols), and his list includes a number that were once the names of tribes or tribal federations, or were applied to whole peoples, such as Kereit, Uighur, and Tangud (Northern Tibetan; the people of Hsi Hsia).²³ These analogies show that the inclusion among the Monguor Mongols of Turkish (and Tibetan and Chinese) elements was not anomalous but a phenomenon of a kind that recurred again and again in Inner Asian history.

Moreover, Father Mostaert, in the article on clan names just cited, touches on a point the significance of which has always eluded those (especially the Marxists) who have attempted to describe the social history of pastoral nomads. In the thirteenth-century *Secret History* of the Mongols, as he rightly notes, persons are identified by their clan (or tribal) affiliation, and this usage continued as late as the chronicle of Sagang Sechin (Sanang Setsen), completed in 1662. This method of identifying people by the social organization to which they belonged was characteristic of a society of nomads in which the primary form of power was control of a tribal following. The most important form of property was livestock, and as this kind of property was mobile a tribal chief was always willing to move from one region to another if by so doing he could, when on the offensive, increase the number of people under his control or, if on the defensive, keep his tribal following undiminished, because the way to the control of territory and revenue was through the control of people.

The situation was different when the dominant form of power in the life of a “tribal” people was that of a great empire. It did not matter whether the empire was Chinese in origin, like that of the Ming, or barbarian like that of the Ming (Manchu) or that of the Mongols themselves in the

²² Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Les Erküt, descendants des chrétiens médiévaux, chez les Mongols Ordos, in *Ordosica* (reprint from *Bulletin* No. 9 of the Catholic University of Peking, 1934). The reference to Vladimirtsov is: B Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazyka i khalkhaskogo narechiya*, 205, Leningrad, Enekidze Oriental Institute, 1929. Vladimirtsov derives Erküt (singular *erke'ün, Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. 1) from Greek ἄρχων, which is accepted (with further citations) by Marian Lewicki in his Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée, *Collectanea Orientalia*, 12: 32, Wilno, 1937. Mostaert (*loc. cit.*) more cautiously holds that “the origin is uncertain.” I can add that in 1927, traveling on the Mongolian frontier of Sinkiang, I met a member of a community living in the Barkul mountains and believed locally to be of mixed Chinese and Mongol origin, who are called Erhuntze. This term is explained by the people of the region, whether their own language is Chinese, Turkish, or Mongol, as a Chinese vernacular expression (with enclitic -tse), meaning “bastards,” or “half-breeds.” It is, however, undoubtedly, though I did not recognize it at the time, the Chinese form of Mostaert's *erke-ün, theoretically reconstructed singular of the Mongol plural Erküt. See Owen Lattimore, *High Tartary*, 5-6, Boston, Little, Brown, 1930. It has not hitherto been noted that the accidental resemblance between Chinese *erhun* (which is not a literary term and therefore is not found in the sources) and Greek ἄρχων, classically “a commander, a magistrate,” and later “a (Christian) priest” accounts for a term used by Marco Polo and later recorded widely in Inner Asia, even as far afield as Ladakh and Tibet, with sometimes the meaning “Christians,” sometimes the meaning “people of mixed blood,” and sometimes, as in Marco Polo, both meanings. Lack of knowledge of the link makes inconclusive the discussion of the term “Argon” in Sir Henry Yule, ed. and rev. Henri Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 289 sqq., London, Murray, 3rd ed., 1921.

²³ Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Les noms de clan chez les Mongols Ordos, in *Ordosica*, as cited.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The dynastic power drew its main revenue from a settled population of farmers and city-dwellers. The most important forms of property were no longer mobile. The most important single source of private wealth was land, through the ownership of which the landlord dictated to the peasant the terms of the bargain under which the peasant cultivated the land; the most important sources of public revenue were the tax on land and taxes on kinds of trade which rested in fact on immobile property, such as the mulberry plantations which produced silk, or salt mines, salt wells, and so forth. To maintain a situation favorable to the dynasty the rulers, if like the Ming they were Chinese, did not want their frontier auxiliaries, like the Monguors, to be tribal groups which, by migrating, might at any moment join a barbarian invader. They wanted feudal levies, located permanently in known territories, so that the government always knew how many troops it could summon on each sector of the frontier.

Even under the dynasty founded in China by the Mongols themselves, although the rulers regarded the Mongol tribes outside of China as their chief reservoir of politically reliable manpower, as soon as the Mongol ruler was no longer the chief of a society of nomads in search of conquest his concern for the mobility of his Mongol followers was modified. As an emperor administering a conquest already made, and ruling from a fixed capital in China, it was now his concern to know on the one hand where each part of his military reserve was geographically located and on the other hand to restrain those tribal shiftings of the followers of chiefs that led to tribal war and through tribal war to the rise of some new “great khan.”

Father Mostaert correctly attributes the decline in importance of clan names among the modern Mongols to the Manchu policy, which was of the “feudalizing” kind that I have described, of creating territorial “Banners” which were assigned to hereditary princes. By this means the former tribal followings were broken up because, as he notes, people of different clans were assigned to the same Banners (and, it should be added, people of the same clan to different Banners), which “led naturally to distinguishing individuals according to the Banner from which they came and no longer according to the clan to which they belonged by birth,” which “relegated the clan names to the shadows.”²⁴

Indeed, Father Mostaert’s shrewd observations warrant an important inference: that historically, when we find frontier affairs recorded primarily in terms of negotiations with “barbarian” chiefs, the society of the frontier people in question is still tribal; when the most important administrative events recorded are allocations of territory, the social system is passing from the tribal to the feudal. Given the cyclical pattern of Chinese history as a whole, however, with its rise and fall of dynasties and its recurrent barbarian invasions almost up to modern times, it cannot be said that there was ever a time in which all tribal societies were completely eliminated on every sector of the frontier, or a time in which a full feudal order was everywhere established, with no survivals of the tribal order of mobile property, chief, and tribal following.

Fluctuations between the tribal order and the territorial-feudal order were characteristic of frontier politics in the period when a new dynasty was consolidating its power in China. The structure and size of new territorial allocations were governed by the relations of the frontier chiefs with the new dynasty. Some chiefs fought for their independence and kept up an intermittent hostility, as did most of the important khans of Outer Mongolia during the period of the Ming Dynasty in China (1368-1644). Or, as in the case of the Monguors on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier and most of the Mongols of the Ordos and Inner Mongolia during most of the Ming period, the local chiefs might consent to become guardians of sectors of the Chinese frontier, the

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 22.

chiefs thus becoming in fact feudatories bound to their assigned territories and their former tribal followings feudal subjects bound to their lords.

The status of “wardens of the marches” did not rule out the possibility that, from time to time, trouble might break out between the Chinese and their watchers of the frontiers; Father Schram shows us what troubles of this kind were like in his account of the Tibetan frontier wars in the eighteenth century under the next dynasty, that of the Manchus. A group of the frontier people might turn both against its own rulers and the suzerain Chinese power. A frontier potentate might experiment with the possibilities of becoming conqueror and ruler of China. Or, by a form of blackmail, the suzerain power might be made to see that, unless one or another of its frontier-groups were more lavishly treated, they might get out of hand. In the chronicles, the language must be carefully watched. What passes as a pious account of loyalty suitably rewarded may in fact record a payment of blackmail.

Religious politics, again with a frontier flavor, must also be taken into consideration. It has been too long a cliché, accepted and transmitted without examination, that the Manchus encouraged the spread of Lama Buddhism among the Mongols in order to make them less warlike. Father Schram’s account of the troubles with Tibet in the early eighteenth century is a valuable addition to the already ample but neglected evidence that, on the contrary, no wars among the Mongols (and the Tibetans) were bloodier than those fought in support of rival “pacifist” Buddhist factions.

Father Schram’s account is fully supported by the important new work in this field of L. Petech, who shows that while influence over the Tibetan pontiffs was part of the Manchu policy for integrating their control over Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Outer Mongolia, it was also part of the same policy to cut off communications between Lhasa and the Western Mongols, known variously as Oirad, Jungar, or Kalmuk.²⁵ The reason for this dual policy was that in the first group of regions the Manchus promoted not simply religion but the landed possessions, revenues, and institutional authority of the church in order to check the formation of over-large and therefore dangerous regional units controlled by Mongol and Tibetan nobles whom they did not rule by direct administration. It was for the same reason that the Manchu policy was to prevent members of great and powerful families from being selected as “Living Buddhas.” Such families, if they controlled both ecclesiastical and secular institutions, were dangerously capable of building up a centralized power capable of challenging the dynastic authority of the Manchus. The perfectly logical aim of the Manchus was to create and maintain a situation in which they themselves could dispense favors to the princes of the church with one hand and to the secular princes with the other.

Until late in the eighteenth century the Western Mongols were recalcitrants whose ambition it was to exercise in Inner Asia precisely the same combination of church and state policy that the Manchus considered a prerogative of their own dynasty. It was, therefore, the Manchu policy to bar these Mongols from Tibet and, far from relying on the supposedly benign and pacifying effects of Buddhism, to prevent the Western Mongols from having any influence over the Dalai and Panchan Lamas, to prevent them from sending their own priests to study in Tibet, and even to prevent them from receiving Buddhist missionaries, although as an alternative it was suggested that Jungar priests might be allowed to study at Peking and Jehol, where of course they would be

²⁵ L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, Leiden, Brill, 1950. Petech does not at times seem to realize all the implications of his rich source material.

under the eyes of the Manchu authorities.²⁶ As a lasting consequence of this policy there were no important “Living Buddhas” among the Western Mongols, with the further consequence that because of the difference in the religious factor there have been notable differences in the modern nationalism of Western Mongols and other Mongols. These differences account for certain peculiarities of Mongol politics not only in the pre-Communist revolutionary period, beginning in 1911, but even after 1920-21, when Communism was introduced into Outer Mongolia.²⁷

The relations that have here been discussed represent a form of feudalism, specifically a frontier feudalism with the patterns of a superseded tribalism tending now and then to come to the surface again; but since the terms “feudal” and “feudalism” are used differently by many different writers, the discussion can be clarified by defining the senses in which they are used here.

A *first phase* of feudalism, in my view, may be said to manifest itself at that stage of political evolution at which the concept of a territorially large, inclusive realm already exists, but distances are so great, communications so poor, and the techniques of mobilizing, applying, and administering the manpower of the larger state so imperfectly developed that in fact most social activity, including production, taxation, trade, administration, and war, is carried on within regional divisions of the larger realm. These divisions are the feudal units, the rulers of which are hereditary. It is economically characteristic of this feudalism that most production and consumption are within the regional unit. Most of the trade between regional units is not in necessities but in luxuries, and is not subject to the kind of play of the market that a cost accountant can readily analyze in terms of materials, wages, transport costs and reinvestment, but is governed by the caprice of princes, who may at one moment outrageously tax or expropriate the merchant and at another encourage and protect him and reward him with a lavishness that goes far beyond what any modern society would consider a reasonable mercantile calculation of profit percentages.

Once the realm has in fact been unified, this feudalism struggles to survive. The sovereign of the unified realm may be, within widely fluctuating limits, either the creature or the master of the previously existing feudal nobles. There is a long-drawn-out rivalry between the ministers of the sovereign and the feudal nobles over the collection of revenue and the exercise of authority.

When, however, the realm has been so definitely unified that despite the survival of the antecedent feudal power the power of the sovereign is unmistakably paramount, a *second phase* of feudalism begins, which is distinct from the antecedent feudalism in that it is particularly associated with the frontiers of the realm. This second phase is to be accounted for by the fact that, although the realm has been unified, it cannot be indefinitely expanded.

Among the factors accounting for diminishing returns in the benefits of expansion are the survival of regional markets and the lack of a true national market, owing to the costs of long-range transportation under pre-industrial conditions and, most important of all, inability to project a uniform agriculture, and the cities, handicrafts, administration, and military system associated with it, into uncongenial terrain. In the case of China, the problems of uncongenial terrain are

²⁶ Petech, *op. cit.*, especially 186, 214. Petech states the facts. The conclusions I have drawn as to Manchu policy are my own.

²⁷ I shall deal with this question in more detail in a study I am preparing of the life and times of the Volga Kalmuk Dambijandsan, who declared himself both a “Living Buddha” and a reincarnation of Amursana, who in the eighteenth century, after briefly serving the Manchus, led the last stand of the Western Mongols against them. Dambijandsan’s Western Mongol origins go far to explain his extraordinary career as adventurer, revolutionary, and counter-revolutionary.

illustrated by the highlands of Tibet and, historically the most important of all, the steppes beyond the Great Wall. China south of the Yangtze represents, on the other hand, the kind of problem that could be surmounted stage by stage, one region after another being added to the realm and the main difficulties being the extension of administrative outreach and economically profitable long-range transportation.²⁸

Where a uniform agriculture could not be extended into unsuitable terrain, assimilation gave way to differentiation, marked by fortified frontiers. The Great Wall defined the steppe frontier of China; other empires excluded other kinds of terrain, either desert or steppe or forest, as shown by the ancient walled frontiers of western Inner Asia and the Near East, South Russia, the Roman Rhine-Danube *limes*, and wall-building even in Roman Britain.²⁹ The fact that these frontiers excluded the barbarians has always been recognized; less attention has been paid to their significance as limits deliberately set to the expansion of the wall-building empires.

Renunciation of expansion and exclusion of the barbarian did not, however, solve all the problems that arose; administrative and institutional devices had also to be employed. Of these the most important was the adoption of a “second phase” feudalism. In the case of China, adjacent barbarians were allowed to adhere to the fringe of the empire, under sanctions that were unmistakably feudal: territorial units were created, the rulers of which held hereditary titles and were subject to promotion or demotion by the Emperor of China; but control of the feudal unit was indirect—the feudal ruler, not the civil servants of the imperial bureaucracy, collected taxes, administered justice, and commanded the military levies. The function of the feudal frontier adherents was to protect the frontier against their own kinsmen, the outlying or trans-frontier barbarians. It is to this second phase of feudalism that the Monguors of Father Schram belong.

It should be added that two variants of this second phase of feudalism can be recognized, according to whether the sovereign belonged to a dynasty originating within the realm or to a dynasty founded by barbarians who had conquered the realm by breaking through the fortified frontier. For in pre-industrial history the integration of the steppe and the town was as impossible for barbarian conquerors of the realm as it was for the original civilized creators of the realm, and consequently, when a barbarian conquest succeeded, the conqueror brought part of his armed following with him, to station as garrisons among the conquered, but stationed others on the frontier to hold it, under the same form of feudal service, against a possible challenger arising in the trans-frontier who might attempt a conquest of the conquerors. The Monguors of Father Schram illustrate both variants. They served the Ming dynasty, of Chinese origin, and the Ch’ing dynasty, of Manchu origin, in precisely the same way.

This concept of a first phase of feudalism which belongs historically to the process of growth toward a unified realm and a second phase associated with stabilization of the frontier of a realm which has already been unified but has ceased to expand may need to be modified if it is applied to the history of feudalism elsewhere, especially in Western Europe; but in my opinion it conforms

²⁸ In contrast with the northern frontier, with its big wars and its permanent differentiation between Chinese and non-Chinese, “the tribes of the south ... were dispersed peoples, who fought mile by mile before they surrendered each pocket of land ... the spread of the Chinese was therefore a problem of social cohesion and economic organization, of drainage and irrigation, roads and trade and administration; and this was a problem that each generation of the southward-advancing Chinese took up afresh and on the spot.”—Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 439, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951.

²⁹ Lattimore, *op. cit.*, introduction to the second edition.

well to the successive periods of Chinese history. It clarifies the approach to “classical” Chinese feudalism, in the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era, and helps to answer, in the affirmative, the question whether effective feudal forms did in fact survive in the later Chinese state, which was in theory autocratic and administered bureaucratically by an imperial civil service.

My views in this matter appear to resemble in general those of Wolfram Eberhard, but with differences in detail that may prove to be important. Eberhard considers that feudalism is closely related to forms of conquest leading to “superstratification,” when a conquering group imposes itself on the conquered; especially “ethnic superstratification,” when the conquerors are a different people from the conquered.³⁰ Here his argument appears to agree with my concept of a second-phase frontier feudalism, with the important difference that he makes no distinction between this and the first-phase feudalism of China in the pre-Christian era. The difference is accounted for by the fact that Eberhard puts decisive emphasis on the fact that the Chou dynasty in China “came from Western China accompanied by a group of militarily organized tribes of non-Chinese

³⁰ W. Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, as cited, 3 and 4. In this work Eberhard’s selection and presentation of material are influenced by the fact that he is in large part replying to attacks on his theories by K. A. Wittfogel—e.g., Wittfogel’s review of Eberhard’s *A history of China*, London, Routledge, 1950, in *Artibus Asiae*, 13, Ascona, 1950. The differences of approach and method between the two may be briefly summarized. Eberhard is primarily a sociologist and secondarily a social historian. He has done field work in China and Turkey and has a command of Chinese sources that is to be envied by many sinologues. In dealing with Chinese sociology he has a tendency to invent his own terms (e.g., “gentry society”), which has the advantage of not coloring the problems he is attempting to analyze with the connotations of terms that have long been applied to similar but not necessarily identical problems in other cultures. Wittfogel, once a militant orthodox Marxist, later became a deviant Marxist. His theories stem from bitter controversies among Communists in the 1920’s and 1930’s. In his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Chinas*, I (only volume published), Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1931, he made brilliant use of non-Communist materials and also began elaboration of his own theory of an Asiatic society in which the need for administration of public works for irrigation, flood prevention, and canal transportation led to the hardening of a despotic state managed by a self-perpetuating bureaucracy. This theory excluded feudalism as a significant factor in post-imperial states in Asia, and has been followed up by Wittfogel so relentlessly that in his other major publication (with Feng Chia-sheng), *History of Chinese Society: Liao* (Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc., 36, 1946), Philadelphia, 1949, describing a barbarian conquest dynasty that ruled in parts of China, Manchuria, and Mongolia from the tenth to the twelfth century, the word “feudalism” is to be found only once in the index, with a reference to the pre-Christian era, although many of the phenomena described would be classified by Eberhard as a feudalism of ethnic super stratification and by me as second-phase, frontier feudalism. Although he admits (p. 45) that certain territories were “fief-like,” he blurs the issue by using for them the term “entrusted territories,” although from the description and the original Chinese term an equally good or stronger case could be made for describing them as feudally allocated territories similar in a general way to Father Schram’s Monguor T’u-ssu territories. For Wittfogel, however, as a deviant Marxist, any recognition of true feudalism in such relationships, or the use of “feudal” terminology, is an indication of Stalinist Marxism. In short, Eberhard’s tendency is to use new terms if the observed facts do not appear to conform to established categories; Wittfogel’s tendency is to create a theoretical framework and a terminology to go with it, and to adapt the facts to the framework.

affiliation" (*op. cit.*, 3 and 4) whereas I would regard the rise of the Chou as part of the normal, non-barbarian Chinese history of that time, although admittedly they were located on the periphery and had characteristics which other Chinese regarded as barbarian contaminations.³¹

Both Eberhard's approach and mine can be used to clarify the understanding of Chinese history, I believe, because they allow for the survival 'of powerful landed families and the evolution out of them of Eberhard's "gentry" class, and at the same time for the perpetuation of many practices of feudal origin, of which one of the most important was the power of the gentry to exact from the peasants not only rent but unpaid services. Moreover, Eberhard's approach, though he does not make the distinction that I do between a first phase and a second phase, certainly does not deny the possibility of such a distinction, which makes it possible, in my view, to establish a graduation of historical periods from the "classical" to the later "frontier" feudalism; or, one might say, from an "ancient" to a "medieval" feudalism.

At this point a consideration of geographical factors becomes essential, because the primary characteristic of the northern frontier of China is that for so many centuries it was based on the geographical limits beyond which the Chinese could not extend their complex of economic practices and social institutions: intensive cultivation, a relatively dense population per square mile, and the multiplication of "cellular" units³² of walled cities and their surrounding countryside. While all of the territory beyond these limits was impermeable to the extension of the Chinese complex, however, it was not uniform in itself. It varied from the oases of Turkistan, with their "intensive" irrigated agriculture and crowded cities, but lack of a size making possible the creation of great states, to the open grasslands with their more "extensive" herding economy, the more desert steppe and the uplands of Tibet, with their still more widely scattered units of camps and herds, and the forests of Urianghai (Tannu-Tuva), the fringes of Siberia adjoining Mongolia, and northern and eastern Manchuria, with the most "extensive" economy of all, that of forest hunters (including reindeer users) who in order not to kill out the game had to live in such small units, so far apart, that powerful tribal organizations were not possible.

It is easy, in discussing the relationship of environment to society, to speak of what the environment "permits," or "encourages," or "forbids," and thus to suggest that nature is active in moulding human society; but it is important, in analyzing relations between Chinese and barbarians, to stick to the fact that nature is passive and that the active factor is man, through the social organizations and economic practices that he elaborates. A Chinese could become a herdsman if he wanted to, or in some cases if he had to; but he could remain a member of the increasingly specialized Chinese agricultural and urban culture only if he remained within the geographical zone in which that culture profited by practicing intensive agriculture (irrigated agriculture wherever possible) and densely populated cities. If members of that society moved too far north into a zone where there was no water for irrigation, where only rainfall agriculture could be practiced (with the additional hazard of variable yearly precipitation), and where in order to live safely on the lower yield per acre the population had to scatter out more widely, with the cities much farther apart from each other, the very texture of their culture and society became thinner, weaker, and less "typically Chinese." A little farther out, and the terrain and climate became such that a society organized on the economic principle of pasturing livestock and the social principle

³¹ Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, 306-308 and map, 254.

³² See Owen Lattimore, The new political geography of Inner Asia, *Geographical Jour.* 119: 23, London, March, 1953, and the references there to *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, as cited, 56 and 39-40.

of tribal association could enjoy in it both more economic prosperity and more military security than a thinned-out Chinese farming society.³³

Eberhard, in his work on *Conquerors and rulers*, which has here been so often cited because it offers so many good points of departure for the kind of analysis here being attempted, discusses on pp. 69-71 three main types of social structure among the northern frontier nomads. With the due warning that “if ethnical names are assigned to these types, this is a generalization as correct and as incorrect as every generalization is,” he lists them as:

The Tibetan, with sheep-breeding, a high-altitude horse that loses some of its military value when brought down to lower altitudes and consequently with a considerable reliance on foot soldiers instead of cavalry in war; organized in small groups with weak leadership; temporary war chiefs whose authority ends when the emergency is over.

The Mongol, with cattle as the most important livestock, but with sheep, camels, and horses, and with a stronger tribal organization than the Tibetans, including hereditary chiefs.

The Turkish, with horses as the most important (though again not the exclusive) livestock, and with a stratified tribal system of “leader-tribe,” “ordinary tribes,” and “slave-tribes.”

Eberhard does not list the Tungus-Manchu forest-hunters as a separate category.

It is attractive to make such classifications but they are not, I believe, adequate to provide a framework for the known historical phenomena. The Turks, for example, range from irrigated oasis farming through pastoral nomadism to the forest hunters and reindeer borders of Urianghai and on to the sub-Arctic Yakuts. In Tibet there are not only pastoral Tibetans and high-valley agricultural Tibetans; there is also, historically, a constant interplay, with Tibetans being incorporated into Monguor clans and Monguors and other Mongols being assimilated to pastoral Tibetans, as Father Schram shows. In Mongolia, the social stratification of overlord tribe or tribes, subordinate tribes, and subject or “slave” tribes can be historically identified; this kind of stratification is not a peculiarity of the Turks.

A better method of classifying tribes is probably by a combination of geographical region and historical period.

A society of pastoral nomads profits most from sheep, goats, cattle, yaks, horses, or camels, or various percentage combinations of these different kinds of livestock not only according to region but according to historical period or phase. The regional factors include kind of pasture³⁴ winter cold, water supply and periods of water shortage, altitude and distance between good winter

³³ Though we think normally in terms of “evolution” from extensive pastoralism to intensive agriculture, Father Schram shows that in a marginal society like that of the Monguors “devolution” could alternate with “evolution.” When the change was advantageous, not only Tibetans who were more pastoral than the Monguors but Chinese who were more agricultural than the Monguors could be absorbed into a Monguor clan. He also shows how a Monguor family, if it chose to move out into the Tibetan zone and herd livestock in the Tibetan manner, could within one generation be speaking Tibetan, dressing like Tibetans, and passing as Tibetans among its neighbors. It should be added that among Mongols of this general region, as well as Monguors, there has been a marked tendency toward “Tibetanization” in the past half-century.

³⁴ Pavel Maslov, *Konets Uryankhaya*, 46, Moscow, State Publishers, 1933, states that in the steppe area of Urianghai (which resembles the neighboring regions of northwest Mongolia and Sinkiang), a count of forage grasses shows 56 eaten by cattle, 82 by horses, and no less than 570 by sheep.

quarters and pastures for the other seasons. Over the whole range of Inner Asia there is no doubt whatever that the sheep, economically, is the most important animal, though its percentage combination with other animals varies.³⁵

These regional factors, however, never operate in economic isolation. A great deal depends on factors of the historical period, such as war, peace, trade, or subsidies to the nomad chieftains (or some of them) from the Chinese Empire. The operation of these other factors may so distort the “natural” regional picture that more than the “natural” number of horses may be kept for war; or sheep, for the market in China; or camels, for the caravan trade; or agriculture may be established far out in the steppe, where water is available but where agriculture would not flourish under the ordinary conditions of the play of the market, but has flourished in more than one historical period when the local nomad ruler has established relations with China that encourage him to build a little city and try to indulge himself with the luxuries of settled civilization while continuing to rule his nomad warriors in such a manner as to ensure that the subsidy from China will not be withdrawn.

These variations are governed by the working out of the two alternative forms of what may be called “frontier feudalism” one issuing from a barbarian conquest of China, or of parts of North China, and the other from a Chinese consolidation within China, the expulsion of the barbarians, the reaffirmation of Chinese control of the frontier and the employment of groups of nomads for the defense of the frontier against other nomads. Whether the “invading” form or the “defending” form should be treated first is a matter of more or less arbitrary choice; but in this case let us follow the order of Monguor history, since we can trace the origin of the Monguors as far back as the Mongol conquest of China.

The essential unit of the pastoral nomad tribe is the clan of blood-kinship.³⁶ Such clans, herding their livestock, did not wander haphazardly. They laid claim to definite pastures and to the control

³⁵ This one animal provides the nomad with food (not only meat but milk); housing (felted wool as a tent covering); clothing (the sheepskin with the wool on it); fuel (where sheep are penned for the night the dung is trampled hard, and when deep enough is dug out in blocks, dried, and burned); and trading commodities (the live sheep, wool, hides, intestines). See Owen Lattimore, *The eclipse of Inner Mongolian nationalism*. *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.* 23: 421-422, London 1936. There are different Inner Asian breeds of sheep, with special qualities, as noted by Eberhard, *op. cit.*, 69. See also R. W. Phillips, R. G. Johnson, and R. T. Moyer, *The livestock of China*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1945. Also Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Herold, 1949, who notes (84-101) five breeds of sheep in the Amdo region of Tibet alone. Constructive criticism of this valuable but at times tendentious book is to be found in: F. Kussmaul, *Frühe Nomadenkulturen in Innerasien*, *Tribus*, 1952-53: 305-360, Stuttgart, Museum für Länder- und Völkerkunde.

³⁶ B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi Mongolov: mongol'skii kochevoi feodalizm*, Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1934. There is now available a French translation: B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme nomade*, trans. Michel Carsow, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948. See, at this point, the discussion of the clan, pp. 56-73. Vladimirtsov's work is of great value, but must be used with caution. He was primarily a philologist rather than a sociologist or historian. He did not use Chinese sources, and hence one of his weaknesses is that he did not fully understand the interaction of Chinese and Mongol history. Moreover, as a pre-Communist scholar who continued to work under the Soviet regime, he attempted here and there “materialistic” and “class-conflict” interpretations which on the one hand make it difficult to tell

of routes of migration between these pastures. War was a normal concomitant of their pastoral life. There was a categorical difference between war among nomads and wars of nomads against settled peoples. The horse, which gave the nomad his strategic mobility, was a part of his normal economy. The bow, his chief weapon, was also in constant use for hunting. Collective hunts, or drives for game, were at the same time an exercise in cavalry maneuvers. Moreover, both his dwelling, the tent, and his livestock property were mobile. Women, children, and cattle could be moved out of the way of attack, or could retreat with the warriors after a defeat.

For the land-fast peasant, on the other hand, war was not a concomitant of normal life, but a destructive alternative to it. Weapons and logistic transportation were a drain on the normal economy. His village and his harvest were fixed targets that could not be moved out of the way of attack. If, with his wife and children, he fled from attack, he was destitute.

Hence, from the time that a Chinese frontier existed to be raided—and our chronicle materials for this condition of frontier war go back several centuries before Christ—any prolonged warfare on the frontier tended to make the frontier nomads militarily stronger and economically richer year by year, and the frontier Chinese militarily weaker and economically poorer.³⁷

War among nomads, therefore, tended to become a process in which strong leaders eliminated weaker leaders and gathered larger tribes under their rule. The most valuable prize of this kind of warfare was the ability to lead strong tribal leagues against the oases of Inner Asia, or on plundering expeditions into China, or to the conquest of China, or parts of China, and the imposition of a regular tribute.

In the first or tribal phase of warfare the building of larger tribes made necessary the extension of the principle of blood-kinship by various devices. One of these was the principle of adoption, one form of which was “sworn brotherhood,” or *anda*,³⁸ in which each man acquired status in the other’s clan by acknowledging his ancestors.³⁹ Another was the institution of *unagan bogol*, or collective subjection of a clan to another clan, which was not ordinary slavery, although the word *bogol* means “slave,” because the *unagan bogol* retained their own clans and could hold property. The essence of the relationship was that they had to defend the interests of the overlord clan *as if*

how he would have presented the same material if he had not been working under a Communist regime and on the other hand are clearly such amateur Marxism that they cannot be taken as authoritative expositions of official Soviet ideology.

³⁷ This excludes an earlier period in which the Chinese, by occupying land amenable to their agricultural practices, prospered by their wars against the barbarians. See Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, 344-349.

³⁸ See Vladimirtsov, as cited, 76.

³⁹ Probably an early form of this relationship is the institution under which, as between clans, tribes, or even peoples of different language and custom, who at times are hostile to each other and at other times trade with each other, a man acquires a “sponsor” in a clan that is not his own. When he goes to that clan to trade, his sponsor guarantees him against being plundered or killed, and this protection is reciprocal. Father Schram mentions this institution as between Monguors and Tibetans. Robert B. Ekvall describes it as between Tibetans and traders in his *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, as cited, and in several stories in his *Tibetan skylines*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952. Clearly, this institution is analagous to that which the Greeks called *ξένος*, a word which means both “stranger” and “guest-friend.” The Greek term, however, appears to overlap in meaning with the term for another Mongol institution, that of *nukur*, for which see below.

they were blood kin⁴⁰ which recalls Father Schram's extraordinarily clear and interesting analysis of the fictitious clan-kinship of the subject families in a Monguor clan.

While such institutions as these were artificial extensions of the kinship clan another institution, that of the *nukur* was disruptive of the clan structure and made easier the transition to feudalism. The root meaning of the word appears to be "other" -*alter*, as in *alter ego*, "companion," "friend," in this sense recalling one of the meanings of the Greek *ξένος*. The *nukur* was one who declared himself the follower of someone else, thus in effect avowing a relationship stronger than his own blood-loyalty to his own clan.⁴¹ This relationship has been interestingly discussed by Yushkov in an essay on the comparabilities (or "contemporaneities," in the sense that Toynbee gives to the word "contemporaneous" in his *Study of History*⁴²), between the realm of Kiev in the ninth and tenth centuries, the Mongols just before the rise of Chingis at the end of the twelfth century, and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the sixth to ninth centuries.⁴³ He discusses all of them as "barbarian" states in which clan structure and the economics of slave ownership were breaking down.

The *nukur* (pl. *nukud*) was not necessarily by origin a member of a ruling clan. He could be of a subject clan, or a slave, or a prisoner of war. What counted was that his personal devotion to his chosen leader superseded all ties of tribe, clan, or family. Several of the *nukud* of Chingis were appointed to high positions as generals or rulers of territories, and there can be no doubt that the institution provided an easy transition to a feudal holding of delegated territory. The institution is of great interest in comparing the origins of feudalism in Asia and Europe, for it not only recalls the Greek *ξένος* but in etymology and semantics is parallel to Russian *druzhinnik*, "companion-at-arms," "member of the *drushina* or personal following" (root *drug*, "friend"; compare *drugoi*, "other"). Compare also Latin *comes*, "companion," from which derives the feudal title of "count." Undoubtedly the *huscarles* of Harold the Saxon at Hastings were analogous in function to the

⁴⁰ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80-81. Vladimirtsov does not discuss the etymology of *unagan*. J.E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 340, Kazan, 1884, has *unagan* "a colt," "son of a slave," "serf," "slave." Father Mostaert, in a personal communication, informs me that a distinction should be made between *unagan*, "colt," and *unagan* (older form, *unugan*), *bogol*, "a serf born of a serf," hence "a serf from *una*-, "to drop (to the ground in being born)," hence "a serf from birth."

⁴¹ For the principal references in Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, see 110 *sqq.*

⁴² For a comparison of Yushkov, Toynbee, and others, see Lattimore, introduction to the 2nd ed. of *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, xlii-xliii.

⁴³ S. Yushkov, K voprosu o dofeodal'nom ("varvaskon") gosudarstve, in *Voprosy istorii* 7, 1946, Moscow. As it is difficult for the non-Soviet and non-Marxist student and reader to know exactly how authoritative a Soviet scholar is considered to be, it is worth noting that Professor Yushkov has the rank of "meritorious scientific worker," that his analysis of the class structure of his "barbarian" state, in the article cited, is rejected by K. Basilevich, *Opty periodizatsii istorii SSR feodal'nogo perioda*, in *Voprosy istorii* 11: 70, 1949; also that while his book on the social and political structure and law of the Kiev state is conceded to be the work of one who has earned great merit, it and the rest of his work "evoke a whole series of serious objections. A series of the author's positions is mistaken," according to a view in *Voprosy istorii* 4: 132, 1950, by L. Cherepnin. He is accused of carelessness in working up and editing his material, with the result that his book teems with factual contradictions and mistakes (p. 136).

druzhina or *nukud*, for while they were his household warriors the “hus” or “house” implies a personal following independent of kinship obligation rather than a levy of kinsmen.

While artificial extension of kinship and substitution of personal devotion for kinship reveal a strain on the older structure of tribe and clan, they are not in themselves the same thing as feudalism. While the future conqueror fought tribal wars, he was still a tribal leader; it was when he conquered a settled land and attempted to set up a system of rule and the collection of tribute that feudalism began. Because of poor economic communications for the transport of goods in bulk, not only power and rule but the collection of tribute had then to be delegated, and equated with territorial jurisdictions.

The structure of rule in China after a barbarian conquest may be presented in simplified outline as follows:

1. Well within China, garrisons of the conquerors but maintenance in large measure of administration and revenue collection through Chinese mandarin-bureaucrats, of whom the most important were members of gentry families.

2. Along the line of cleavage between Chinese farmland and the pastoral steppe, reserve contingents of tribal forces. Here the tribesmen were supposed to keep up their pastoral life and warrior virtues; but their chiefs, being granted fiefs as personal domains in the adjacent Chinese farmland, began almost at once to convert themselves into feudal nobles.

3. Farther out, in the vast reaches of what are now Outer Mongolia and Jungaria or northern Sinkiang, the basic economy remained pastoral, and because of the difficulty of bulk transport was much less affected by trade, or by subsidies in goods, coming from China. Even here, however, the conqueror-Emperor granted to his most important followers fixed domains, and these potentates of the steppe imitated, as far as they could, the new luxury and prestige of those who, farther to the south, were living off the fat of China; where streams made irrigation possible, they imported farmers from China or the oases of Turkistan; they built palaces and imported artisans to build and decorate them, and to make luxury goods.

As soon as this stratification was established, the longrange forces working toward a reversal of the process began to operate. Briefly, that part of the nomad people which had taken up posts in China became detached from the tribal “reservoir” which was the ultimate source of mobile military power. They thus became vulnerable on the one side to Chinese rebellions and on the other to defection of the still tribal part of the people; but while their rule lasted they, especially the emperor and court, had the most of wealth and privilege. The border noble, with a fief adjoining and often including agricultural land, became more feudal, and so, but to a lesser degree, did the outlying tribal chiefs.

When the imperial rule began to break down, chiefly through maladministration and the deflection of too much revenue to the private use of local officials and the surviving Chinese gentry families, with one foot in the civil service and the other in landed property, the three different strata of nomad origin were affected differently.

The garrisons, and the nobles within China who had virtually become Chinese gentry families were either killed in the internal wars that overthrew the dynasty, or remained in China as Chinese subjects of the new dynasty.

The border nobles, if by this time their agricultural and town interests had become stronger than their association with what remained of their tribal following, took service with the new dynasty as feudal nobles helping it to defend its frontier against the outlying nomads, as did the founders of the Monguor clan-chieftain lines. If they distrusted the strength and did not believe in the permanence of the new dynasty, they took those of the tribesmen or retainers of their domain who

were still pastoral and withdrew into the farther outlying nomad territory; but in this case, as their following was usually relatively small, they had normally to adhere to one of the larger outlying tribal groups.

The outlying chiefs, deprived of subsidies from an emperor of their own people ruling over China, and no longer restrained by that emperor's authority to allot and take away tribal lands (which had approximated to an ability to create a mixture of tribalism and feudalism by allocating "tribal fiefs"), and to discriminate between great chiefs and lesser chiefs, reverted to the old cycle of tribal life and tribal warfare.

This reverse process, in which part of the nomad people relapsed from feudalism attached to an empire of conquest and reverted toward tribalism, has not been clarified by the Russian writers who have had in their hands the most detailed material on the economy and sociology of the Inner Asian peoples. Partly, no doubt, this is because those most learned in Turkish and Mongol sources, like Barthold and Vladimirtsov, did not also have command over the Chinese sources; and the Russians have not made up for this by teamwork among those working in the Altaic languages (and in Iranian) and those working in Chinese.

We turn now to the phase of frontier feudalism, and of Monguor history, associated with a strong empire in China that makes use of non-Chinese frontier feudatories for the defense of China against raids, or against attempts at a renewed conquest of China from the steppe. The first point to be noted is that nationalism of the modern kind is not involved. The feudal noble of Mongol origin, granted a fief to be held on condition of defending China against his kinsmen, the tribal Mongols, does not feel "a traitor to his people." Even in the famous lament of the last Mongol Emperor, Togon Temur, when he was driven out of China, there is not a trace of "Mongol nationalism." He laments the loss of his palace and his life of glory and luxury. He sorrows also for his faithful nobles and his "beloved people"; but what he is lamenting is his loss of rule through them not their loss as a nation.⁴⁴

There is a temptation, it is true, to see in the Orkhon Turkish inscriptions of the eighth century a Turkish nationalism, especially an anti-Chinese nationalism; but taken as a whole what they really reflect is something that might be called "warriorism" the Orkhon Turks must be valiant warriors, they must be true to their chiefs, they must not succumb to Chinese luxury and softness (a point to be discussed below). Moreover, as much glory is claimed by the chiefs of the Orkhon Turks for their victories over other Turks as for their victories over the Chinese; and these other Turks are not gathered in as part of a movement of national unification, but are ruthlessly subjected:

To the south the Tabgach [Chinese] people were his enemy, to the north the people of the Tokuz Oguz of Baz Kagan were his enemy, the Kirghiz, the Kurykans, the Thirty Tatar [tribes], the Kitai [here not the Chinese but the Kitans, who some centuries later founded the Liao empire], and the Tataby all were his enemies; my father the Kagan ... forty-seven times he went forth with his army and fought twenty battles. By the grace of Heaven he conquered tribal leagues from those who had tribal leagues and deposed the kagans of those having kagans; he compelled his enemies to peace, forcing those who had knees to bend the knee, and those who had heads to bow [the head]."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Issac Jacob Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus, German translation, 137, St. Petersburg, 1829.

⁴⁵ The "greater inscription" to Kül Tegin, 14 and 15. The most recent edition of these and other runic texts is: S. E. Malov, *Panyatniki drevnetyurskoi pis'mennosti*, Mowcow-Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1951.

It would be a mistake, on the other hand, to assume that because there was no inclusive nationalism of the steppe people, or even of those who spoke one language, such as Turkish or Mongol, they were politically so naive that they did not understand the workings of Chinese frontier policy. The classical Chinese expression of this policy was *i i chih i*—"to use barbarians to control barbarians." We may turn again to the Orkhon inscriptions to show that this policy was understood in the depths of Inner Asia:

Evil-minded people thus taught a part of the Turkish people, saying, Who lives far away, [to him the Tabgach, the Chinese] give inferior gifts; who lives near at hand, [to him] they give good gifts; with these words they thus taught thee. And ye, the people, not possessing wisdom, listened to their speech and, approaching close, perished in great numbers. O Turkish people, when thou goest to that country, thou standest upon the brink of destruction; but when thou, being in the land of Ötüken, sendest caravans, thou art altogether without grief; when thou remainest in the Ötüken wilderness thou canst live, creating thy ancient tribal league...⁴⁶

And again:

... they [the Tabgach, the Chinese] caused younger and elder brothers to quarrel, and armed against each other the people and their rulers the Turkish people brought to ruin its existing tribal league and brought destruction upon the kagan that ruled it; to the Tabgach people they became slaves, they and their strong male issue; they became slaves, they and their chaste female issue. The Turkish rulers laid aside their Turkish names and, accepting the titles of the rulers of the Tabgach people they submitted to the kagan of the Tabgach people.⁴⁷

The principles of a frontier policy directed from within China were simple: to give each auxiliary fief-holder complete feudal power within his fief-including, as Father Schram shows in the case of the Monguors, not only the collection of revenue but the administering of justice, and going so far as to return to his jurisdiction any of his feudal subjects who attempted to leave his domain; to prevent unity by making favors uneven; and to see that those who adhered to the frontier received "better gifts" than outlying chiefs who were not under the control of the frontier system.

There were two inherent weaknesses in the policy. One was that a feudal defense of the frontier, sector by sector, was good enough to deal with small raids; but if, far out in Inner Asia, the "wars of elimination" among the tribes resulted in rolling up a really great tribal power, there was always the danger that the defenders of the frontier would go over to the attacker. This, in fact, was what happened when the Ming dynasty fell after a long period of internal turmoil. The Monguors (and a number of other non-Chinese frontier "auxiliaries") first held aside and then took up, under the new Manchu dynasty, the same function that had been theirs under the Ming dynasty.

The second weakness was that while an administration within China wanted its frontier fief-holders to be "feudal" in their devotion to the ruling dynasty, they wanted the people of each fief to remain barbarian nomads; because it was in the character of barbarian nomads that they could best furnish the hardy, nomad cavalry needed in campaigns against their own nomad kinsmen. This kind of dichotomy could not be sustained, as Father Schram's account shows; for what made it worth the while of a border chieftain to accept a feudal domain and status on the frontier was the

⁴⁶ The "lesser inscription" Kül Tegin, 7 and 8 in Malov, as cited.

⁴⁷ The "greater inscription," 6 and 7, in Malov, as cited.

prospect of greater, more “Chinese” ease and luxury than he could enjoy living in the manner of his tribal kinsmen out beyond the frontier. The history of the Monguors and the whole history of the frontier, including that of Inner Mongolia in recent years, shows that if the frontier feudal noble could collect more revenue from farming than from a pastoral economy, he never resisted either the conversion of his own subjects from herdsmen into farmers or the settlement of Chinese farmers in his domain. Only if the Chinese practices of farming could not master the soil and climate of such a domain did it remain pastoral.

These recurring cycles belong to a history that has now reached its end. The railroad and machine industry can achieve that economic integration which was beyond the reach of both agricultural China and pastoral Inner Asia. Father Schram lived in and looked upon an age that the West understood only imperfectly while it lasted, and that is now rapidly vanishing.



PART I: THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

I. THE LAND IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The Province of Ch'ing-hai was established only in 1928. Until then, including the entire time during which I lived there and made my field studies of the Monguors, the present Province of Ch'ing-hai constituted the Tibetan frontier district of the Province of Kansu. It was divided into seven sub-prefectures. This study is based on the old administrative organization and takes no account of several new sub-prefectures that have since been added. It should be noted that the structure of prefectures and sub-prefectures is that of the Chinese population. Large Tibetan and Mongol groups lived outside of this organization (Kukunor, Tsaidam), and to a large extent administered their own affairs, under the supervision of a governor, appointed by the Chinese authorities, who bore the Manchu title of Amban.

THE COUNTRY

The mountainous region of Hsining [according to the great French explorer and geographer, Fernand Grenard] belongs to the range of the Nan-shan [southern mountains] whose passes have an average height of 12,900 feet, whose peaks are 14,700 feet high, and whose highest point reaches 18,000 feet. The range of the Nan-shan is made up of seven almost parallel stretches of mountains running in an east-west direction, becoming lower and lower toward the eastern end.

The Nanshan range is covered by several feet of loess; the mountain slopes are overspread with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the Gobi, reaching to an altitude of 1500 feet. Between the seven mountain ranges, valleys form several vast corridors, several miles wide; in the central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.¹

Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the Hsining and the Ta-t'ung, run through the northern part of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the mountains not being too high, while the valleys and some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was

¹ Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographic Universelle* 7: 361, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20a), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'ing-hai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huangchung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huangchung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukur, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic crises and revolts. During the anarchic period of the Three Kingdoms of the third century A.D., during which the population of China was reduced by something like three-fifths, no aid and support were available from within China, and the frontier colonies were overwhelmed.

The next period, from 265 to 589, also was a time of troubles. Different parts of North China were invaded and conquered by different nomad tribes. To some extent the invaders were absorbed by the Chinese; but to some extent also the northern Chinese were "barbarized." The main Chinese cultural area became the country south of the Yangtze.

Northern Kansu was at the same time turned upside down by nomadic tribes. Sienpi² tribes from northern China settled in the beginning of the second century A.D. in the region between

² The data in this paragraph are based on O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 111-114, Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1936. In 3: 250, 1937 of the same work, citing B. Laufer, article in

Kueite and the Gobi, between the upper reaches of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. They fixed their capital near Lanchou, and their kingdom was called Hsi Ch'in (Western Ch'in). Lu Kuang, of Tangut origin, created at Liangchou a kingdom of Hou Liang (Later Liang). T'ufan tribes, a branch of the Sienpi, established the kingdom of Nan Liang (Southern Liang) between Hsining and Lanchou. Menghsün tribes, a branch of the Hsiungnu, founded a Pei Liang (Northern Liang) kingdom between Liangchou and Suchou (Hsuchou). Li Kao, a Chinese of western origin, created a kingdom of Hsi Liang (Western Liang) between Anhsi and Tunhuang. All of these kingdoms either, annihilated each other or were eventually subjected to the Chin dynasty (Western and Eastern Chin, 265-419) or the Toba Wei dynasty (386-534). Parallel with these events, part of the border region of Hsining and Kukunor was occupied from 280 to 673 by a frontier state founded by Tuyühan tribes, also of Sienpi origin.

The next period of unification in China began under the Sui dynasty of 589-620, under which Chinese colonies were again established in Huangchung and Kukunor in order to hold back the incursions of the Tibetans. The next dynasty, that of the Tang, from 618 to 906, was even stronger; but even the Tang dynasty could not completely check the Tibetans, who were referred to in the Chinese annals of this period as T'ufan. In 672 the T'ufan defeated the T'uyühan and began to dominate this part of the Chinese frontier. They were eventually defeated in 866 not by the Tang Chinese but by the Uighur tribes, Turkish people of Central Asia, who settled in Huangchung and offered a nominal allegiance to China. The next period, that of the Five Dynasties from 907 to 960, was again a time of troubles and disunity in China. The Shat'o clans which are one of the components of the Monguor people of today claim their descent from the Shat'o tribes which sought refuge in China in 808 and later founded the dynasties of the Hou Tang or Later Tang (923-936) and Hou Chin or later Chin (936-947). During the next period, from 960 to 1280, China south of the Yangtze was ruled by the Sung dynasty; but though culturally this was one of the greatest periods in China, the Sung dynasty lost control of North China to successive barbarian invaders. Northwest China and the modern provinces of Kansu and Ningshia, together with the Ordos region, were dominated by the Chin and by a people of Tibetan origin referred to in the Chinese annals as Hsi Hsia (Western Hsia) or Tang-hsiang. (The Northern Tibetans are still referred to by the Mongols as Tangud or Tangot, a plural of "Tang.") In the course of the great Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, the Tangud of Huang Chung were defeated and driven back into Tibet. The ancient frontier region of Huang Chung was depopulated, and to replace those who had fled a number of Mongol commanders and their followers were moved into the region. Their descendants constitute the majority group within the present Monguor people.

The Mongol dynasty, overthrown by the revolt of its Chinese subjects, was replaced by the Ming dynasty (1386-1644) which renewed once more the process of establishing Chinese military

T'oung Pao, 2nd ser. 9: 449, n. 3, 1908, Franke has the following to say on the ethnic composition of these tribes: "Laufer hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er meint, dass 'sicher türkische und tungusische Stämme und jedenfalls auch ein alteinheimisches Element (?) zur Bildung der Mongolen beigetragen haben.' Was hat es unter solchen Umständen für eine Bedeutung, wenn man die Sien-pi für 'Mongolen' erklärt, auch wenn zur T'ang-Zeit der Name Mêng-wu als Bezeichnung eines Stammes der Schi-wei vorkommt und die Schi-wei—was ganz unsicher ist—die Nachkommen der Sien-pi sein sollten? Dass aus ihnen, wie aus den Wu-huan, Hiung-nu, den K'iang und vielen anderen Völkern die 'Mongolen' der späteren Zeit zusammen-gesetzt worden sind, kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, aber irgend welche Bedeutung für die alten ethnischen Verhältnisse hat dies nicht."

frontier colonies in Huangchung; but recurring inroads of both Tibetan and Mongol tribes kept the Ming frontier power in this region weak. The frontier was not stabilized again until after the Manchu conquest, under the Ch'ing dynasty of 1644-1911. It was in the long period of stable rule under the Ch'ing dynasty that spreading agriculture and increasing trade began first definitely to change the lives of the originally nomadic Monguor people and then to submerge them in a flood of Chinese acculturation.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY

From 1911 to 1922, when I lived in this region, the city of Hsining, with a Chinese population of about 60,000 inhabitants, was the seat of a Chinese civil administrator who had authority over the Chinese of the city and the region. Law and order were assured by a local army commanded by a Chinese Muslim general. The formerly turbulent Mongol and Tibetan tribes of the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.

According to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 12 *a* and *b*, the tribal jurisdiction of the Amban derived from a meeting that had been held in 1732 between the provinces of Szech'uan and Shen-Kan (or "Shensi and Kansu," but embracing the territories not only of the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu but of the later-established provinces of Ningshia and Ch'ing-hai as well). At this meeting each tribe was assigned a fixed territory for the first time in history. The tribes allocated to the Amban of Hsining included twenty-eight banners of the Mongols of Kukunor and one banner of Mongols located in Tibet proper; the Tibetan tribes of the Kukunor frontier were reorganized at that time and for that purpose into eight major tribal groups; twenty-five Tibetan tribes of the frontier district of Yushu, each under a chief with the title of T'u-ssu; and the very independent and warlike Tibetan tribe of the Ngoloks. By 1918, when a census was taken, the eight major Tibetan tribal groups just mentioned were reported to number 8,443 families, totaling 39,390 people.³

The territory inhabited by a settled farming population was divided into the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Tat'ung, Kueite, Donkir, Payenjung, and Hsünhua. The fields around the cities and big villages were tilled by Chinese, but in outlying districts Tibetans and Monguors were to be met, wearing their distinctive, non-Chinese costumes and speaking their own languages. On the southern, western, and northern fringes of the land settled by Chinese were sedentary Tibetans who farmed and also raised sheep and cattle. In enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population. Scattered here and there were villages of Chinese-speaking Muslims. On the southern edge of the district lived the Turkish-speaking Salar Muslims.

TIBETANS

From the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 11-20, the names of sixty-six Tibetan tribes can be counted, and in addition the names of fifty-two villages inhabited by Tibetans in the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining. These village Tibetans were called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast with the "wild" nomad Tibetans in the Kukunor frontier district. According to the *Annals*, the village Tibetans numbered 10,683 families, totaling 42,732 people. The exact average of four persons per family suggests that these figures are more schematic than accurate. The large number of tribes given for the "tame" Tibetans can be taken only as a general guide. It is characteristic of Tibetan tribes that they very easily subdivide into new tribes, and often a group of no more than ten or

³ Yao Ming-hui, *Yüshu tiaoch'a chi* 1, 1-24, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1920.

twenty families will call itself a tribe. The tribal Tibetans close to Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1260-1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors, in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during the Tang dynasty (618-906) or the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368).

The presence of Muslims in the Hsining district under the Yuan dynasty is however evidenced by two passages in the *Annals*. One of the sixteen Monguor clans, the small clan of Yeh, is described as being of Ch'ant'ou origin, and Muslim by religion. The term Ch'ant'ou, meaning "those who wear a turban on the head," is commonly applied to central Asian Turkish Muslims. Since this clan submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 at the same time as the other Monguor clans, it must have been settled in the country under the preceding Yuan or Mongol dynasty. (Provincial *Annals*, ch. 42, p. 52.) It is also stated in the same *Annals* (ch. 42, p. 43) that the Salars also submitted to the Ming in 1371, when two of their chiefs were granted the rank of T'u-ssu. According to popular tradition they came to China from Samarkand under the Tang dynasty. The

Annals give no evidence for or against this tradition, but show that they were at least living in China at the end of the Yuan dynasty.⁴

The religious fanaticism of the Muslims has been their strength and their weakness.⁵ It has enabled them to hold their own against the Chinese, but rivalry between sects has prevented complete cohesion. One sect, commonly known as the Old Religion, belongs to the Hanefite school; that is to say, it bases its religious doctrines on the Koran and on the Sunna or tradition. The other sect, known as the New Religion, is divided into a number of subsects and derives from the schools of the Shias and the Sufis. This sect holds that religious leaders are invested by God with special “grace”; this grace can be passed on to their sons who succeed them as religious chiefs. Owing to this belief, the sect is always exposed to the danger of further subdivision through the appearance of new claimants to religious leadership who declare themselves to be endowed with “grace.” Owing to its belief in this kind of religious inspiration, the sect is marked by its devotion to the cult of saints and their tombs.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found in the cities and in villages to the west, south, and north of Hsining. Occasionally a few Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found living in villages of the non-Muslim Chinese, but non-Muslim Chinese do not live in the villages of the Muslims. While the Muslims engage in agriculture, their most important and profitable activities are in the grain trade, and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides, and lamb skins. Their importance in the boat and raft trade on the Yellow River has already been noted; and many Muslims are innkeepers on the roads of Kansu. Even the astute Chinese respect them as formidable rivals in trade. There is a Chinese saying to the effect that “one Muslim asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese,” and another that “the food of the Muslims is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted.” It is also said that “out of ten Muslims nine are thieves.”

SALARS

The Salars live chiefly in two groups in the sub-prefectures of Hsünhua and Payenjung.⁶ The famous Chinese Muslim general, Ma Fu-hsiang, who enlisted many Salars in his troops, mentions the tradition that the Salars came to China as early as the Tang dynasty, and describes them as having settled in their present homes under the Yuan or during the Ming dynasty. He divides them into two groups, the “inner five clans” (using for “clan” the Chinese word *kung*) and the “outer eight clans.” The “outer” group, according to General Ma, is one that has lost its Turkish language

⁴ The following references to the Muslims of Northwest China are from *Moslem World*, New York: M. E. Botham, Islam in Kansu (10: 377-390, 1919); H. D. Hayward, The Kansu Moslems (24: 68-80, 1934) and Han and Hwi in the Kansu-Sinkiang marches (26: 62-67, 1936). See also G. F. Andrew, Islam in North-West China today, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, London, 19: 89-100, 1932.

⁵ Kansu was disturbed by Muslim rebellions in 1648, 1781-1784, 1820-1828, 1862-1878, 1895-1897; a revolt broke out in 1909 but was suppressed by the Muslim chiefs themselves; between 1918 and 1921 the situation was very tense; the last revolt, 1928-1929, was headed by Ma Ch'ung-ying.

⁶ General references: R. B. Shaw, On the hill canton of Salar. The most easterly settlement of the Turki race, *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, London, 10: 305-316, 1878; G. F. Andrew, Ancient Chinese Koran, *Moslem World*, New York, 24: 84, 1934; C. D. Holton, Salars, *Friends of Moslems*, Hankow, 19: 13, 1945. See also article “China” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1: 839-854, Leyden, Brill. 1913-1934.

and now speaks Tibetan. The Salars preserve their old customs and traditions by marrying only within their own groups.⁷ I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors of the Yeh clan.

The Salars are the most fanatical of all the Muslims and during the great Muslim revolts against the Chinese they have always been the fiercest and the most cruel warriors. General Ma Fu-hsiang carefully distinguishes the Salars from the Tibetans, from the groups of Mongol origin converted to Islam, and from the Tibetan-speaking group of Mongol origin which has also been converted to Islam. He himself belongs to the group of converts of Mongol descent. This group is called “San-t’a” by both Tibetans and Monguors.⁸

CONCLUSIONS

We may now summarize the general history of this area. From 116 B.C. to A.D. 1280, military colonies were intermittently established in Hsining and the country was “officially” divided into sub-prefectures; these disappeared several times and their existence was always precarious, because of the inroads of nomadic tribes; in fact the population of the country appears to have changed many times. During the Mongol dynasty (1260-1368), the entire Hsining region was for the first time firmly annexed to China by the Mongol conquerors. The Ming dynasty (1368-1644) started off with an improvement in the organization of the country, following the Chinese pattern, but was not very successful in this undertaking because of inability to prevent inroads by nomads. The Ch’ing dynasty (1644-1911), benefiting by the experience of the Ming, succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighboring tribes of Kukunor, assigning definite territories to each of them, and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes, they were able to develop the country peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighboring tribes.

II. THE MONGUORS

The origin of the Monguor clans, of the name “Monguor,” and of the Monguor language has been a puzzle for both foreigners and local people. After presenting the enigma, I shall present some data about the name of the Monguors and the solution of the language problem. I shall then deal with the historical solution of the Monguor enigma, revealing successively the origin of the Monguor clans and the time of their first settlement in Kansu, the nature of this settlement and the distribution of the Monguor clans, population figures, and the expansion of the Monguors throughout the country.

⁷ Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuang-k’uang* (General account of Mongolia and Tibet), 200, Nanking, Chunghua Publishers, 1936.

⁸ According to A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguorparlé par les par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor-francais*, 324, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1933, “san-t’a” is probably from *sarta’ul*, “Musulman.” See also P. Pelliot, in *T’oung Pao* 27: n. 2, 1930: “*Sarta’ul*, nom mongol des Musulmans (surtout de ceux du Turkestan russe) au Moyen Age.”

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO FOREIGNERS

Huc and Gabet, in their famous journey to Lhasa (1844-1846), record their passage through the country of the Monguors of the Three Valleys (San-ch'uan), called Dschiahours by the Tibetans and T'u-jen by the Chinese. Their traveling companion, Samdadchiemba, was himself a Monguor, a subject of the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of the Three Valleys. Huc and Gabet describe the people as appearing to be of "Tartar" origin and their language as seeming to be a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan.⁹

Prjeualski, who traveled in the region in 1873, calls the Monguors "Daldy," describes them as more like the Muslims than the Chinese, and says that their language is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and unknown words.¹⁰

After his second journey in Kukunor and Tibet (1879-1880) he writes that the Daldy are called Karlun by the Tibetans and Tunschen by the Chinese and Mongols (p. 186): although he is convinced that the country of origin of the Daldy, like that of the Kirghiz, is the region of Samarkand, and that they are a mixture of the "Aryan" and "Mongol" races, but, having mingled with Chinese, the original type has disappeared; among the women, however, once in a while the genuine type is discernible (p. 188).

He notes also the legend told among the Mongols, that when Chinghis Khan ruled in the Ordos he rode so fast a horse, that in twenty-four hours he could reach Kukunor for a hunting party. Once a high official accompanied Chinghis and when he saw the country of Hsining he enjoyed it so much that he settled there with his subjects and became the founding ancestor of the Daldy tribes (p. 187).

Potanin, who traveled in this region in 1884-1886, refers to the Monguors as "Shirongols." He says of them that they call themselves "Mongol" or "Chagan Mongol" (White Mongol) and that some of them call themselves "Chzhahor"¹¹ (p. 374). The Chinese call them T'u-jen and the Mongols of the plain give them the name of "Dalda" (Doldo), or "Dolon helite doldo," which means the "doldo with seven languages." Potanin says that he prefers to call them Shirongol, because that word is better for use in the Russian language. He had heard this name used in the Ordos by the conductor of his caravan, "Santan Dzhimba," who himself belonged to the T'u-jen group of Amdo. However, neither "Shirongol" nor "Dalda" is a name known by the Monguors themselves. Only Santan Dzhimba used the name "Shirongol," explaining "Shiro" as related to "Shoro," the Mongol word for "earth" or "soil." The neighboring Tanguts, according to Potanin, called the Monguors "Cha-hor"; "Cha" meaning "Chinese" and "Hor" being the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet. This term would therefore mean "Chinese Mongols." The

⁹ Huc and Gabet, *Souvenir d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet, 1844-1846*, 2: 36-37, Paris, edition of 1878.

¹⁰ Prjevalski, *Mongolic et le pays des Tangoutes*, 172-173, 1880; Prjevalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 186-187-188, Jena, 1884. For the original passages in Russian, see: N. M. Prjeval'skii, *Mongoliya i strana Tangutov*, 199-200, Moscow, State Publishers, 1946; a reprint described as "slightly abridged," of the original St. Petersburg edition of 1875; the reprint edition has a commentary by E. M. Murzaev (see p. 315 for his notes on the "Daldy" or Monguor). The second reference is to: *Iz Zaisana cherez Khami v Tibet i na Verkhov'ya Zheltoi reki*, also available in a "slightly abridged" edition (Moscow, State Publishers, 1948) of the St. Petersburg edition of 1883; see pp. 264-265 of the reprint edition.—O. L.

¹¹ This is the term rendered by Huc and Gabet as "Dschiahour" (see above). See also below, p. 23, n. 1.—O. L.

Shirongols call the Tanguts “Tebe” (“Tubet” is the Mongol word for “Tibetan”); they call the Chinese Ch’itai (Kitat is the Mongol form), and the Mongols of the plain “Doro gadzoren Mongol” (Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). (“Santan Dzhimba” is, of course, Potanin’s version of the famous “Samdadchiemba” who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the “Daldy” or “Talat,” and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shiron-gols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or “Yellow barbarians” by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the “Yellow Barbarians” are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tradition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Setsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: “Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut” and he supposes that the Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T’u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T’u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T’u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the Tang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed

to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380-381).

Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of Sanchuan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.¹²

W. W. Rockhill writes of the Monguors:

In western Kansu these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72-74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol, the residue being Tibetan, Chinese and to the best of my knowledge a heretofore unknown lingo, probably the original language of the Tu-jen of this part of the Empire (p. 106).¹³

In his *Land of the Lamas* the same author asserts that the Dschiahours of the Three Valleys encountered by Huc and Gabet are White Mongols, whose early home was probably in the Ordos (p. 43). He quotes the *Huang Qing Chih Kung T'u* (eighteenth century) as mentioning a number of Mongol tribes living in the southern portion of the Nienpei district in Sanch'uan. The same work mentions (5: 55) a tribe called Tung-kou living in the same district whose chieftains bear the family name of Li and who descend from Li K'oyung, a Shat'o Turk and famous warrior of the T'ang period (p. 44). Rockhill also quotes from the dynastic history of the Tang dynasty the tribal name Kolu, which he identifies with the Karluk Turks, northeast of the present Urumchi, in Sinkiang. These Kolu submitted to the Tibetans, and Rockhill believes that they may be the later "Tungkou," suggesting that *tung* is Chinese for "eastern," and *kou* a contraction of "Koulu," a variant of "Kolu" (p. 45).¹⁴

Among the more recent travelers, the region was visited by W. Filchner and A. Tafel. In 1906 Filchner published an account of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum, the value of the volume

¹² G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya* (*The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia*), 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380-384.

¹³ W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet, 1891-1892*, 73-106, Washington, Smithsonian Instn., 1894.

¹⁴ W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*. New York, 1891.

consisting chiefly in the photographic material.¹⁵ Tafel, although he gives interesting data about the “T’u-ren,” and mentions the legends of their T’uyühun, Shat’o, or Hsi Hsia origin (p. 248), mentions their submission to the Ming and notes that the Li T’u-ssu is the most outstanding among the T’u-ssu (p. 250), does not solve the problem.¹⁶

Comte de Lesdain, in his journey from China through the Ordos to Tibet and India, described the country as “inhabited by the old aborigines of Kansu province, who are the most authentic remainder of the primitive race from which the Chinese spring.”¹⁷

P. K. Kozlow, who traveled in 1907-1909, wrote of the “Donger-wa” or “people of Donger,” namely, the Monguors, that they might have originated as a mixed breed of Chinese and Tanguts, and that their language was closely akin to Mongol, but with an admixture of Chinese and Tangut words.”¹⁸

Reginald Farrer, who was in the country in 1915, writes that “Here and there all over China occur these queer little outcrops of dying races from of old,” and that the “Turan,” or “Children of Earth,” “pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohammedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair.”¹⁹

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that “Some have suggested that the T’u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat’o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion.”²⁰

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

The Monguors have, however, been as much an enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T’u-jen means, as has already been explained, “autochthones” or “aborigines,” and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat’o

¹⁵ W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, Mittler, 1906; also *Om mani padme hum; meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925-28*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1929.

¹⁶ A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Stuttgart, Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1914.

¹⁷ *From Peking to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi desert, and Tibet*, New York, Dutton, 1908.

¹⁸ P. K. Kozlov, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Charachoto*, 136, Berlin, Neufeld und Henius, 1925. The original Russian edition is: P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvyi gorod Khara-Khoto*, Moscow-Petrograd, State Publishers, 1923, reprinted 1948.

¹⁹ Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

²⁰ Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China, *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* 8: 316, 1925.

Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the Tang dynasty (618-906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyü-hun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addition that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they were all of Chinese extraction and did not understand the language of their subjects.

According to this tradition the founding ancestor of the Li line of T'u-ssu chiefs was not in fact of Shat'o extraction and not the son of Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, but a wealthy and prominent Chinese living in Hsining. At the time of the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the founding of the Ming dynasty, Tibetan tribes were making destructive forays along the Hsining frontier, and this Chinese named Li asked them to submit to the new dynasty. When they refused he went to Lanchow, asked for Chinese troops, and also called on the Monguors of the region to lend a hand in crushing the turbulent Tibetans. The marauders were defeated and fled to the Tsaidam marshes and other parts of the Tibetan plateau, the Monguors and all the other frontier people were grateful to Li for saving their lives and their wealth, and he was rewarded by the Emperor with the office of T'u-ssu and chieftainship over the Monguors.

As against this semi-literary tradition, however, both Monguors and Chinese of the valley of Shat'ang, northeast of Hsining, maintain that the Li T'u-ssu line is in fact descended from the Shat'o prince of Chin and as proof they claim that the Shat'ang valley was formerly called the Shat'o valley and that the original Li mansion was built in the village of Hsinyuänp'u, where its ruins can still be seen. They say that the founding ancestor of the Li line, at the head of his Shat'o troops, crushed insurrections led by Huang Ch'ao (875 A.D.) and saved the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty; but that, disgusted by the intrigues of jealous Chinese ministers, he retired to Hsinyuänp'u, where in addition to the ruins of his mansion there are pointed out the ruins of another mansion, said to have been built by his "prime minister." In the same valley, near a village called Hsitsantze, the ruins of an old city are huddled at the foot of the mountains. This city is called Hsinch'eng, the "New City." Linked with this ruined city are the ruins of an old frontier "Great Wall," and both city and wall are attributed by local tradition to the founding ancestor of the Li line.

The descendants of this prince are credited by the same local tradition with having been at one time the rulers of Hsining, and it is said that the ruined Buddhist monastery of Tafu, situated near the administrative buildings of the governor of the province, in the city of Hsining, was once their ancestral temple. This tradition of the origin of the ruined temple is in fact spread all over the country.

In 1913 I received a call from the then Li T'u-ssu, who proposed to sell me the ruined monastery and the site on which it stood. When asked for his land deeds, he replied that they had been lost during some previous insurrection or time of trouble, but that the tradition of his clan, supported by the belief of all the inhabitants of the region, ought to suffice in place of legal title deeds.

This Li T'u-ssu gave me the following account of his ancestry, as preserved by the tradition of the clan itself. During the Tang dynasty, he said, in the realm of Hsi Liang,²¹ a boy was born in the harem and cast away in the street. A butcher picked him up and gave him the name of Hsueh Ping-

²¹ See chap. 1, p. 19.

kuei. When the butcher died, the boy became a beggar. Then Wang Pao-ch'uan, minister of the King of Western Liang, whose daughter had reached marriageable age, made a public announcement that on the second day of the second moon he would throw a ball wrapped in red silk from the roof of his house; and that the lad who could catch it would become his son-in-law. It was the young beggar who had the good luck to catch the precious ball, but the minister refused him and sent him away. The daughter, however, smitten with love by the sight of the handsome beggar boy, fled from her father's mansion and joined him. The beggar then became a soldier.

One day his father-in-law and his wife's two brothers seized him and tied him on a spirited horse. The horse bolted into the palace of the King, where the Princess T'ai-shan, astonished by his handsome appearance, married him. After eighteen years he remembered his first wife and fled and rejoined her. During all this time she had been waiting for him suffering innumerable privations and hardships. In the meantime the Princess had set out in pursuit of her beloved, accompanied by a troop of soldiers. She rested at night under a plum tree, where she gave birth to a boy. The boy was given the surname of Li ("Plum tree"). This was the boy who grew up to be Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, born of the Princess T'ai-shan under the plum tree, and destined to become the founder of the Li T'u-ssu line.

This legend accords exactly with the celebrated Chinese comedy "Ping-kuei hui yao," "Ping-kuei returns to the cavern." The significant thing about the legend in this form is that it portrays the founding ancestor of the Li line not as a descendant of the "barbarian" Shat'o tribe, but as the son of a princess belonging to the ephemeral Chinese kingdom of Hsi Liang. It probably reflects an attempt on the part of the nobility of the Monguors to deny their "barbarous" origin. The capital of Hsi Liang was at Tunhuang, in the zone of deserts and oases between the regions now administratively known as Kansu and Sinkiang, and stands at the point where a valley coming down from the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau opens into the low-lying deserts. The legend does violence to history, because the kingdom of Hsi Liang lasted from A.D. 400 to 421, and the Tang dynasty was founded only in A.D. 620. The founder of the Tang dynasty, Li Yuan, was a descendant in the seventh generation of the last king of Hsi Liang, and the legend, by bridging the gap, attempts to connect the founding ancestor of the Li line both with the founder of the Tang dynasty and with his remote ancestor in the oasis kingdom of Tun-huang.

It should be pointed out that there is a whole complex of traditions and legends in the Hsining region referring to the famous Li, Prince of Chin. According to one of them, he used to send his cavalry horses into the valley of Sha-t'ang for summer pasture, in the care of the tribes living in that valley, and it was in this way that the Shat'o came to settle in the region.²²

Concerning the very important Lu T'u-ssu line there are comparable legends and traditions, and in this case it is true that the T'u-ssu or chiefs do not speak the language of their subjects. According to some, the founding ancestor of this line was of Chinese extraction, having been sent in former times by the emperor of China to govern the "barbarian" people of the frontier. Others say that both this tribe and its clan of chiefs were Mongols who had been part of the garrison of Yunnan Province under the Mongol dynasty and were then moved by the Chinese, under the Ming dynasty, to the Province of Kansu to garrison the Tibetan frontier. According to still another version, the Lu clan is assigned an even more ancient origin; the story is that the chief of this tribe was responsible for capturing the terrible usurper Wang Mang, who was responsible for the

²² This tradition seems to be related to the fact that during the Yung-lo period (1403-1425), horses of the Chinese government were raised in the pastures of Shat'ang valley (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 4: 15b).

interregnum between the first Han dynasty, ending in A.D. 9, and the second Han dynasty, beginning in A.D. 23. The privileges of the Lu clan chiefs are said to date from this time. To this day two human hands, shrunken, dry, and blackened, reputed to be the hands of Wang Mang, are preserved in the temple of the protecting deity of the Lu clan. I have myself seen them more than once, tied on a stick and covered with a "scarf of felicity" (*khatag*).

According to yet another legend, however, the founding ancestor of the Lu clan was a kinsman of Chingis Khan, and the whole group was originally assigned to this region by Chingis Khan himself.

Concerning the Ch'i line of T'u-ssu, it is said that the founding ancestor of this line was sent by a Mongol emperor to drive away the Tibetans, and that his first mansion was built as Hsiao-ch'ao-ang, where the ruins can still be seen. Later he built a new fortress north of Wei-yuanp'u in Pei-nai, and a monastery in Tung-ying. The old graveyard of this clan is in T'angpa.

An old Monguor, the Lama Li Ming, superintendent of the establishment of the Living Buddha T'ukuan of the monastery of Erhkulung, gave me the following tradition which is probably colored by lamaistic teaching: the Monguors, he said, are all of Uighur origin.²³ In former times they lived near the monastery of Mat'i, in Yungch'ang, a sub-prefecture of Liangchou. A small group of Uighurs still lives at this place. There were originally three brothers: Hor, also known as Kerker; Kernur, and Kersur. The eldest took his subjects and went into Mongolia, where they became Mongols; the second and his followers went to Tibet and became Tibetans; the third and his subjects went to Hsining, where they became the Monguors.

Another story has it that in former times the country was always troubled by forays both from Mongolia and from Tibet, and that the Chinese commanders who succeeded in defeating and conquering some of the frontier tribes were appointed by the Chinese emperor to be the chiefs of these tribes, so that all of the chiefs of the Monguors are to be regarded as of Chinese origin.

According to still another story, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-620), having defeated the T'u-yü-hun (Sienpi) near Hsining, drove most of them into Tibet; but several tribes submitted to this emperor and were assigned a territory by him in which they settled down and became the Monguors of today.

The overall conclusion seems to be that as far as tradition and legend are concerned, the problem of the origin of the Monguors is about as confused as it can be, and remains an enigma not only for Westerners but for the Chinese and for the Monguors themselves. Verbal tradition certainly provides no conclusive answer. A new trail can be blazed only by turning to the literary documents.

It was after more than three years of residence in the country that I had the good luck to obtain the 1747 edition of the *Annals* or chronicles of the prefecture of Hsining. The first edition, printed in 1595, was not available to me. I also secured the *Annals* of the province of Kansu, printed in 1909, and still later I had the very great good fortune to come into possession of a copy of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, edited and printed from wood blocks in 1600 and then continued in manuscript in 1897. These materials enabled me to set out on a new attempt to clarify the origin and early history of the Monguors.

²³ See also Matthias Hermanns, S.V.D., *Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen, Anthropolos*, Vienna, 35-36 (1-3): 78 sqq., 1940-1941.

THE NAME OF THE MONGUORS

The name T'u-jen is not only used by the people of Hsining when speaking of the Monguors but is also encountered in the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province. According to the Chinese dictionaries, T'u-jen means "Native"; it can mean either the people pertaining by birth to a certain place, or the original inhabitants of a country. In Chinese books the word T'u-jen is never used to indicate Chinese inhabiting any place in China. The word has in general usage a derogatory meaning similar to that of the English word "native," and is used for "barbarians," non-civilized peoples subjected to the civilized Chinese, such as the Miao-tze, Lolo, and other tribes.

T'u-jen, however, has a specific meaning for the Chinese of Hsining, who use it only for the Monguors and Shat'o, perhaps because the Monguors and Shat'o speak the same language, have the same customs, dress in the same way, live in the same country, have the same T'u-ssu organization and so generally are considered to be of the same stock.

The Chinese when speaking of Hsifan (Tibetans), or of other Mongols living in the country or in Kukunor, never use the term T'u-jen, but always the terms Hsifan, etc. The question, therefore, is whether the Chinese, in calling the Shat'o and the Monguors T'u-jen, mean a people belonging by birth to the country but whose ancestors migrated from other countries to Hsining, or the original inhabitants of the country. Because the term has this double meaning, it is certainly used in both meanings.

Huc and Gabet call the Monguors Dschiahour, interpreted as "sinised Mongols." This is the term used by the Tibetans of the country. Prjevalski and Father de Smedt heard Tibetans calling them K'arlong. Potanin calls them Shirongols. Father Mostaert heard Mongols in Mongolia referring to them as Dolot; Prjevalski calls them Daldy (the same word), and the Monguors call themselves Monguor. Potanin states that they are also called White Mongols, and Chzhahor. According to Father A. Mostaert the name Monguor is merely a variant of the name Mongol. In the Monguor language, words which in other Mongol dialects end with an *l*, end with an *r*. The written sources and the tradition, however, clearly establish the fact that not all of the Monguors are of Mongol origin. There are no data, however, to explain the process by which the Shat'o group lost its original Turkish language and adopted that of the Monguors. There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that the name T'u-jen, by which the Chinese call the Monguors, is incorrect since in ancient and medieval times the region now inhabited by the Monguors was intermittently and alternately occupied by various tribes. The explanation of the Chinese term is, however, sufficiently obvious. The Chinese military colonists transplanted to the region at the opening of the Ming dynasty must have assumed that the Monguor "natives" whom they found there were "aborigines" who had always been there.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONGUORS

The language of the Monguors has been studied by the Fathers A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt.²⁴ Father A. Mostaert writes me:

²⁴ A. De Smedt et A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kan-su occidental. Ire partie: Phonétique. Anthropol.*, Vienna, Leo-Gesellschaft 24: 145-164 et 801-815; 25: 657-665 et 961-973; 26: 253. *IIme partie, Grammaire.* Monumenta Serica Monograph 6, Peking, Catholic Univ., 1945. *IIIme partie: Dictionnaire Monguor-Français*, Publication de l'Université Catholique de Pekin, Peiping, 1933. A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu and their language. *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking* 8, 1931.

The language spoken by the Monguors is a Mongol dialect, with peculiar archaic characteristics concerning both the phonetics and the vocabulary.

The Monguor-morphology also differs from that of the Mongol dialects.

The Monguor dialect borrowed a large number of words both from the Tibetan and mostly from the Chinese languages; the words borrowed from Turkish are less numerous.

These facts secure to the Monguor dialect a peculiar aspect, and make it so extremely different from other Mongol dialects, that Monguors are unable to converse either with eastern or with western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language.

HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE ENIGMA

The grouping of Mongol and Shat'o tribes which resulted in the formation of the Monguor people was effected in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Subudei, one of Chingis Khan's greatest commanders, invaded Hsining on his way to Lanchou.²⁵ In 1275, according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 711), a Mongol army was sent to fight the turbulent T'ufan (Tibetans) whose nomad pastures were in the Kukunor region. This expedition was based on Hsining. During this half-century of war, most of the population of the Hsining country, which had consisted of small Tibetan tribes, had fled and the country was laid open for the Mongols. Only in 1287, however, was Chang-chi, a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, appointed as governor of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 7a) and an embryonic organization started; but during the whole period of the Mongol dynasty no census is recorded. The scanty records include only such events as a movement of troops in 1302 and a famine in 1324.

During the whole Mongol period we find no references in the *Annals* concerning the presence of the Monguors in Hsining; the first historical data available are encountered during the Ming (1368-1643) and they prove that the Monguor groups were already living in Hsining during the Mongol period, under the ancestors of their later T'u-ssu.

Both the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, *passim*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, *passim*) record that the Monguors were already settled in the Hsining region when the Ming dynasty was founded in 1368. Both *Annals* also record the tradition that the Li group is of Shat'o extraction. The version of these *Annals* is confirmed in (or perhaps drawn from) the *History of the Five Dynasties* (Wu tai shih chi, ch. 74, pp. 10 b, 11a; Ponapen edition), where it is recorded that the Shat'o lived in the mountainous country between Kanchou and Hsining (where the Li group still lives) in A.D. 939; and these Shat'o are described as belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe, from which came the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin. The living tradition, the documentary records of the *Annals*, and the general history of China support each other. The Chu-hsieh tribe fled to China in A.D. 808, in order to be protected by the Tang emperors. They were settled in the country of Lingwu, Ningshia, and received the surname of Li from the emperor. The other Monguor groups, according to the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, p. 43), are of Mongol origin, except for one small group of seventy families belonging to the Yeh T'u-ssu who are of Ch'ant'ou²⁶ origin and who submitted to the Ming at the same time as the Monguors. All the Monguors are described as having been posted

²⁵ H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, 290, 291, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950. This work contains a valuable discussion of this campaign.

²⁶ Ch'ant'ou, "Turbaned Heads," is the vulgar Chinese term for the Turkish-speaking agricultural and town-dwelling people of Sinikiang, for whom in recent years the medieval tribal name of Uighur has, with partial historical justification, been revived.—O.L.

along these frontiers by the Ming and their chiefs as having received the title and function of T'u-ssu during the very first years of the dynasty.

According to the *Annals*, all the chiefs of the Monguor and Shat'o clans belong to their own clan and are of the same extraction, except the Ch'eng T'u-ssu who is Chinese by origin, the "founding ancestor" of his house having been born in Chiangnan province. Taking after his father, he fought the Mongols and was rewarded with the hereditary office of Chihhuishih and the administration of 120 Mongol families, who became his subjects (*Annals of the Province*, ch. 42, p. 36).

It was at the time of the submission of the Monguor clans that the Ming Dynasty started the establishment of new Chinese colonies which, together with the Monguors, were supposed to defend the country.

The first census in the *Annals* of Hsining concerning these colonies is recorded at the opening of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 16, p. 15a). It lists 7,200 Chinese families totalling only 15,854 persons, described as "officials and soldiers." The indicated average of less than three persons per family strengthens the probability that there were as yet no agricultural colonists. We know from earlier records that during the Han and Sui dynasties Chinese colonies had been established. It is probable, from what we know of the general character of Chinese history, that when colonies disappeared and the country was reoccupied by nomads, some of the Chinese were killed, some fled back to areas with a more numerous agricultural population and strong walled cities, and some were absorbed by the nomads and became barbarians. Thus when the first military Ming garrisons were established, it is probable that there were no villages in the country and no "natives" whom the newcomers called "aborigines," except the Monguor groups and a very few small Tibetan groups.

Among the Chinese inhabitants of Hsining, after so many centuries, the tradition is still fresh and living that their ancestors were poor farmers of the province of Chiangsu (Kiangsu) who had been picked up at random in their home villages and sent as conscripts to garrison the Hsining frontier. The tradition is specific that they left their homes unwillingly. Every year in April at Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival when ancestors are venerated, the Chinese of Hsining first burn paper and incense and prostrate themselves in the direction of their ancient homeland before they honor their more recent ancestors. On the last day of the year they again burn paper and prostrate themselves before midnight on the main street, in the direction of Nanking on the lower Yangtze, honoring their remote ancestors who perhaps have no worshippers in their original homeland. At betrothals a packet of fine tea leaves is always offered and this is described as a custom brought from the ancestral province and loyally preserved. In the temple of the guardian deity of the city of Hsining (Ch'eng-huang Miao) a large room is reserved for three small statues of Buddha which are said to have been brought by the first Ming Chinese on their way to exile, and on the fifteenth of the first moon nobody fails to honor them. Every year a festival is organized and traditional theatricals are presented in their honor. In 1917 the statues were gilded anew and the small temple received a new coat of paint. History and tradition seem to tally, therefore, in recognizing these military colonists as the pioneers of the present Chinese population of the Hsining region.

The Chinese of Hsining always stress the fact that their ancestors were forced to leave their native province and had been exiled to the country of the barbarians. The stealing of a single melon from the fields was a crime great enough to cause exile of the whole family. Of old the Chinese people were reluctant to go to the military colonies, and prisoners from all over China had to be sent.

A living picture of the sending of colonists to Hsining by Wang-Mang, the usurper of the throne of the Han emperors in A.D. 7, is related in Chinese history.

Wang Mang sent an emissary to Kukunor (and) induced a Ch'iang chieftain to come to court and present his grasslands to China, offering, in speech flattering to Wang Mang, to remove his people to less fertile lands and guard the frontiers ... When Kukunor had been accepted, Chinese settlers found it unattractive and would not move there. Wang Mang solved that problem quickly; 50 laws were added to the code, and violators were exiled to Kukunor. Thousands and tens of thousands of people were transported to this inhospitable terrain. Wang Mang would not allow the welfare of the people to interfere with his glory. The Ch'iang had not expected such mass immigration and attacked the settlers. Wang Mang had to put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the barren region in order to glorify himself.²⁷

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty.²⁸ Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35a-b, 36a). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.²⁹ His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in

²⁷ Homer H. Dubs, Wang Mang and his economic reforms, *T'oung-pao* 35: 230-231, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940.

²⁸ Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan—O.L.

²⁹ Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O.L.

1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 26b, 37a-b).

3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 38b, 39a-b).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 39b, 40a).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 40b, 41a-b).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Ch'i clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yuän, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 44b, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou Tang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Huc and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located. The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 48-49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 49-50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Ton (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 51b-52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 51b, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of 70 Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier; two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 54).

These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, and in the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 24. They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of

the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50., pp. 55-57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting), His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty. Kulan.³⁰ The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,686 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

The Monguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

- Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000
- Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627
- Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303
- Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one
- Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huangchung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14b, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the

³⁰ The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists, and grasslands in the extensive side valleys were assigned to each of the T'u-ssu groups for the pasturing of their herds and for the cultivation of cereals, without irrigation. The Monguors, in other words, were relegated to the side valleys after having been forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields. The account may be interpreted both as meaning that the Monguors had already begun to practice farming, and as meaning that they were able to fall back on a pastoral economy which they had not wholly abandoned.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it may be assumed that each T'u-ssu lived with his subjects grouped around him in the country assigned to him, since the T'u-ssu were the appointed defenders of the frontiers, the guardians of the mountain passes and of the traditional ways followed by invading nomads. Later it is said that renewed forays of Tibetans and the Mongols of Kukunor had the effect of dispersing the Monguors. Certainly the plain fact is that at present a great many of the subjects of nearly every T'u-ssu live in territories which do not belong to the T'u-ssu to whom they are subject. In order to understand the scattering of the Monguors, however, exclusive emphasis should not be put on the factor of frontier inroads and revolts. The economic factor was also important, especially the development of agriculture and the opening to cultivation of extensive valleys, notably between 1644 and 1723, when there was relatively little frontier warfare. Indeed, after frontier disturbances a population that has fled usually comes back to its original homeland, but when the people disperse and spread in order to engage in new, profitable occupations, they settle and do not return.

There is evidence for the importance of population shifts in association with economic change in the fact that according to the *Annals of Hsining* (ch. 16, pp. 5a-b) 81,707 "pieces" of land in the prefecture of Hsining were opened to cultivation for the first time during the first hundred years of the Ch'ing dynasty. In addition, 6,243 "pieces" of new land were opened in the subprefecture of Nienpei (ch. 16, p. 9b) and 10,499 in the Shuo, the newly organized administrative unit of Kueite (ch. 16, pp. 10b, 11a). All of this land is referred to as grassland, meaning land opened to cultivation but not irrigated by means of canals. These figures are convincing evidence of the importance of the spread of agriculture in bringing about the dispersal of the Monguors.

The establishment of the new sub-prefecture of Tat'ung, dependent on Hsining, was also a phase of this great economic transformation. After the general revolt of the Mongols of Kukunor, the frontier Tibetans, and the lamas of the whole region had been crushed in 1723-24, the military district (*wei*) of Tat'ung, forty miles north of Hsining, was reorganized as a sub-prefecture in 1761. Chinese and Muslims, in addition to Monguors, joined in the land-rush to cultivate these grasslands, because attractive terms had been offered for payment for the land after three years, with loans for seed and the use of oxen.³¹ The population of Tat'ung climbed from 5,862 inhabitants in 1723-35 to 11,830 between 1736-96 (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 16a-b) and a number of new villages were established.

Among these villages four were entirely inhabited by Monguors; three were equally divided between Monguors and Chinese, and in two the Monguors numbered 30 per cent of the population (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 12, pp. 15a-b). After 1796 another four villages were built for Monguors by the Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung. All the Monguors who migrated to Tat'ung in this period were subjects of the sixteen T'u-ssu settled in the region of Hsining.

Contemporary with the expansion of agriculture into the Tat'ung sub-prefecture was the opening of the splendid large plain of Weiyuanp'u, northeast of Hsining. Here again there was a

³¹ *Tung Hua Lu* ("records" of the Manchu dynasty), Yung Cheng period (1723-1735), ch. 4, p. 39.

land-rush, including the subjects of various T'u-ssu, who settled in scattered groups all over the plain.

The agricultural development of the region of Kueite, after the Manchus crushingly defeated the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau in 1723, is to be explained in the same way. In 1644 the population of the Kueite region numbered 2,060; in 1746, it numbered 11,560. A previous attempt had been made in 1380, early in the Ming dynasty, to use Mongols from around Hochou to colonize this region. I have often met, in Hsining, Monguors from Kueite, visiting their relatives in their old country. They told me that more than 300 Monguor families of Hsining origin were living around Kueite, scattered among Tibetans and Chinese. Their tradition was that their ancestors had left Hsining in order to make a better living.

HISTORICAL FRAME IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVED

In order to gain a clearer insight into the economy of the Monguors, including the shift from the pastoral to the agricultural; the expansion of many small Monguor groups from their original assigned territories and chiefs, and the building of new villages in other places; the many changes in the social organization of the clans and in the relations between chiefs and subjects; and, finally, changes in the means of living and the influence of Lamaism among the Monguors, it is advantageous to know the historical frame in which the Monguors lived under the Ming dynasty and during the first decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. The historical data will explain the failure of the Ming policy of colonizing the country by means of the Monguor clans and of Chinese military colonies. The failure of colonization is plainly evidenced by the census of 1573-1620, which records only 440 families of Chinese civilians in addition to the 2,560 families of officials and military colonists. These figures show that after two centuries there was only a tiny Chinese population while the military colony or garrison had decreased by two-thirds. This decline was due to inroads by Mongols and rebellions of Tibetans.³²

After the downfall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 the power of the descendants of Chingis Khan as rulers of all the Mongols had been overthrown by the Oirats or Western Mongols. Under Dayan Khan (1479-1523) the Eastern Mongols recovered under a descendant of Chingis for a brief period. In 1457 the Mongols had occupied the Ordos under the leadership of Aruktai; in 1509, dissatisfied with Dayan Khan, the tribe of (the chief) Ipula in conjunction with the tribes of Aert'ussu after having killed the son of Dayan, fled to Kukunor, where they arrived in 1509 (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 13, pp. 13-14).³³ They subjugated the Hsi-fan tribes who had been

³² In this period there was close contact between Tibet and the strong Mongol power created in the Ordos-Suiyuan region by Altan Khan of the Tumets, while south of the Tibet-Ordos line of contact, the Chinese agricultural country was ravaged by the Chinese rebel Li Ch'uang-wang, a native of Yen-an in Shensi, who eventually sacked Peking in 1643, causing the last Ming emperor to commit suicide. Thus the Ming Empire was cut off from, and practically powerless in, the northwestern Kansu-Hsining hinterland.—O.L.

³³ See also D. Pokotilov, *History of the eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, Part I, trans. by Rudolph Lowenthal, *Studio Serica monographs, series A*, No. 1, Chengtu, Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, 1947. See also the brief summary of the chaotic wars among the Mongols in this period in Chapter 2, "The period of feudal wars in Mongolia," in N. N. Poppe, *Khalkha-Mongol'skii geroicheskii epos (The Khalkha Mongol heroic epos)*, Moscow-Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1937. From these sources the Chinese transcriptions Ipula and Aert'ussu may be identified with the Mongol originals Ibiri (name of a Khan) and Ordos, a tribal

occupying this territory and making inroads in the Hsining region for thirty-four years. Other Mongols who were dissatisfied with the power of Dayan and his successors joined the following of Ipula (Ibiri), hoping to find freedom and independence in far-away Kukunor. Chinese armies were sent to Hsining when the local military colonists and the Monguors could no longer cope with the situation, but the Kukunor Mongols, nevertheless, expanded their territory from Kukunor to Alashan (Pokotilov, p. 102).

In 1554 (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 13, p. 15*b*) Altan, the grandson of Dayan, came from the Ordos to Kukunor and the murderers of his uncle fled. In 1575 Altan welcomed the grand lama of Lhasa in Kukunor, gave him the title of Dalai Lama, built a temple, and proclaimed the religion of the Yellow sect as the religion of his subjects, but his son continued the inroads against Hsining and South Kansu and Szechuan. In 1635 the Ölöts under their chief Gushi Khan drove out the Mongols of Kukunor and established themselves in the region, and now a period of ruin and destruction began. *The Annals* (ch. 13, pp. 13-21) from 1543 to 1642 (i.e., until the eve of the establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty), list eleven forays of Mongols coming from the Ordos, besides intermittent revolts of Tibetan tribes in the region of Hsining, or on its fringes.

Gushi, hoping to stay on good terms with the new Manchu dynasty, kept quiet in Kukunor, and there were no more forays of Mongols or Tibetans until 1723; but in 1642 the city of Hsining was besieged and taken by the followers of the Chinese rebel, Li Tze-ch'eng (Li Ch'uang-wang), and in 1648 the region of Tat'ung was disturbed by a Muslim revolt which started in the Kanchou oasis.

These facts explain the decrease of the population of the country. At the dawn of the Manchu dynasty the first census records only 13,686 persons, 2,200 fewer Chinese inhabitants than when the Ming occupied Hsining and began military colonization.

Under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, however, the unfortunate region of Hsining revived and began to flourish. In the *Annals* (ch. 13, p. 15), it is noted that by the Ch'ien Lung period (1736-1796) the population had jumped to the figure of 70,470. While the strong armies of the Qing assured peace in the country, and agriculture developed because outlets were provided for its products and commerce, another factor must also be taken into account. Hsining was the most important gateway into Tibet. Its prosperity depended on trade with Tibet, without which Hsining was doomed to be a dead city. Gushi Khan, chief of the Ölöts, was the protector of Tibet and the defender of the Dalai Lama. His armies and officials were always traveling between Kukunor and Lhasa and assured the security of the roads. We must remember also that during the long period of troubles in Hsining, the roads between Lhasa and Kukunor, Lhasa and Turkestan, and Lhasa and India had always remained open. Mongol princes and tribesmen made pilgrimages to Lhasa, the capital of Lamaism, the sons of Mongol princes went to Lhasa for study, and lamas and living Buddhas traveled through the Hsining and Kukunor region to Mongolia and China, from the time of the conversion of Altan Khan, and the merchants of India and Turkestan continued their business. During the period of Gushi Khan these relations with Lhasa became even closer, and Lhasa became, and thereafter remained, the religious center of the Mongol world. Its influence was already so strong that forty-four princes could convene with three Hutukhtus to draw up the

federation, while "Aloch'u" appears to be a rendering of part of the name of Mandulai Agulkhu, an ally of Ibiri. See also I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 191, St. Petersburg, 1829.—O.L.

so-called Mongol-Oirat code of 1640 and plan the persecution of Shamanism among the Mongols.³⁴

It is not surprising that when peace was restored in Hsining the commerce with Tibet and India, which had never been completely cut off, was increasingly funnelled through Hsining toward China, bringing about a great revival of prosperity in Hsining. Interesting contemporary evidence of this prosperity is to be found in the account given by two Jesuit Fathers, Grueber and Dorville, who passed through Hsining in 1661 on the way from Peking to Lhasa.³⁵ They describe the town as “large and populous, and from its situation near the Great Wall of special significance, it being the first gate where the Indian traders have to wait for permission to enter the Middle Kingdom.” A little later Ysbrandt Ides, of Dutch origin, an agent of the Russian Tsar, traveling from Moscow to Peking and via Hsining and Tibet to India, wrote about Hsining in 1692:

This province borders on the upper principality of Tibet, which extends to the territories of the great Mogul, from whose dominions great number of merchants come to the vast trading city of Zunning (Hsining) in the kingdom of Xiensi (Shensi), and the door of commerce being for some time opened here and liberty granted to them as well as Muscovites and Tartars to trade here, they have with their wares and trade introduced the Mohammedan religion.

He adds that the people of Gambay (Gujarat), Bengal “and other subordinate countries” are those who chiefly resort to Zunning, bringing there diamonds, jewels, elephants’ teeth, wax, etc.³⁶

Ysbrandts Ides’ reference to Mohammedans is corroborated by a text of the *Huang Ch’ing Chih kung t’u*, part V, p. 49, “in the beginning of the Ming, Ch’an T’ou [Turks] came from Turkistan [Hsi Yü] to trade; they settled at a place 40 li from Hsining and married there.” The reference is probably to the place called Topa, of which Father Regis speaks in the following quotation, and where there is still a strong settlement of Mohammedans. This place was the headquarters of the Mohammedan rebels who besieged Hsining in the Mohammedan rebellion of 1868-1872. The ruins of its double walls reveal that it must once have been an important place. The only word still readable on a stele preserved there is the Chinese character “Tang,” which must refer to the claim that the place was founded during the Tang dynasty (618-906). It is well known that from the early middle ages, the Turks, especially the Uighurs, were the traders who with their caravans traveled to Russia, Asia Minor, Mongolia, Manchuria, and China, and that Chingis used them as guides for his military expeditions.

The Jesuit Father Regis, who by order of the emperor K’ang Hsi was engaged in mapping the Hsining region in 1708-09, “encountered at Topa, a locality 40 li west of Hsining, three or four Catholic Armenians having a concern dealing with beautiful skins, which they bought among the

³⁴ V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buryats, Kalmuks)*, 73, Harbin, Artistic Printing House, 1929; also the same, *Fundamental principles of Mongol law*, 92 sqq., Tientsin, Telberg, 1937. (N. N. Poppe, however, in his work on the Khalkha Mongol heroic epos already cited, quite rightly notes (p. 36) that while the first part of this Code constituted a “peculiar ‘pact of mutual non-aggression’” between Oirats (Ölöts) and Khalkha Mongols, “in fact it was never observed by anyone.”—O. L.)

³⁵ C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721*, 179, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1924.

³⁶ E. Ysbrandts Ides, *The three years’ land travels of his excellency E. Ysbrandts Ides from Moscow to China*, 126, 195, London, 1705.

Tartars.” It is clear from Father Regis’ account that Topa must have been a place of considerable size, for he wrote that in it “you can find all that you want in the way of foreign as well as Chinese merchandise, all kinds of drugs, dates, coffee, and so on.”³⁷

Another text, encountered in Courant,³⁸ gives interesting data about commercial and agricultural activities in Central Asia. A Russian delegate, Ivan Unkovskii, who arrived among the Jungars, reported that

during the last thirty years, the Jungars have developed their agriculture, cultivating all kind of cereals and grits and raising all kinds of animals; they manufacture leather and cloth and iron wares, and by means of their commerce they have relations with India, Tibet, Russia, and China.³⁹

At that time the Jungars were at the zenith of their glory and their realm covered the territories between Tashkent and Turfan and between Lake Zaisan and Tibet.

These facts support the assumption that the revival of commerce and trade which had never been cut off outside of Hsining began in Hsining as soon as the Ch’ing dynasty was established. The commerce with Tibet, and India, dealt mainly with luxury articles, as these texts prove; the bulk trade in wool, sheep, and lambskins is of relatively recent date. The revival of trade encouraged not only local industries but agriculture, for the supplying of caravans.

Later in this study reference will be made repeatedly to the year 1723, when there occurred the last general revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas of the Hsining and Kukunor region, after which, with the restoration of the Manchu emperor’s authority, there were important changes in the status of tribes, monasteries, and lamas. This revolt in 1723 was the outcome of a century of Tibetan history. About 1630, in the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty was collapsing and the Manchus had not yet conquered China, the Deshi (prime minister) of the province of Tsang captured Lhasa, dethroned the King of Tibet, and assumed sovereignty over all Tibet. As an adherent of the Red Hat sect of Lamaism, he was hostile to the Yellow sect. Gushi,⁴⁰ Khan of the Ölöts, took possession of Kukunor in 1636, driving from Kukunor the Khalkha Mongols who were adherents of the Red Hat sect. After an expedition into Khamdo in 1638, he answered the call of the Dalai Lama, invaded Tibet and in 1641 defeated the Desi. Gushi Khan retained only the command of his troops of occupation. He transferred civil authority to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyats’o, who became King of Tibet, took possession of the royal palace of the King, began the building of the Potala, and created the Panch’an, the second great “incarnation” of Tibet.

³⁷ P. J. B. Du Halde, *Description de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, 48, La Haye, 1736.

³⁸ Maurice Courant, *L’Asie centrale au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècles, empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou*, Lyon-Paris, *Annales de l’Université de Lyon*, N.S. 2 (26): 68, 1912.

³⁹ The original text is in N.I. Veselovskii, *Posol’stvo k dzhungarskomu Khun-taidji Tsevan Rabtanu kapitana ot artillerii Ivana Unkovskogo i putevoi zhurnal ego na 1722-24, dokumenty, izdannye s predislovom i primechaniyami* (The mission to the Jungar Khong Taiji Tsevan Rabtan of captain of artillery Ivan Unkovskii and his travel journal for 1722-24, documents, published with an introduction and notes), *Zapiski of the Russian Geographical Society, Division of Ethnography*, 10 (2), St. Petersburg. 1887.—O. L.

⁴⁰ Referred to as Guśri, Khan of the Qósots (Hoshuts, one of the tribes of the Öölöt federation) by L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early eighteenth century*, 8, Leiden, Brill, 1950.—O.L.

The Dalai Lama died in 1680. The Manchus were by then well established in China, and the emperor K'ang Hsi had long suspected the Dalai Lama and his prime minister of being in favor both of the Chinese rebel Wu San-kuei and of Galdan, the Khan of the Jungar Mongols. The prime minister⁴¹ kept secret the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama for fourteen years, and the Sixth Dalai Lama began to take an active part in government only in 1696.

The great-grandson of Gushi, Latsang,⁴² succeeded about 1700 to the position of Mongol overlord of Tibet that had been created by Gushi Khan. The new Dalai Lama, who was fond of pleasure, wine, and women, "renounced his spiritual prerogatives, although still maintaining his temporal rights and his suzerainty over Tibet," in 1702.⁴³ In 1705 Latsang Khan put to death the powerful Deshi or prime minister, and in 1706 he deposed the Dalai Lama and sent him to Peking. He died on the way; possibly but not certainly by foul play. A new incarnation of the Dalai Lama was then installed, who was reputed to be Latsang's natural son. In 1708, a rival "incarnation" appeared in Eastern Tibet, who soon received support among important Mongol princes of the Kukunor region.⁴⁴ It was in these developments that the great revolt of 1723 originated. The political forces at work in these intrigues may be summarized as follows: hegemony among the Olots, Oirats, or Western Mongols had passed to Tsevan Rabdan, of the Jungars, whose seat of power was in the Ili valley, in what is now Sinkiang province. His growing power alarmed the Manchu dynasty in China, which by supporting the Khalkhas against the Western Mongols had already acquired suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, but had not yet been able to conquer Sinkiang. Latsang Khan, in Tibet, himself a Western Mongol, did not want to submit to the overlordship of Tsevan Rabdan and the Jungars. He therefore sought the patronage of the Emperor of China, K'ang Hsi. Among the Kukunor Mongols, on the edge of Tibet, the most powerful princes were pro-Jungar and therefore hostile to Latsang Khan in Tibet and a potential danger to the Manchu power in China. Latsang Khan's nominee for recognition as Dalai Lama was therefore favored by K'ang Hsi against the nominee supported by the Kukunor Mongols; but at the same time he succeeded in having the rival infant Dalai Lama brought to the monastery of Kumbum, within reach of his military power, which would enable him to change his policy whenever it became expedient to do so.⁴⁵

In 1717, two Jungar armies reached Lhasa and Kumbum (near Hsining); Latsang was killed, the Potala sacked, its priceless treasures looted, and the shrine of the revered Lobsang Gyats'o demolished.⁴⁶ With the death of Latsang Khan, the Manchu emperor changed his whole policy. Many of the Tibetans, especially in certain powerful lamaseries, had at first welcomed the Jungars; but the conduct of the Jungars had been so savage that there was soon a willingness to resist them. In 1718 the Manchu-Chinese forces moved into Tibet. After a severe defeat in 1718, they took Lhasa in 1720, with little fighting, the Jungar forces having been concentrated to meet forces coming from China on another line of march. As part of their new policy, the Manchus had

⁴¹ He was the natural son of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Petech, *op. cit.*, 9).—O.L.

⁴² Lha-bzan in Petech, *op. cit.*—O.L.

⁴³ Petech, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ For the foregoing summary, see Petech, *op. cit.*, 12 *sqq.*—O.L.

⁴⁵ Petech, *op. cit.*, 15-18.—O.L.

⁴⁶ The raid on Kumbum failed in its primary objective, which was to get hold of the person of the "alternative" Dalai Lama; Petech, *op. cit.*, 35.—O.L.

recognized the “alternative” Dalai Lama (who was in the eyes of most Tibetans the legitimist claimant), and they now installed him in Lhasa.⁴⁷

Tibet was now completely a Chinese protectorate. Manchu military efforts shifted away from Tibet toward the Jungar homeland in Sinkiang. As part of the new policy in Tibet, no effort was made to restore the former overlord position in Tibet of the ruling family of the Hoshut Mongols, the descendants of Gushi Khan.

In 1722 the emperor K’ang Hsi died. His successor, reigning under the style of Yung Cheng, attempted a policy of military and financial retrenchment. In 1723, in an attempt to take advantage of the situation, a rebellion was started among the Kukunor Mongols, led by Lobsang Dantsin (bLo-bzan bstan-dsin in Petech, *op. cit.*), chief of the Kukunor branch of the Hoshuts and son of the second son of Gushi Khan, and therefore an uncle of the deceased Latsang Khan. His rebellion was supported by important monasteries and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Hsining region. As it would, if successful, have cut the Hsining route from China to Lhasa and opened the way to a return of the Jungars, both the Manchu-Chinese and the Lhasa authorities reacted vigorously, especially the forces under General Nien Keng-yao, whose office was that of “warden of the marches.” Monasteries in Hsining were pillaged and burned, nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries were degraded in rank, and the administration of the Kukunor-Hsining region brought under tighter control. Throughout the region, administrative units and the local distribution of Mongols and Tibetans, lasting until the end of the Manchu dynasty, date from the measures taken at this time.⁴⁸

The Monguors, however, retained their political status, for it is said in the *Huang Ch’ing Fanpu Yao Lüeh* (ch. II, p. 7 a), that “their troops under the command of the T’itu Yueh Chung-ch’i, the right hand of general Nien Keng-yao, fought in the repression of the lamaseries and of the Tibetans and Mongols.” It was as reward for his outstanding services that the Lu T’u-ssu received a group of thirteen Tibetan villages as his subjects.

A memorable date in the history of Hsining is 1723; from that time on it was effectively organized on the pattern of a Chinese prefecture, peace was restored, and both agriculture and trade began to flourish.

This year was also a turning point in the history of the Monguor clans; the Monguors became definitely stabilized in their agricultural economy and expanded all over the country, many of them leaving their chiefs; new means of living were available, and consequently many changes occurred in their social organization.

⁴⁷ Petech, *op. cit.*, 58-61. See also W. W. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of Tibet. T’oung Pao* 11, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

⁴⁸ Petech, *op. cit.*, 82-88. It is characteristic of China, with its vast extent and poor communications, that regions and regional history are strongly marked. Often a region, especially a frontier region, is more strongly affected by some great local event than by much greater, but more distant events that merely threw a shadow in passing. Thus the Lobsang Dantsin revolt, though of minor importance in the histories of either China or Tibet, was of major importance in its effects and lasting consequences in the region of Hsining and in the destiny of the Monguors.—O.L.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN

COMPOSITION OF THE CLAN

In 1913 the festival of Ch'ing Ming, one of the most important all over China for the veneration of ancestors, fell on April 5. On that day I attended the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held in T'angpa at the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the clan. This diet was celebrated throughout the region for its display of pomp and grandeur; but that year all who attended were afraid that this might be the last such diet to be held. The atmosphere was heavy with depression and dejection, for rumors were current that the institution of T'u-ssu might be abolished by the Chinese Republic which two years before had replaced the Manchu Empire. The other clans had cancelled their celebrations, and in fact this proved to be the last such assembly ever held with the old magnificence and splendor.

The diet was a real revelation for me, a veritable seminar in ethnology. It was divided into three phases: the veneration of the ancestors at the graveyard, the festival, and the meeting of the clan. I shall note here only the facts related to the structure of the clan as manifested in the solemn worship. I shall deal later with the other phases.

In the avenue leading straight from the entrance of the graveyard to the imposing mound of the ancestor the worshippers, holding incense sticks in their hands, stood erect. They were divided into two distinct groups, standing apart but both facing the mound. The offering disposed on a table before the mound included a hog, a pork pie, rolls of steamed bread, dried grapes, sugar, and pears.

As chief of the clan the T'u-ssu stood in front of both groups and performed the libations, the burning of paper, and the offering of the sacrifices.

The first of the two groups mentioned above was disposed in six rows, each of which performed in succession the veneration of the ancestor by prostration. Then the members of the first row, in a group, turned and honored, by bowing, the members of the five other rows. Those of the second row, after having honored the members of the first row by prostrating themselves, turned and honored the members of the next four rows with a simple bow, and so on. The pork pie and the rolls, sacrifices for the ancestor, were then divided among the members of the six rows, who by eating some of the food partook at the graveyard in a sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor. Later a piece of pork from the hog was offered to each of the families of members of the six rows.

After this sacrificial meal, the large second group approached the mound, and prostrated themselves in a group (not in separate rows), holding incense sticks in their joined hands, to venerate the ancestor. Then, prostrating themselves again in a group, they honored the members of the first group. They did not partake of the sacrificial meal. This concluded the rites at the graveyard.

The members of the first group only then went to the courtyard of Ch'i Sen-k'o (Ch'i the lion),⁴⁹ a wealthy Monguor, in order to honor the clan register of genealogy according to regular ritual and to bring it up to date by entering the names of members deceased since the last diet.

These rites reveal the internal structure and social organization of the Monguor clan.

The T'u-ssu, as recognized chief of the clan, officiated at the sacrifice, acting in front of the whole clan and in its name.

⁴⁹ From Monguor *senggi*, Mongol *sengge*, Tibetan *senge*, "lion."

All members of the clan, as bearers of the same surname, claim descent from a common ancestor, and therefore they assemble at the grave mound of this common ancestor to venerate him collectively.

The general assembly is, however, divided into two groups, and the differences between these groups demand analysis.

1. The members of the first group are disposed in six rows which venerate the ancestor in succession and in the same way, but each row honors the others in different ways. The first row honors the five others with a simple bow. The second row honors the first row by prostration, but the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rows by bowing only. The third row honors the first and second rows by prostration, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth rows only by bowing, and so on down.

2. All the members of the large second group venerate the ancestor by prostration, not in rows of precedence but as a uniform group. They honor the members of the six rows of the first group by the same rite of prostration, and this they also do collectively and simultaneously.

3. The members of the first group, the six rows, partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor; the members of the second group are excluded from this rite.

4. The members of the first group honor the genealogical register in the presence of the T'u-su, and the names of their deceased are carefully inscribed in this register according to a special ritual. The members of the second group are not allowed to honor the register and the names of their deceased are debarred from the precious book.

I was delayed in arriving at a logical analysis of these differences by the existence of a mistaken "folk" concept of the structure of the Monguor clan. According to this popular and universally accepted tradition, all members of the clan bear the same surname, which is the same as that of their chief, and therefore all are assumed to be the descendants of a common ancestor. Moreover, the pattern of actual behavior follows this tradition. In conformity with the principle of patrilineal exogamy, the boys of the clan are not allowed to marry girls of their own clan. In addition, all members of the clan venerate the same founding ancestor, as described above.

Nevertheless the existence of two groups, ritually differentiated from each other, leads inevitably to the conclusion that in each clan the members' the first are true descendants of a common ancestor, while those of the second group are commoners, descendants of other ancestors, who have been assimilated to clan status, though incompletely and at a subordinate level.

The six rows of "true" clan members represent six different generations of descent from the founding ancestor, through his sons.⁵⁰ Therefore the members of the senior generation worship the ancestor first, followed by the cadet generations in descending order. Similarly each cadet generation, from second to fifth, accords to its seniors a prostration, but to its juniors only a simple bow.

Collectively, the six lines of true genealogical descent form an elite. The "assimilated" commoners are admitted to the general rites and bear the clan name, but are excluded from the inner rites according to the principle that there cannot be actual participation in the veneration of other people's ancestors. Hence also their exclusion from the genealogical register.

⁵⁰ This does *not* mean that a man in the youngest generation had his own father, grandfather, etc., up to the fifth ascending generation still living. It means simply that owing to wide age spreads within any generation, it was ultimately possible to have assembled a group of kinsmen in which six different generations were represented.

The secondary status of the commoners is shown not only by their exclusion from the register and the sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor, but by their collective prostration before the elite group. The ranking by seniority of generations, so important for the elite group, does not concern them, since those in the elite group are not in fact their kinsmen but simply represent, in a collective, undifferentiated way, the “lords” or descendants of the noble ancestor to whom their own ancestors became subject long ago.

The strongest confirmation, however, of the fact that the commoners are assimilated members of the clan and not true descendants of the clan ancestor is to be found in the fact that their dead are not entered in the genealogical record of the clan and they are not admitted to the rite of honoring the genealogical record. This exclusion would not be possible if they had any real claim to descent from the clan ancestor because in the larger Oriental cultural complex of which they are a marginal society to be debarred from the family register is the most shameful dishonor. Other facts also support the conclusion that commoners do in reality have their own line or lines of descent. They have their own cemeteries. In these cemeteries they carry out their own ceremonies of ancestral veneration, including the sacrificial meal of “communion.” There is no indication that these ancestors of the commoners are regarded as offshoots from the line of the noble elite of the clan. Some of the wealthier commoners even have their own genealogical registers; but among all the seventeen Monguor groups, I never heard of a common ancestor of the entire commoner group. This absence of a claim to a common ancestor of the subject group suggests that the subject groups derive originally not from a single subject clan but from a number of subject clans, each with its own ancestor.

Analyses of the kind made above are never made by the Monguors themselves. When asked why all members of the clan, including the subject commoners, bear the same surname as the chief, the stock reply is simply that this has always been customary among them, and really it was so of old.⁵¹

In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name, the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they follow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that “things have always

⁵¹ B. Y. Vladimirtsov, in his *Régime social des Mongols*, translated by M. Carsow, 88, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948 (the original Russian edition was published in Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1934), writes that *unagan bogol* (hereditary vassals), and even “simple” *bogol* (slaves) were allowed to keep the memory of their “bones” and their clans, but “migrated in camps bearing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter.”

been that way.” It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T’u-ssu the Ch’i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T’u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

For a comparison we may turn to the record of what is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.⁵² The result was a social structure in which as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble “founding ancestors,” while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a definite number of troops, whenever required, according to the size of his territory and the numbers of the population. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose “founding ancestors” were antrustions.⁵³ The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yüan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T’u-ssu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals of Kansu*, ch, 42, p. 87).

The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed descent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;

⁵² Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127.

⁵³ This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally “friend.” In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, “friend,” whence *drushinnik*, and Greek *ξένος*, “guest-friend,” all have a root meaning of “other,” “foreign” (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title “count,” the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O.L.

2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;
3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;
4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu as being descended from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

The Shat'o Turkish clans were already settled in the country before the invasion of the Mongols, and submitted to them when the Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty.⁵⁴

There are no historical references available for the origin of the chiefs and the nobles of the other Monguor clans nor was I ever able to find any surviving traditions on the subject.⁵⁵

They may have been founded by military commanders who were commoners by birth and perhaps antrustions by career. Such founders of clans would be given subject families in reward for their services; and, as the reward would be proportionate to the services rendered, the number of families thus allocated would be larger or smaller. Since commanders had to recruit their troops among their own subjects, the number of families allocated to them as subjects was determined by their military rank. According to this reasoning the military rank of the chiefs of the smaller Monguor clans must have been low. It may be that the small clans were small at the time when they submitted to the Yuan dynasty, and that their chiefs were accordingly made military commanders of small units.

The influence wielded by the Shat'o group in Hsining during the Yuan dynasty must have been very important, for at the time of their submission to the Ming, Li Nan-ko held one of the highest civil offices in Hsining, that of T'ungchih, while his nephew held the office of Tutu chihhuei t'ungchih. What could have been the reason for the extraordinarily friendly feelings of the Mongols toward the Shat'o Turks?

The son of Li-K'o-yung, the famous prince of Chin, founded in China the ephemeral dynasty of the Hou T'ang, which lasted only from 923 to 936. After the overthrow of this dynasty, one branch of the Shat'o fled to the Yin-shan range, north of Suiyuan, and was later entrusted with the protection of the northwest frontiers of the Chin empire (1115-1260). These Shat'o were called the Wang-ku (Ongut) of the Yin-shan. A second branch fled to Lin-t'ao, in southern Kansu, where they were known as the Wang-ku of Lin-t'ao. These Shat'o were later transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung (Manchuria). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alakush Tegin, chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, betrayed the Chin emperor and followed and aided Chingis Khan, with whom he entered into alliance in 1206. In 1209 Chingis gave his daughter Alaghi Beki to the

⁵⁴ Cf. *Wu tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10b, 11a; Ponapen edition.

⁵⁵ For the founding in Kansu province of a noble family of Uighur origin, under the Yuan dynasty, see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu," *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.* 12 (1 & 2), 1949—O.L.

eldest son of this Ongut chief. Ongut troops aided the Mongol general Mukhali in subduing China.⁵⁶

But the third branch of the Shat'o⁵⁷ was at that time grazing its herds in the country of Huang Chung between Hsining and Kanchou. It may well be that the Mongol invaders were glad to join hands with them in 1226, and to entrust high offices on the Tibetan frontier to their chiefs. Although these Shat'o Turks held high civil offices under the Yuan, however, nothing is known about the military appointments that they held during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAN STRUCTURE

While each of the Monguor and Shat'o clans settled in Kansu before the founding of the Ming dynasty, the present rank of the "T'u-ssu" in each clan traces back to an appointment early in the Ming dynasty; and on the date of this appointment depends, in turn, the division of the descendants of the first T'u-ssu into Houses, each with its own property.

THE POSITION OF THE T'U-SSU

The genealogical register of each clan accordingly starts with the appointment of the first T'u-ssu. The family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu line start with T'o-Huan (Tôgon), who was granted the title of Prince of Nanting under the Mongol emperor, but was first appointed T'u-ssu of the clan by the Ming. In the register of his genealogy are recorded only his descendants; his brothers, kinsmen, and even his parents are not mentioned. In this way he and not his father was established as the founding ancestor of the new clan. It was to him that the Ming Emperor assigned a territory; he was confirmed by the Emperor in the "possession" of his subjects, who were by the imperial decree forbidden to abandon him.

The brothers of such a founding ancestor could not lay any claim either to the possession of any piece of land inside his territory or to any group of his subjects; if they were allowed to live on his territory and received some subjects, it was merely by an act of grace on his part.

Not only does the genealogical register of each clan start with the first T'u-ssu, but at his death the Monguors started building a new cemetery in which the mound of the first T'u-ssu occupied the prominent site, thus indicating the beginning of a new order; at the mound of this founding ancestor, in the "old graveyard," as it is now called, the ancestors are venerated on the day of the yearly diet of the clan. Similarly, the image of the first T'u-ssu occupies the central place in the temple of the ancestors of the clan. All of these facts confirm that the first T'u-ssu is regarded as the founding chief and real origin of the clan.

The T'u-ssu forms a unit with his offspring who are classified as being of his "bone." The Monguor family being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son inherits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his father.

By the beginning of the present century (1911-1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

⁵⁶ P. Pelliot, *Chrétien d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient*, *T'oung Pao* 15: 630, 1914. A. J. H. Charignon, *Le livre de Marco Polo* 1: 247-248, Peking, Nachbauer, 1924. H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China*, 114-133-139, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

⁵⁷ According to *Wu Tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 106, 11a, Ponapen edition.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however, there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses." In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.⁵⁸

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony; the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.⁵⁹

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does

⁵⁸ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224, "the Mongol feudal seigneur ... usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

⁵⁹ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.

under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu empire appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 24, p. 8).

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 52, pp. 58-59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they

engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor, Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (*corvée*). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

The description of the composition of the clan that has been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,⁶⁰ drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the individual and a tinge of election or delegation by those whom he leads. To the extent that this kind of leadership is not a well-defined institution, it is not surprising to find that the authority of the leader can be contested and that those who do not accept his leadership may leave the clan either to join other clans or to found a new clan.

There is an inherent tendency for such temporary leadership to become institutionalized and hereditary when a leader of commanding personality succeeds in providing his clan with booty

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, 93.

and vassals, and lives long enough to prepare the way for a son to succeed him. Permanent and hereditary chiefs may, however, also be imposed by a conquerer. In the case of the Monguors, the new Mongol empire that resulted from the Mongol conquests was powerful enough to assign fixed territories to the Monguor clans and to designate hereditary ruling chiefs, so that chieftainship had already become hereditary and aristocratic. This view is supported by the fact that when the Mongol Empire was overthrown and the Ming dynasty established in 1368, there were no less than seventeen chiefs of Monguor and Shat'o clans who were able to offer their allegiance to the Ming emperor as chiefs whose authority, territory, and subject following were locally recognized.

As the institution of hereditary chief was established or reestablished under the Ming, with the specific title of T'u-ssu, it is clear that it had conserved its social as well as its political and military characteristics, and so in the status and functions of the chief of a clan a number of aspects are to be discerned.

By virtue of his birth in the clan, the clan chief presides over the cult aspects of religion in the clan. He is the chief figure in ceremonies venerating the ancestors; he is the guardian of the genealogical register; he also heads the cult of the guardian deity of the clan, whose temple is maintained in his mansion. He is also the ruler of his clan according to the laws of succession recognized within the clan, and at the same time under the Ming dynasty, the Manchu dynasty and the Chinese Republic, he was, by appointment of the overlord state, the ruler of both the clan and its territory. In all these capacities it was his duty to act as chief of the nobles and lord of the commoners, to preside over the meetings of elders, to adjudicate quarrels, to protect his subjects against infringements on their rights and privileges, and to command the armed forces of the clan in time of war.

RULES OF SUCCESSION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

In the rules of succession to the position of chief, although the office of chief of a clan is not open to competition, there are in fact elements of heredity, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. A man does not become chief because he has held previous high office, because he has a commanding personality, or because he is a popular leader. Nor can he usurp the leadership because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds to office according to certain definite customs of the clan.

The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times

of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.⁶¹

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age

⁶¹ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100.

and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi, as the eldest son, received the first and most distant appanage.⁶² Lattimore, making a generalized comment on the nomadic Mongol society, writes as follow:

There is a very ancient concept of authority inherent in the life of a people whose mobile property in livestock makes it easy for them to move from one place to another.

According to this concept, a "tribe" consists of an indefinite number of "un noble" families ruled by a hereditary "noble" family. The "chief," who became stabilized as a "prince" when the Manchus ruled Mongolia by remote control, was not necessarily the eldest son of the previous chief. When a chief died his successor was chosen from a "panel," which included not only his own sons but the sons of his brothers. The brothers, uncles and male first cousins of the late chief [on the father's side] formed a clan council of "yesterday's generations" of the hereditary noble family. This clan council chose the new chief from the panel of sons and nephews, which represented "today's generation." This new chief had to be accepted by the tribe. If he were not satisfactory the tribe might demur, either at once or later. The clan council might then recall the chief, replacing him by one of his brothers, one of his male first cousins on the father's side or one of his own sons or nephews in the male line. All this rested on a still more basic sanction; if the chief did not suit the tribe, the tribe or part of the tribe might desert him. They might either run away and join some tribe which had a better chief, or more rarely some new leader might, by proving his efficiency, make himself a new chief and so found a new tribe with a new, hereditary noble family. In short, a chief had ultimately to justify himself by his ability to lead his tribe, as well as by his hereditary claims. The more anxious and dangerous the times the more pressing the demand that he meet the needs of the people.⁶³

INSTALLATION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

The following account of the installation of the chief of a clan is mostly from information given to me by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of Nienpei, with whom and with whose family I was on terms of intimate friendship.

An auspicious day is chosen, usually by a lama. The ceremonies begin with a banquet, at which the principal guest is the senior maternal uncle of the chief who is about to be installed. According to the Monguor saying, the brothers of the mother are the "masters of the bones" of the children of their sister. In ordinary life, they are the most honored guests when her children are married, and when her children die they cannot be buried without the permission of a maternal uncle; similarly at this most important moment in the life of a new chief, it is the maternal uncles who hold the place of honor among the guests.

To the feast are invited the heads of the noble families, the most prominent of the non-nobles, the officials of the T'u-ssu administration, and the local officials of the Monguor villages. An old nobleman makes a speech in which he says that on this day the entire clan recognizes its new chief, whom he mentions by name, as chief of the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him; the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute

⁶² W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, trans. and ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, 392, London, Luzac, 1928.

⁶³ Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 317, New York, Doubleday, 1941.

him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that at the significant moment when, in a society organized on a patrilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

The chief of the clan must next be considered in his function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the appointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols, Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618-906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.⁶⁴ The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or

⁶⁴ P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'e-extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs (Pien cheng Kunglün)* 3 (2): 11-12, 1944.

Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF THE CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY THE EMPEROR

The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Liench'eng when he assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,⁶⁵ which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment, he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.⁶⁶ These seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the

⁶⁵ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

⁶⁶ Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O.L.

delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.⁶⁷

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province of Kansu, to convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*) or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision."

⁶⁸ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the delegates of each village, one after the other, and the officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went through the same ceremony. If the mother of the T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, following the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to ask a guest to select something from the repertory. Songs were also sung usually Tibetan, not Monguor songs by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were held in the afternoon for three or four days running, attended by three or four hundred guests. These banquets were preceded in the morning by the traditional Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchow or to Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules and one of the best and fastest horses in the country, together with a substantial gift of money. His attendants were also given presents according to their rank. These presents were called "The money of the sweat of the horses."⁶⁹

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted, and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment and his privileges, and his people

Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

⁶⁹ To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised his Uighur ruler to submit to Čhingis: "...by submitting gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate") Čhinggis qayan to suffer and without causing his geldings to sweat..."—O.L.

became ordinary Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes directly to the Chinese administration. But since in China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank, was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the subject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the Tang was lost and came into the hands of the King of Chin in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the “opening of the seal.” All officials under the T’u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,⁷⁰ a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as “a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF THE CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T’u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.⁷¹ They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile Mongol and Tibetan tribes on the northern, western, and southern borders of Kansu.

The most important chiefs who were granted the title of T’u-ssu at this time were those of the Ch’i and Lu clans, who were scions of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shat’o Turks. These three had been among the highest officials in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty. Because of their local influence, backed by troops of their powerful clans, they were delegated to negotiate with neighboring Mongol and Tibetan tribes, still hostile to the new rulers of China, with whom they had friendly relations, to urge them to submit to the Ming dynasty. Most of the chiefs of the region submitted. Those who held out were subjected in campaigns carried out either by Monguor troops alone or by Monguor and Chinese troops working together. The *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 10-12) record sixteen successful campaigns of this kind in the first years of the dynasty.

From this time on the Monguors remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and then under the Manchu dynasty. A number of T’u-ssu fell in battle against invading Mongols and Tibetans, and Monguor troops fought as far afield as Sinkiang in Central

⁷⁰ A. Mostaert, “L’ouverture du sceau” et les adresses chez les Ordos, *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

⁷¹ The relationship between “inner frontier” and “outer frontier” has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238-251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

Asia, Tat'ung on the Inner Mongolian frontier of Shansi Province, and Yulin on the frontier between Shensi Province and the Ordos. The military system of the T'u-ssu vassals was geographically based on control of the passes on the routes of trade and possible invasion in the mountainous frontier country. Most Tibetan and Mongol forays threatening the region that is now the province of Ch'ing-hai were launched from the south and southwest. In order to reach the city of Hsining, these invaders had to cross the passes of the mountain range called Lachi Shan, which runs almost parallel with the upper Yellow River and is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Hsining River. The two powerful clans of Ch'i (800 families) and Li (963 families) were, therefore, settled at the approaches to these passes. To them were added the 150 families of the Na clan. In time of peace they farmed and herded cattle. Whenever there was a raid they mobilized to fight the invaders. All through the year a few soldiers were kept on duty to watch the passes. There were 69 villages of these three clans along this part of the frontier (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 36b, 37, 40). In the dangerous valley to the north of Hsining the two vulnerable passes of Lungku and Yenwangku were guarded by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'eng clan, with 120 families living in seven villages near the pass (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 37). In the valley west of Hsining there were two dangerous passes, Haitzeku and Paitiehku, which were guarded by the Wang and Chi T'u-ssu with 220 families (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 42a-b). Where the celebrated Chinese general, Ho Ch'ü-ping, had settled the oldest colonies of which there is any record, in 116 B.C., the T'u-ssu of the Li clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 48a-50b). On the southern side, between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Huanao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 51a, 52-54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, pp. 46b, 49b).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 58a).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and could be held to account for the murder of any traveler on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

In connection with this recorded historical incident there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5a) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained completely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the

chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the *corvée* of forced labor.

In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were “extraterritorial.” When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T’u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T’u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and *corvée*. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T’u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T’u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T’u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T’u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T’u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T’u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T’U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the “autumn tax” on the Li T’u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T’u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T’u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T’u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T’u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch’i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T’u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax imposed on a T’u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T’u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T’u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch’i T’u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T’u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.⁷²

TRIPS OF T’U-SSU TO PEKING

The difference between a Monguor T’u-ssu and a tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T’u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T’u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T’u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T’u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On

⁷² In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T’u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O.L.

such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

Most of the foregoing information was collected in Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829-1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Lien-ch'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol.

This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously accepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.)

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

COMMONERS

Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves, is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, who seem to be reliable for dates and other facts, use the Chinese terms "T'u-jen, T'u-min" (aborigines), "Fan-min and Hsi-fan" (Tibetans), and "Mongol" so indiscriminately that it is impossible to identify the origin and the race of the commoners, as well of most of the nobles, except for the Ch'i and Lu clan, whose nobles are said to be members of the imperial family of the Yuan; one of the Ch'i clans whose nobles are said to be of Mongol origin; and the nobles of the Li clans, who are said to be of Shat'o origin and descendants of Li K'o-yung. The same confusion is obvious in the Ch'ing *Shih Kao*, Section *Liehchuan*, T'u-ssu *chuan*, VI, whose author seems to have extracted his material from the *Annals*.

Fortunately, more is available in the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u*. Chapter V. According to the introduction, this book was printed in 1751 and was compiled under the auspices of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung who ordered the governors of the provinces in which lived non-Chinese tribes that had submitted to the Manchus to send in reports about these tribes and to help artists, sent from Peking, to draw pictures showing the characteristics and costumes of each tribe. Although the material thus collected is limited, superficial, and reduced in most cases to the simple citation of the names of tribes, without noting the sources of quotations, and frequently includes no more than a vague description of the costumes worn by the tribesmen, it does offer some valuable data. This work, however, like others, confuses the origin both of "aboriginal" tribes and of Tibetans and Mongols. Those who made the report seem not to have cared about the origins of despised barbarians.

SHAT'O, TURKISH ORIGIN

In reading the texts related to our subject, it must be borne in mind that the tradition about the Shat'o origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the *Annals*, that in Chinese histories Shat'o tribes are noted as living between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, and that the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* confirms (or repeats) the data of Chinese history, the *Annals*, and tradition. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

In the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* our subject is twice mentioned:

I. Chapter V, pp. 46-47. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou vicinity governed by the Tuchihhui Ch'i Hsien-pang of Hsining *hsien*." Two figures are represented, of a man and a woman, described as "Tibetans" (*Fan*).

The Tibetans [*Fan min*] of the eight tribes of Tungkou and vicinity, descendants of the Western Ch'iang, living 70 li and more from Hsining *hsien*, at the time of the Yuan dynasty were governed by Chi Kung'ohsingchi, who held the incumbency of Li-wen [legal secretary]. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty he received the title of Chihhui Chihshih and governed the Tibetans. The Qing dynasty recognized the former incumbency. ... The Tibetans of the twelve Paitieh tribes and others governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Ch'eng-t'ang, by the Chienshih Natsai, Chi Ying-k'ui, all use the same kind of clothes and adornments.

II. Chapter V, p. 55. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou and other places governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Kuo-tung of Nienpei." Two figures are represented, described as "T'u people" (*T'u min*, "natives").

The Chihhui t'ungchih of Nienpei, Li Kuo-tung, is a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung of the T'ang dynasty. At the time of the Yuan dynasty Li Nan-ko held the incumbency of T'ungchih of Hsining *chou*; for generations they [the Li family] protected the western country; during the Ming dynasty, conducting his people, he submitted and received the office of Chihhui t'ungchih. The Ch'ing dynasty, because of his merits in summoning to submission Tibetan tribes and T'u people [natives], confirmed him [Li Kuo-tung] in his hereditary incumbency. The big village of Tungkou which he governed and the Hula tribes of T'u ["native"] stock which the Peihou Li Kuo-ting governed are the tribes they originally governed. ... The tribes of T'u stock, Luerhchia and others, which are governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Ah Cheng and Chao Wei-sung, the Chienchih Yeh Sun-yang, Kan Lin-chih, and Chu Sun-lin are in the main similar in customs, clothes and adornments.

In these two passages are mentioned the names of twelve Paitieh tribes who are called Tibetans, and of tribes named Hula and Luerhchia, described simply as “natives.” All three tribal names are certainly not Chinese.

The Hula are probably of Turkish stock. Hula has been noted as a Turkish tribal name,⁷³ and the difference between Hula and Hola need not be significant, as the names of barbarian tribes are transcribed in Chinese in widely differing forms. Were these Turkish tribes who joined the Shat’o when the Shat’o were founding the Later Tang dynasty in the tenth century, and did small groups of them take refuge in the Hsining country on the fall of that dynasty? Nothing is said about the time or circumstances of the Hula joining the Shat’o tribes. All that we know for sure is that the Monguors who are subjects of the Li T’u-ssu are of Shat’o Turkish stock, that Hula has been noted as a Turkish name, and that people whose name is rendered by the Chinese in the very similar form of Hula are described as subjects of the Li T’u-ssu. To this may be added the fact that the illustrations of the Chinese text under discussion show the people described as “natives” and those described as “Tibetans” as different from each other.

I have not been able to find any reference to the Luerhchia. Since the Luerhchia and the Hula are the only tribes described in the passage under discussion as T’u rather than Tibetan, and since reasons have been given for believing that the Hula may be of Turkish derivation, it may be also that the Luerhchia should be taken as a group of Turkish stock, subjects of various Monguor T’u-ssu. The group must have been large, because its members are said to be subjects in many clans.⁷⁴

⁷³ P. A. Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 305, n, 77, 1936.

⁷⁴ Father Hermanns, in a book received in this country after Father Schram had completed his work (Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 29, Vienna, Herold, 1949) in a list of nomad tribes in the region near the Monguor territory, has the two names Ra gya- and Hor- (the hyphens indicating that they are used in compounding tribal names), in immediate juxtaposition. The appearance of these names, reinforced by the fact that they are in juxtaposition, strongly suggests that they underlie not only the Chinese transcriptions, Luerhchia and Hula, but two transcriptions cited by Father Schram above (pp. 15, 17) which may be held to combine Luerhchia and Hula: Dschiahour, from Huc and Gabet, and Chzhahor, from Potanin, with the explanation that it is a Tibetan name for the Mongols, from Cha = “Chinese” and Hor = “the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet.” Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, previously cited, p. 44, supports Potanin, giving Jya [= Rgya] as “China,” and Jya Hor as “the Tibetans along the Kansu [i.e., Chinese] border.”

For Luerhchia as a Chinese transcription of Tibetan Rgya (Ra gya--in Hermanns, as above), the initial *L* may seem somewhat unexpected, in view of the tendency of vernacular Chinese to put a vowel in front of an initial *r* in foreign words, so that “Erhchia” might seem more probable than “Luerhchia” as an “unscientific” rendering of Rgya. For the rendering of an initial *r* by an initial *l*, however, see *Loch’a*, for Rossiya, which the Chinese used until, influenced by the Mongol pronunciation Oros, they adopted Êlossu as the Chinese form of “Russia, the Russians.”

As for Hor = HuĪa, Laufer many years ago identified Hor as a Tibetan name for “Turks” (B. Laufer, Was Odoric of Pordenone ever in Tibet? *T’oung Pao* 15: 411, 1914). It would seem that Hor (and Hula as a transcription of Hor) must reflect the same original non-Chinese word or name as *Hu*, one of the most ancient Chinese names for “northern barbarians.”

To sum up: this complicated nomenclature results from processes as the result of which, at varying times, groups of frontier Chinese absorbed among the Tibetans could be known “tribally”

As for the twelve Paitieh tribes, described as *Fan* or Tibetans, I have not been able to trace their name among either Tibetan, Turkish, or Mongol tribes. An interesting fact, however, is that in the tax registers these tribes are listed with the first character of the Chinese transcription reading *Chieh*, so as to give a tribal name of Chieh-tieh rather than Paitieh. Yet the Monguors use the pronunciation, Paitieh; the village where the Chi T'u-ssu lives is called Paitiehchuang, "Paitieh village," and the name of the valley, which it was the frontier duty of the Chi T'u-ssu to defend, is also Paitieh. Father A. Mostaert calls my attention to the fact that the character *chieh* should according to Pelliot be read *pai* and not *chieh*, as in the dictionaries.⁷⁵ It is remarkable that the Monguors should have preserved the correct pronunciation.⁷⁶

The suggestion has been made that still another tribal name for people under the rule of the Li T'u-ssu may be concealed under the place name, Tungkou. The written form is unmistakably the Chinese for "Eastern Valley." Rockhill, however, suggested that *-kou* might stand for the first syllable of the name of the Karluk Turks, so that "Eastern *kou*" might stand for "Eastern Kar[luk]." ⁷⁷ That *-kou* might be related to Kololu or Hololu, two Chinese renderings of the name of the Karluk Turks, seems doubtful, especially as there is no other mention of "Eastern" Karluks. On the other hand Tungkou, "Eastern Valley," is natural in the context, where we find "tribes of the Eastern Valley and adjacent places" and "Tibetans of the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley and vicinity" in the Chinese source that has been quoted above.

That among the subjects of Turkish descent of the Li T'u-ssu and other clans there were Karluks is not impossible, however, and perhaps probable, because travelers and Father De Smedt have heard Monguors say that they were of Karluk stock; but the Chinese text here cited does not mention the fact, and the author says explicitly that the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley are Fan min or Tibetans, descendants of the Western Ch'iang. When this author mentions the Luerhchia, the Hula, and the twelve Paitieh tribes he writes out his versions of their names in full. If he had thought that Tungkou meant "Eastern Karluks," one would expect him to have written it out also in full, as "Tung Kololu" or "Tung Hololu." All of these considerations seem to point to "Eastern Valley" and not "Eastern Karluks" as the meaning of Tungkou.

In conclusion, it seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in Monguor clans are Turks, but not Shat'o Turks, by descent, and that in this context the author of the Chinese text cited means tribes of Turkish descent when he writes of T'u "natives." It will be seen later that the author of this text does not confuse either Mongols or Tibetans with T'u.

These tentative conclusions suggest that there is an important problem yet to be solved. Fathers A. Mostaert and A. De Smedt, authors of the *Dictionnaire Monguor-Français* which has been

as Rgya; Hor tribesmen, possibly or probably of Turkish or mixed Turkish derivation, could adhere to Monguor clans; and a term like Rgya-Hor, with a meaning translateable approximately as "Altaic-speaking Chinese" (i.e., "people who speak neither Tibetan nor Chinese, but administratively are identified with China rather than Tibet"), could be used by frontiersmen in an attempt to describe the Monguors to French and Russian travelers at the end of the nineteenth century.—O.L.

⁷⁵ P. Pelliot, *Les caractères de transcription wo ou wa et pai*, *T'oung Pao* 37: 125-134, 1944.

⁷⁶ It should be pointed out that there is a possibility that Paitieh is from Bait (Bayit, Bayid, "Wealthy"), an established Mongol tribal name; or it may reflect a Mongol (or Turkish) name, Baitik; cf. Baitik (or Baitak) Bogda, "the Holy Baitik [mountains]" between Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. I have not been able to discover the meaning of this name.—O.L.

⁷⁷ Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, as cited, 43.

frequently cited in these pages, and of scholarly studies of the phonetics and morphology of the Monguor language, have established the fact that it is an archaic Mongol dialect with, at present, few Turkish elements. How is it possible that these tribes, if they were in fact largely Turkish to begin with, lost their original idiom to such an extent? Father Mostaert finds a language change of this kind not unusual. Indeed, who can prove at what time these tribes lost their language? Could they not already have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated; the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Qing chih kung t'u* is the last note related to the subject of the Monguors:

The Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period, but he does not belong to the imperial family. ... The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the place name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used in Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning these Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1368, because the census recorded in the *Annals* for 1573-1620, which has already been cited, notes only 440 Chinese civilians in the Hsining region.

It has also been pointed out that for nearly a century and a half at the end of the Ming dynasty, and most of a century at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty between 1509 and 1723, the

country never enjoyed real peace for long at a time, because of intermittent Mongol and Tibetan forays and revolts, and that only after 1723 did agriculture begin to develop and the region to flourish. From then on it may be assumed that many Chinese immigrated and settled in the country, engaging in both farming and commerce.

The Chinese have always looked down on the Monguors and Shat'o with real contempt, as barbarians. I have often heard the story, well known over the Monguor country, of the enrollment of the first two Chinese in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu. This was during the Yung-lo period, 1403-1424, when two young Chinese soldiers deserted from the military colony of Hsining, fled to the Narin valley in autumn and worked for Shat'o farmers in the fields. These two boys came from Nanking and were named Pen and Pei. They married Shat'o girls, remained in Narin,⁷⁸ and enrolled in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, where their numerous descendants are still living and well acquainted with the story of their ancestors. Even after five centuries the whole group kneel together facing in the direction of Nanking on the last day of the twelfth moon and burn paper and incense sticks to honor them. On the day of the general veneration of ancestors, in April, they again burn paper and incense, first for their old ancestors in Nanking and then for their more recent ancestors.

It was probably similar stray Chinese without families who enrolled in Monguor clans during the period from 1368 to 1723. Later, in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who enrolled in the clans. The most numerous enrollments were after the disastrous intermittent Muslim rebellions, when many Chinese lost all their wealth, families were broken up, and individuals fled to the Monguors to begin life anew.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims between 1868 and 1875, the whole province of Kansu was ruined. The population was reduced from seventeen million to eleven million. The impoverished T'u-ssu, wanting to revive their revenues, were eager to allow poor Chinese to settle in their territories. The Chinese came in as refugees in the most pitiable condition. They began by working for Monguor farmers. Then the men married Monguor girls and were glad to become owners of land, which was less expensive than in the country under direct Chinese administration. They were well aware of the lighter Monguor taxes and corvée s, and as they became accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction.

⁷⁸ This place name is from Monguor *narin guor* (Mongol *narin goul* or *narin gol*), "narrow valley." See De Smedt and Mostaert. *Dictionnaire*, as cited, 125.—O.L.

For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family?⁷⁹

Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.⁸⁰ Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

⁷⁹ Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O.L.

⁸⁰ The Mongol terms are *omog* (*obog*) for the main clan, and *yasu(n)* or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O.L.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.⁸¹ At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yenhsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names, called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Po-chia hsing*, the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin⁸² valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Yang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aouchou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsä. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

⁸¹ Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

⁸² This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziäri*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacré," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O.L.

As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans. Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals, ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.⁸³ Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sant'a⁸⁴ or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736-1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim generals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung⁸⁵ Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

⁸³ Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'uang*, 200-202.

⁸⁴ From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O.L.

⁸⁵ Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O.L.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as “subjects” of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same “bone” as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

THE T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the “ownership” of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that “nomads” are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted often with astonishment the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have been nomads who already knew something about farming.⁸⁶

The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

⁸⁶ L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, 49-50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: “It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times.” Owen Lattimore, *The geographical factor in Mongol history*, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan. 1936, writes (p. 5) that “the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities,” and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 120-121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of “villages in the south” from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room for migration between winter and summer pasture. Farming--even non-irrigated farming--is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.⁸⁷

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u-ssu and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'u-ssu's absolute ownership being recognized by the overlord state, he has the right to grant fields to monasteries or to personal friends, and the right to sell or mortgage parts of the clan territory to Chinese or to monasteries.⁸⁸

As an illustration the Li T'u-ssu, in 1906, being in debt, mortgaged a part of his territory near Weiuanp'u to the Living Buddha Chang-chia⁸⁹ of the Chang-chia monastery, a piece of the Li territory in Hsiaoyang-ch'uan and another in Shuimokou, with some adjoining forest. Similarly the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei sold a part of his territory to the Chinese of Kaochai in 1908. The Lu T'u-ssu, according to the family chronicles, granted land in Niut'oukou to the father-in-law of his nephew and also to one of his secretaries.

The adaptation between this theoretical absolute ownership and the rights of private property of individual members of the clan is effected through an interesting convention: the T'u-ssu never "sells" the soil to farmers; he writes a contract under which he accepts the price of the fields, just as a seller does, but in the contract the word "pass" is used instead of the word "sell." Thus he "passes" his land to be used by the farmer and his heirs in perpetuity, and endows him with the

⁸⁷ For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, *The geographical factor in Mongol history*, as cited above, 6.

⁸⁸ Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, 13, Paris, éditions Dillen, 1932, notes that in the Ordos the territory belongs to the tribe but the prince may dispose of it in order to grant a domain to one or another of his subjects, usually an important official. The territory of the tribe may not be sold, but may be rented to Chinese for farming for a time so long that it is practically equivalent to sale.

⁸⁹ The Chang-chia (ICan-skya) Hutukhtu is one of the most important Lama Buddhist "incarnations." In the eighteenth century, in the reign of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the incumbent of this incarnation played an important part in the translation into Mongol of Tibetan religious literature, thus furthering the Manchu policy of diverting the attention of the Mongols away from the past and toward the acceptance of religious control. See W. Heissig, *Bolur Erike, Monumenta Serica*, Monograph 10, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1946, especially pp. 28-30. For this reason the incarnations of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu or Living Buddha were thereafter especially favored by the Manchu dynasty and afterwards by the Chinese Republic. The Chang-chia's influence was greatest in Inner Mongolia, and he also had monasteries at Wut'aishan, a great center of Mongol pilgrimage in Shansi province in North China, in Peking, and in the Monguor country as mentioned in the text above. The present incarnation of the Chang-chia is a refugee on Formosa.—O.L.

right to “pass” it over to other members of the clan. Under this convention the T’u-ssu, by accepting the price of the land, pledges that he will not interfere with the use or disposal of it.

All interests are thus reconciled and the required stability achieved. The farmer becomes a quasi owner, with all the rights of a real owner. The T’u-ssu gets the selling price of his land but continues to be recognized as the “owner” by the overlord state, and the farmers living in “his” territory remain bound to him, remain his subjects, and liable as such to corvée s, to military service, and to taxes.

Often, however, I have heard the Monguors say, heaving a deep sigh, that now-a-days their T’u-ssu love money too much;

they want us to sign contracts, have them registered, and pay taxes. In the good old days, as our tradition goes, all these formalities did not exist; when Monguors wanted to bring into cultivation some non-cultivated land in the clan territory, they took possession of it, and paid the regular taxes according to average. When they “passed” the land to some other member of the clan, they fixed the sum to be paid by mutual agreement. No contract was signed. Instead, the outlines of the field were drawn on a plank; the plank was sawn in two pieces, and each took half of it. Now there are too many astute Chinese enrolled in the clan. We Monguors and the T’u-ssu are not so unsophisticated as before, and every day there are more and more formalities.

This tradition about taking possession of land within the territory of the clan according to the personal needs of the subject, and naturally without prejudice to the interests of others, is instructive and believable. In the Hsifan (Tibetan) tribe of Sumdoo, near the monastery of Erhkulung, the same procedure still prevailed in 1911-1921. There, every member of the clan was free to bring into cultivation non-cultivated land, and to build a house anywhere in the territory of the clan. The man who did so was bound to notify his taking possession of the soil by offering to the chief of the tribe a quarter of a brick of tea and two packets of Chinese vermicelli; no other formalities or expenses. This tribe was still practising far more stock-breeding than agriculture, and was probably very much like the Monguors at the time when they were making the transition from cattle-breeding to farming. Among them, if a man wanted to make money by selling land that he had improved, perhaps by building a house or adding an irrigation ditch, they agreed on a sum and drew on a sheet of paper a map of the field and each took his half of the map. There was no other form of contract, no registration, and no tax. It is remarkable that this old custom of the map as deed of sale and title deed prevailed at late as 1911-1921.

These customs seem to indicate absolute independence and equality as between individual members of the clan in taking possession of community land in order to make a living. It would seem that all the members of the clan agree with each other’s fundamental right to make a living, to improve themselves financially, and to do so by whatever means they personally consider adequate or necessary, as long as these means are not prejudicial to the interests of others.

Looking back to what has been said above about the chief of the clan and the way in which he is “chosen” and appointed by the elders, it is plain that the community, represented by the elders, was originally the possessor and dispenser of the clan territory. The supremacy of the chief came late and was a kind of usurpation. We learn from history that at all times usurpers have existed. It is clear that by the time of Chingis Khan the holder of a fief was the real proprietor. The fief was a definite territory granted the fief-holder. Its inhabitants were his vassals and he was the vassal of the emperor. He was the “owner” of both the vassals and the territory, under the higher

“ownership” of the emperor.⁹⁰ The chiefs of the Monguors and Shat’o in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty.

Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat’o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were “owners” of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as “common pasture” for grazing.

The strongly “individual” character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

THE T’U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T’u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.⁹¹ Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T’u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,⁹² the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in 1911-1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T’u-ssu institution to wither away.

⁹⁰ Compare Lord Bryce’s comment, *Holy Roman Empire*, 122-124, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe “real sovereignty” resided in the fief.—O.L.

⁹¹ An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the “founding ancestor” submitted to the Ming dynasty, he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps “granted” to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His “bargain” with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the “bargain” by confirming and sustaining the T’u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O.L.

⁹² Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.⁹³ The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.⁹⁴ This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868-1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.⁹⁵ In any event, less support was henceforth extended to the T'u-ssu, their influence waned and dwindled, and they even became unable to insist on the extradition of fugitive subjects who preferred to become Chinese or to take a chance on earning a living elsewhere.

The cornerstone of the whole institution had always been the power to keep the subjects bound to the chief and to the territory. As this power decreased during the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty, there were many defections. In the end the only ties still attaching the vassals to their lord were the benefits of living under his administration, because his taxes on his subjects were not as heavy as the taxes imposed on Chinese. If the subjects saw a chance to better themselves in some other way, however, or felt the fetters of the T'u-ssu too chafing, they would say goodbye to their lord and leave him.

A rich subject of the Lu T'u-ssu living in the Lumen Valley, an owner of large herds, left his lord and enrolled in a Tibetan tribe north of Weiyuanp'u, where he secured better pasturage for his

⁹³ There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O.L.

⁹⁴ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

⁹⁵ The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of the warlords, the social class that dominated the next generation both within China and on the frontiers.—O.L.

flocks and enjoyed about the material advantages that he had enjoyed near his lord. He was soon on his way to becoming a Tibetan, and his Monguor lord could not impede his departure.

About 1890, several groups of Monguors, vassals of different T'u-ssu, enrolled in the Tibetan tribe called "the ten large clans" living in Hasit'an in the subprefecture of Kulang. They left their lords and ceased to recognize any kind of allegiance to them. Because this defection was on a large scale and damaging to their prestige, the T'u-ssu collectively sued for the extradition of their undutiful subjects at the Chinese courts at Nienpei, P'ingfan, and Hsining, and finally at Lanchou. Convinced of their inalienable rights, they persisted, but in 1914, after more than twenty years of unavailing litigation, no decision had been handed down. The disheartened lords swallowed the bitter pill. The breach had been opened in the fortress of their old institution, and it appeared to be doomed. In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language, but after one or two generations they would become Tibetans.

Another group of Monguors belonging to the Li T'u-ssu left their lord, repudiated their allegiance to him, and went to live in the territory of the monastery of T'ient'ang. They got into trouble with the Living Buddha of the monastery, who ordered them to wear Tibetan costume.

The Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung had acquired a large territory belonging to Mongols living north of the sub-prefecture of Maopeisheng.⁹⁶ He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvée and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system

⁹⁶ This place name is a Chinese rendering of the Mongol *mu baishing*, "ruined (lit. 'bad') building" (or "fortress"). The ancient word *baishing* is not listed as used by Monguors in De Smedt and Mostaert's *Dictionnaire*.—O.L.

does not fit the framework of the present (1911-1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village a goat; in which small village a chicken; where they may collect a fixed number of loaves of steamed bread and where they are to be presented with a stack of pancakes cooked in oil, exactly the height of two chopsticks.

The villagers must themselves bring their grain to the mansion, where the granaries occupy a large space. The number of granaries indicates the importance of the T'u-ssu, the number of his subjects, and the extent of the fields they cultivate. The grain is measured and checked at the granary. The T'u-ssu uses a measure bigger than the official measure.⁹⁷ The grain is poured out of the sack into the measure so that it forms a cone projecting above the measure. The cone is then scraped level with a stick, and the surplus grain falls to the ground. This surplus, in addition to all grain falling beside the measure when poured from the sacks, belongs to the servitors of the T'u-ssu. This odious practice, always bitterly criticized by the commoners, was adopted from the Chinese. Commoners bringing their land taxes in grain are allowed to stay overnight at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, and are given a meal of noodles as gratuity.

When the Li T'u-ssu mortgaged some fields to the Living Buddha of Erhkulung, his subjects farming these fields were jubilant because the Buddha used the official measure to measure the taxes and did not allow the use of these hateful tricks at the expense of the farmers.

Notwithstanding all these odious practices used by the T'u-ssu, however, the taxes imposed on the subjects were not so great a burden as those imposed by the Chinese administration on the Chinese. This difference was the greatest political asset of the T'u-ssu and the reason why their commoners remained vassals, and did not demand that they be allowed to come under Chinese jurisdiction.

When a T'u-ssu mortgages fields to monasteries or to the Chinese, the taxes of the farmers are made over to the new lord; but the farmers remain the subjects of the T'u-ssu and are still liable to corvée and military service. When a T'u-ssu sells his fields outright for cash, however, he may also free his subjects from the corvée. By doing so, he "loses" these subjects. While the vassals tilling the soil of a T'u-ssu must pay land taxes, Monguors "passing" their fields to other vassals in order to get a high price, take on themselves the obligation to go on paying the taxes on the land. The result of this mortgaging of the indefinite future for the sake of the fleeting present is the kind

⁹⁷ During the first month of the year the T'u-ssu has to send to the Chinese officials in the nearest important city (Hsining or Nienpei) the grain-measures, weights, and scales used in the territory under his jurisdiction to be verified for honesty by comparison with the official weights and measures. One of the responsibilities of the T'u-ssu is to see that these standards are maintained by the shopkeepers and traders in his territory. The surveillance of these matters is a source of income for the T'u-ssu's underlings. The T'u-ssu uses the official measure when selling his stored grain; but in spite of his zeal for the observation of proper standards by his subjects, he uses his private and larger measure when weighing in the grain collected from them as taxes.

of tax called. "taxes without fatherhood." Comparable to this kind of transaction is the custom according to which, when a widow remarries, her new husband sometimes accepts the obligation to pay the taxes on the fields cultivated by her deceased husband; thus, though he does not have to pay a bride-price, he does have to pay, year after year, taxes on land which still belongs to and is still cultivated by the family of his wife's late husband.

CORVÉES

The principle of the corvée, to which the Monguors are still liable, is founded upon the vassalage under which the nomads were anciently bound to the "service" of their chief. When they neither tilled the soil nor paid land taxes, they were none the less real vassals. It is plain that farming and land taxes are innovations in the Monguor economy, and do not in themselves determine vassalage, since a Monguor who does not farm is just as much a vassal as one who farms. This is proved by the fact, cited above, that Monguors who farm fields mortgaged by their chiefs to a monastery, and pay their land taxes to the monastery, are still vassals of the T'u-ssu and liable to corvée. Monguors who farm land in Chinese territory and pay their land tax to the Chinese administration may also still remain liable for corvée to the T'u-ssu, instead of to the Chinese authorities.

A T'u-ssu may call upon those of his subjects who are commoners for the repair and upkeep of his mansion, which is a real castle. In former times this upkeep was one of the important obligatory services or corvée. The mansion was built on the pattern of a Chinese *yamen* or combined official residence and government office. It was surrounded by thick, high walls with towers at the four corners, and had a moat outside the wall. The space within the walls was divided into large courtyards containing administrative offices, a prison, an armory for weapons, granaries, stables, and flour mills in addition to a temple of the guardian deity of the clan, the hall of the ancestors, and a garden. Most of the buildings had mud walls and thatched roofs, requiring endless repairs, especially after heavy rain. There was also a long, narrow passage parallel to one of the outer walls which was originally a target range for archers, later used for shooting with rifles. There are only three such mansions still standing; those of the Lu T'u-ssu of Liench'eng, the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei, and of the T'a-wu Li T'u-ssu of Sanch'uan. The others were all burned and destroyed in the long history of frontier inroads by Mongols and Tibetans and above all in the succession of terrible Muslim rebellions. The new mansions that were built to replace those destroyed are on a much more modest scale.

For the upkeep of the mansion, the planting of trees, repair of roads and bridges, and the digging of canals each Monguor is called up in rotation for a fixed number of days. He must bring his own tools, and his food is provided by his village. For special occasions, such as the ceremony of the investiture which has already been mentioned, extra services are required for whitewashing, work in the kitchen, and so forth. Obligatory services and gifts in kind are also required when the son or daughter of a T'u-ssu is married. Each village must then provide a fixed number of sheep, pigs, and cattle and also a contribution of 50,000 copper coins. These celebrations last for three days, with dinners that may be attended by as many as three or four hundred guests, at which all the nobles and important commoners must be on duty.

Among the Monguors as among the Chinese a funeral is a festival. The funeral of a T'u-ssu, of one or his wives, or of a married son is a great occasion. An official invitation is sent to each village, and on the invitation is listed the required offering of gifts in kind and cash. For the funeral of the T'u-s u, of one of his wives, or of his eldest son, 50,000 copper coins are solicited. Nobles and the important commoners who are invited to take part in the procession as mourners

must be dressed, in the Chinese style, in a long white gown. Each village must provide a number of gowns, and the women of the village must buy the white cotton cloth and sew the gowns. Invitations are sent to Chinese officials, to T'u-ssu, and to important people, and Monguor commoners have to forward these messages as a corvée service. Dinners are prepared for as many as a thousand persons. The funeral procession passes through the village or town with banners and streamers. The lamas of the monasteries in the clan territory are required to take part in the funeral, chanting prayers, and must be fed for several days. The ceremonies may last for a week, and the entertainment may require the slaughtering of ten or more oxen, a hundred sheep, and fifty hogs.

In preparation for such a funeral, all the old graves in the cemetery must be put in good condition; and after the burial of a T'u-ssu a guard must be kept over the cemetery, day and night, for a whole year. Each village in rotation provides a guard for ten days. In mourning for a T'u-ssu, his officials remove from their hats for a full year the button, of different material and colors according to rank, which is the token of their office.

MILITARY SERVICE

Traditionally, the most important duty of the Monguors was military service. Military organization followed the conventional Mongol decimal structure, the smallest unit consisting of ten men. The most important officers were "commanders of one hundred" and "commanders of a thousand." Each T'u-ssu stood at the head of his own forces. Originally, the officers were always nobles. In later times, this tradition decayed and the T'u-ssu became accustomed to selling the office of "commander of a thousand" to the highest bidder, noble or commoner. The names of the commanders had to be submitted to the military commander of Hsining. It is hardly surprising therefore that during the great Muslim rebellion of 1868-1875 the "commanders of a thousand" vanished and the "commanders of one hundred," who had not purchased their rank, turned out to be the real leaders.

Each village knows the number of men that it must provide for military service. In some villages the farmers agree among themselves, designating each family that is to provide a soldier when there is a call for service. Another method is for the village to hire young men whenever there is a call for troops from the T'u-ssu. In some villages the custom is to set aside fields, known as "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers," the income from which is used to meet the military obligations of the village. These fields are made over, as their private property, to families which agree to provide soldiers. Such fields are free of taxes, and the families owning them have the right to "pass" them to other families, in which case the new owners assume the obligation attached to the fields. Military equipment in the form of weapons, uniforms, kettles, tents, and horses "passes" together with the fields. Because a family owning such fields is exempt from taxes, it receives no indemnity if a son of the family is killed on military service; on the contrary, it must provide another man to take the place of the one killed. In villages that do not follow this system, the families of soldiers killed in action must be indemnified. In such villages, every time that men are called up for active service the indemnity to be provided in case of death is debated in long and earnest village meetings.

In one case known to me, all ten soldiers of the village of Lichiachai were killed in the great Muslim rebellion of 1868-1875. After this disaster no one dared to take over possession of the "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers" and assume the responsibility of military service. In consequence, it became the custom in this village for the whole community to farm these fields,

without taxes, the income providing a fund from which the village hired and equipped its contingent of ten soldiers.

Another typical case is that of Yangch'üan, the village in which the sixth House of the Li clan collects its land taxes. In 1876, after the Muslim rebellion there were no more people in the village. The T'u-ssu and the sixth House were eager to get farmers who would pay the taxes and provide the squad of ten soldiers that constituted the obligations of this village. A group of Chinese were willing to enroll into the clan, farm the land and pay the taxes, but refused to assume the burden of equipping ten soldiers. Finally the sixth House agreed to assume the military burden, if the farmers would agree to provide the fodder of ten horses, amounting to two *tan* of peas. After a few years the sixth House started asking for four *tan* of peas. The farmers complained to the T'u-ssu and the rate was fixed at three *tan*. In 1882, however, pressure was put on the farmers to provide in addition to the fodder for them the ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891-1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals of Kansu*, ch. 42; *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 18, pp. 3a, 4a). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.⁹⁸ The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals of the Province*, ch. 42, p. 47a, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty

⁹⁸ In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yüeh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ching Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 70. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals of Central Tibet*, ch. 13, p. 2b), and *Annals of the Province of Kansu*, ch. 42, p. 38b.

of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in his territory. The Monguors were exempted from these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.⁹⁹

At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruction of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the temple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skin. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.¹⁰⁰ I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged. The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol,

⁹⁹ S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

¹⁰⁰ A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvée. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and packsaddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spread-eagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and speculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.¹⁰¹ Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and, never less frequently than once in three years.¹⁰² Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNIAL VISIT

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his

¹⁰¹ E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

¹⁰² Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 51.

mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

The custom in regard to corvée is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military service, although the chiefs of the militia of the commoners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.¹⁰³

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

¹⁰³ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

The facts that have here been recited seem to justify the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in undermining the influence and power formerly wielded by the nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic

farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential. Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and; its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

We may summarize this aspect of the social history of the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, “pass” their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in immunity from taxes and corvée s, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinctions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles “ta jen” (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T’u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional “rights” by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T’u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K’och’eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the “dry father”--that is to say, the adoptive father and protector--of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Liench’eng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the “dry fatherhood.”

It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch’i T’u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch’i-chia fenyuan, or “cemetery of the Ch’i family,” at T’angpa. According to

the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all over China. The festival, calculated according to the lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters: the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of *Hsinyuanp'u* on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted, but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had included copper and iron. As this discovery was made six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.¹⁰⁴ In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Nienpei built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lu clan in Liench'eng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

As for the valley in which the horse-burial was discovered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct ancestor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its

¹⁰⁴ W. Radloff, *Au Sibirien* 2: 121, Leipzig, 1893.

assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 4, p. 3).

The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Nienpei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to be of later date, and to have been built to glorify the Li clan. Along the approach avenue are two beautiful steles honoring the two most illustrious members of the two branches of the clan, Li Wen of the Hsining branch and Li Yin of the southern branch, though neither of them is actually buried here. They bore respectively the titles of Earl of Kaoyang and Earl of Huining, according to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 7, pp. 8, 17. The cemetery, enclosed by a mud wall, stands against the mountain and overlooks the river. Within it a large avenue bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay leads to a big stele on which is engraved the history of the clan, with its claim to descent from Li K'o-yung and the record that its chief, Li Nan-ko, submitted to the Ming and was granted hereditary chieftainship of the clan, later confirmed by the Manchu dynasty. The glorious titles of Li Wen and Li Yin are then recorded once more, together with names of members of the clan who died defending the empire, and finally there is the text of an imperially-granted funereal inscription. The cemetery contains a number of beautiful steles from the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, the most recent dating from the period of Kuang Hsü (1875-1909). Among those commemorated are Li Nan-ko, Li Wen and Li Yin who are not buried there; except for Li Wen, all those commemorated belong to the southern branch. Many of these steles are said to have been bought and engraved in Peking, and to have been granted by emperors. As the presence of a stele is no guarantee that the deceased is buried there, it is hard to say when the cemetery was actually built.

It should be noted that, under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has long been the general Monguor custom to cremate the dead, the funeral rites being carried out by lamas; but it is also a general tradition that in ancient times burial was general. T'u-ssu, however, are always buried—the aristocratic tradition being, in this instance, stronger than the religious influence.

During the six or seven centuries that the Monguors have held their present frontier territories, many private cemeteries have been built by both nobles and commoners, separate from the burial places of the founding ancestors, in which there was no more burial space left. The Monguors honor their more recent ancestors at these separate burial places, three days before the spring equinox, which gives them time to attend the annual assembly a few days later.

The cemeteries of the Monguors are laid out like those of the Chinese. They are square in shape and enclosed by a mud wall. Against the back or northern wall stands the high mound over the remains of the founding ancestor. Before the mound there stands an upright sepulchral stone slab on which are carved Chinese characters reading “thrones of the deity of the earth and of the souls of the ancestors.” In front of the slab is a stone table for offerings. An avenue leads straight from the entrance of the cemetery to the high mound. In the more recent graveyards the date of the setting up of the stone and the name of the deceased can still be read, but on the older monuments nothing is legible, not only because the soft stone of the region weathers badly but because the Monguors have scratched and defaced the stones.¹⁰⁵ On both sides of the approach avenue there

¹⁰⁵ The Monguors have a custom of scratching and defacing the steles in front of the grave mounds of the founding ancestors of clans and also of other celebrated ancestors, because they believe these chips have medicinal properties. Grinding the fragments to dust, they mix them with the medicines prescribed by physicians. In my own time a large part of the stele of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i clan had already disappeared and the inscription was illegible. I noticed even

are smaller mounds, in rows, each with a stone table for offerings. Husband and wife are buried under the same mound, and as the rows of graves correspond to descent by generations, the number of generations buried in the cemetery can easily be determined.

WORSHIPPING OF THE ANCESTORS

On the occasion that I attended, the T'u-ssu went after breakfast to the cemetery, preceded by more than fifty soldiers and followed by the heads of the noble and non-noble families, the chiefs and elders of the villages, and the officials of his administration. In 1913 all of these personages were still wearing the old official Chinese costume customary under the Manchu Empire: a silk gown, a long silk outergown, satin boots, and a hat with a red fringe and a button on top corresponding to the grade of official rank. Hundreds of Monguor women flocked to the cemetery in their brightest attire, and men and children of the clan followed the ceremonial parade. A table bearing a large hog and a pork pie which had been prepared from the head of the hog stood next to the offering table. Alongside the offering table were also laid out twelve rolls of steamed bread, wine, tea, paper and incense sticks. On the offering table there stood a loaf of bread shaped like a dish, into the hollow of which were poured oil, flour, and roasted wheat.

The master of ceremonies, in a loud voice, ordered the nobles to line up in rows according to their generation. The non-nobles formed in rows also, standing behind the nobles and separated from them by a perceptible distance.

The next order was to adjust hats and clothes and to stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

more defacement of the stele of the ancestor of the Li clan in Hanp'ingshan. This old cemetery is more elaborate than other Monguor cemeteries: on both sides of the large avenue leading to the central mound are animals carved in stone. This practice is allowed only for high officials. All these animals had been defaced in the same way by the Monguors.

D. C. Graham, Notes on the primitive religion of the Chinese in Szech'uan, *Jour. West China Border Research Society* 1 (1): 53, Chengtu, Canadian Mission Press, 1922-1923, writes that "in the Po-chih Miao near Sui-fu, Szech'uan... is a stone still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak in water, and then drink the water.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families.

Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-906), "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom."¹⁰⁷

FESTIVAL

Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief nobles and non-nobles, chiefs of villages, and officials of the administration in attendance. A large number of Monguors sat around the tent, taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The matters discussed were for the most part of the same kind as those dealt with when the T'u-ssu makes his triennial tour of the villages: taxes and corvée were discussed and

"outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O.L.

¹⁰⁷ E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

fixed, inquiries were made about the observance of traditions, the register of subjects was checked over, military matters were reviewed, and disputes between villages adjudicated. The T'u-ssu appointed or dismissed a number of chiefs, village elders, and military commanders. At these assizes suits may be brought for personal adjudication by the T'u-ssu, who metes out punishment according to custom.

The expenses of this annual assembly are shared by the subjects, while the offerings for the ancestors are paid for by the nobles a division of expenses that again underlines the difference between the inner clan of common blood-descent and the extended clan of political subjects. Usually by the third day there are no more tents in the valley, the merchants have dispersed, and the T'u-ssu returns to his mansion. Such were the proceedings at the last glorious annual assembly of the clan of the Ch'i-T'u-ssu, which I had the good fortune to attend in 1913.

REMARKS

The description of the organization of the Monguor clans and their administration is based on the pattern of the large clans. It is easy to understand that the display of pomp at the diets is related to the importance of the clans, the number of their clan members, and their wealth, and also to the wealth and prestige of the T'u-ssu. Small clans finish the three acts of their diet in a single day, always keeping the difference and deference between nobles and commoners at the time of worshipping of the founding ancestor. In small clans however, constituted by only 150 families or so, both groups necessarily are not numerous and the diet is more like a family gathering and is more informal. Since the clan is small, all the circumstances of each family are known by the T'u-ssu and he himself tackles all the problems of the clan with the elders; the collection of land taxes by nobles is necessarily reduced to a minimum, but the nobles are always exempted from taxes and corvée. Corvée are necessarily reduced in the same way, since the mansion of the T'u-ssu is usually a small Chinese courtyard without temples and administrative buildings. Inevitably the distance which separates T'u-ssu from commoners is minimized, because the commoners may confer directly with the T'u-ssu. In the large clan it is not easy for the commoner to meet the T'u-ssu, for soldiers watch the entrance of his mansion, requests have to be written by the secretaries and forwarded by messengers to the lord, and it is uncertain if the lord will allow the Monguor commoner to see him or not. Because the distance is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are inevitably increased.

In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvée and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

The Monguor village consists (1911-1922) of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them oxen to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

A third factor promoting the grouping of families was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols. According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times.

The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit

coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

A Monguor village may be described as “loose,” in contrast with the Chinese “compact” village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the territory. Each “village” has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese “physician.” Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any “streets” laid out at right angles, for the Monguors seem to have an inbred abhorrence for the straight line. Some strongholds are inhabited by one hundred or two hundred families, mostly poor people, and have more and larger shops. The central stronghold is not, socially, the center of the village except when the T'u-ssu lives there. Monguor farmers, owning more cattle than Chinese, do not like to live confined within walls. Even the village meetings are not held in the stronghold.

The principle determining the location of villages seems not to have been the size of the population or the extent of the territory, but rather the topography (good defense points) or natural centers of community interest, such as an irrigation canal. In some cases the origin of a village can be traced to the fact that, in order to avoid trouble, a group of families split away from its relatives and founded a new village. In other cases, splitting-off was in order to move within reach of new pastures and sources of wood-supply. For such reasons there is great variation in density of population and distances between the villages.

DWELLINGS

Since, according to tradition, the Monguors were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents, it is not surprising that when they settled in Kansu and began to build houses, they copied those used by the frontier Chinese, and so the houses of the Monguors are built on the Chinese pattern. Construction begins with the building of four outer walls, forming a square and facing south. The walls are formed in the following way: The earth is levelled for the foundation. Planks are set on edge, facing each other and braced by uprights. These determine the thickness of the wall. Earth is shovelled between the planks and then pounded tight by lifting and dropping a heavy wooden ram. When the space between the planks has been tightly packed, the planks are raised and the next course is packed in the same way. By adjusting the distance between the planks, the wall is made to taper slightly toward the top. Within the walls are built the mud-walled and thatch-roofed houses, with wooden rafters and beams. At the southwest corner of the enclosure there is a small gate, not wide enough to allow a cart to enter, because a small gate is easier to defend than a large one. In the angles of the other three corners are built the stables and the kitchen, which is separate from the dwelling quarters. Under the windows, outside the buildings, are constructed mangers for the cattle. At night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals, horses, mules, and donkeys. The Monguors like to sleep amid the animals as their nomad ancestors did. In the houses along the side walls live the younger sons, and in the same buildings are stored grain, skins, wool, farming implements, saddles, the grindstone, etc.

The chief of the family lives in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. A large room in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining

room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*, a small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.¹⁰⁸ The two remaining corners are converted into stables for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each other's houses. Their children play together. In winter the women of noble and commoner families sit in each other's houses sewing clothes. In times of sickness or childbirth, the women of both classes help each other; they cradle and caress each other's children. When trouble breaks out between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, all the neighboring women of both upper and lower classes come around to help patch up the quarrel. Rich and poor know each other's most intimate affairs and talk about them. They know all about each other's wealth or poverty, for the saying goes that the neighbor is the balance which weighs the neighbor's silver. The daily food of rich and poor is just about the same.

The intimacy in the daily family life which derived from the time when nobles and commoners migrated in small nomadic groups with their herds, pitching their tents one next the other, became

¹⁰⁸ This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from *ot-qan* (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O.L.

more and more conventional when they settled down in small villages, and made it possible to bridge the chasm separating upper and lower classes in the official administrative hierarchy; but long before commoners were allowed to participate in the administration, the way had been prepared by the close familiarity in all the small hamlets between women of the two groups in the orbit of the family.

In such problems the overwhelming influence of the women and children is often overlooked. The first step in the leveling of social conditions between nobles and commoners was not set by any order of the T'u-ssu, but by the women and children in their daily familiar life.

The distance between rich and poor families in such a society as that of the Monguors is not so marked as in our society. The sons of the rich work in the fields just like the sons of the poor. They work side by side with the hired men. In the same way the daughters-in-law and daughters of the rich do all the household chores, and go to the fields to do the weeding and to bring in the harvest, as do the wives and daughters of the poor. Only on holidays are they better dressed and decked out with nicer jewelry.

Rich nobles and rich commoners alike hire four or five extra men to till their fields. They keep flocks of one hundred or two hundred sheep, herds of forty or fifty cows, and feed ten or more donkeys, two or three teams of mules, and one hundred or more horses, of which a couple are fast and handsome.

The man of ordinary standing hires one or two men, has fifty or one hundred sheep, ten or twenty cows, some donkeys, and a couple of mules and always has a fast, fine horse. Poor families working for the rich people earn some money and some grain and from some of the fields that they cultivate for the rich keep the harvests for themselves. With the herds of their employer they put a few sheep and a couple of cows or donkeys of their own. Sometimes they have a couple of days off to till their own small fields with the draft animals of their employer. They are dealt with in the same way as members of the family, and the relations between employer and hired men are familiar and cordial.

In short there are among the nobles honorable families living in affluence, and among the commoners there are the same kind of fine families. There are among both nobles and commoners less honorable families and even dishonorable ones, addicted to opium, gambling, and the whole train of attendant vices that go with these depravities. Since most families are absorbed with the struggle for life, however, they have little time left to indulge in extravagant vices. Although the villages are not beds of roses, the sociability of life among the Monguors is an attractive feature of their society.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIALS

The highest official in the village is the village chief or headman. Next come the two military commanders, called Ch'ien-tsong and Pa-tsong,¹⁰⁹ and finally the elders. The chief of the village is responsible to the T'u-ssu for his villagers. His powers are granted to him by the T'u-ssu, on the recommendation of the elders. The institution of the office of village chief dates from after the settling down of the Monguors under Ming rule. It was an innovation and an adaptation to a new economic and social status.

In the case of the two military ranks the tradition runs that in former times all the chiefs of villages were nobles who had been appointed as military commanders and who had jurisdiction over administrative as well as military matters. The clan institution having become during, and even before, the Mongol Empire a military institution, all subjects of the clan were enrolled in one or another military unit. No surviving tradition explains the present subordination of the military officers in the village to the village chief; but this subordination must have gone against the grain of the old Mongol military tradition especially since the chief of the village may be a commoner, not a noble and it may well be therefore that this subordination began under the Ming dynasty and was a mark of Chinese preference for civil authority over the Mongol tradition of military supremacy.

The institution of village elders may be regarded as a survival from the nomad past of the Monguors. Nomad clans once lived and thrived without chiefs, but never without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ These two terms are local patios for the Chinese term "commander of a thousand" and "commander of a hundred," which in turn are translations of traditional Mongol terms. It should be noted that since the Monguor villages of recent times do not produce a thousand men at a time to place under a commander, we have here an illustration of the very common phenomenon of the degeneration of titles by stages which may be described as (a) high rank; (b) high-sounding rank; (c) humdrum rank, with no consciousness, in the minds of those who daily use the title, of its original significance. Mongol history is full of this degeneration of titles and honorifics, especially when they are borrowed Chinese terms.—O.L.

¹¹⁰ It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all encroachments on their own privileges.

The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative

that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O.L.

routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.¹¹¹ An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvée s, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important, the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields--a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by

¹¹¹ The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self--provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt. Once in a while a young woman runs away from her husband--or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement. Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married “with the girdle”¹¹² who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Wei-yuanp’u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the mother of his son. The peddler was accompanied by the brother of the girl’s father who had a grudge against him. The girl of the girdle did not even recognize the peddler, but since her son had always been called Li, and since she herself had for five or six years always been called Mrs. Li, the peddler, with the girl’s uncle as “witness,” threatened to accuse her and her husband in a Chinese court. Hou, afraid of the terrible expenses consequent on involvement in a Chinese court action which in any case might not save him his beloved concubine preferred to settle the trouble by compromise. He invited the chief of the village and the elders, his maternal uncle and some of his friends, and after a long “interesting” meeting, crowded with the most ticklish details, it was decided that Hou should pay 160 strings of cash to the presumed father and apologize, bringing the traditional offering of a sheep with paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cloth on its back all to the accompaniment of firecrackers.

The second case concerned the kidnapping of a widow. In theory it is up to a widow to make her own decision about a second marriage, but at the same time the custom exists of kidnapping the widow when she is conducted at night to the home of her second husband. In Sopokou¹¹³ lived the widow of Hla Reng. A man named Chang, of Ch’ichialin, who intended to marry her, heard that she had already consented to marry a man named Li, and that they had exchanged girdles as tokens of their mutual consent.

Chang, unwilling to give up the widow, called together thirty or more youngsters with clubs, in order to kidnap her on her way to her second husband. But having been misled about the day of her departure, and finding no widow along the road, Chang and his gang decided that she must be still at her old home, and resolved to kidnap her there. Among the kidnappers was her own

¹¹² When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as “Mrs. So-and-So” (guest’s name), and the son as “boy so-and-so,” even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

¹¹³ A name probably meaning “Needle Valley,” from Monguor *subuge*, “needle” (de Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*); but possibly from Mongol *subag*, “a canal.”—O.L.

nephew, who being familiar with the house of his aunt was charged with keeping the watchdog quiet. The group entered, smashing the door, and at the same time the candle inside the room was blown out. The woman was hurriedly seized and gagged, and a piece of red cloth wrapped around her head. Four men carried her out and lifted her onto a mule. A man jumped up behind her on the mule, holding her around the body, and the armed group in deep silence, at full speed, riding by side roads, in the dead of night, reached the home of Chang.

Then, consternation! The nephew recognized that the kidnapped woman was not his aunt, but the wife of a neighbor who had been staying for a few days with the widow. In the scurry and confusion, the widow had hidden herself in the corner of the room under some sacks. The whole group apologized and offered to take the woman back to her husband that very same night. But the clever woman refused, and nobody dared to touch her again. At dawn the funny story spread like a prairie fire all over the country. The most stoic elders who had not laughed for years burst into peals of merriment. The chief of the village and the elders restrained the furious husband from bringing an action at the Chinese court. On the threshing floor the problem was tackled with the whole village in attendance. The decision was that the wife should be brought back home, preceded by a group of musicians and a sheep with paper pasted on its horns, a piece of red cloth on its back and firecrackers going off all along the road, and that a dinner should be prepared for the husband, the chief of the village and the elders.

An elder of the village, a celebrated patcher-up of troubles, told me that cases of kidnapping are usually not so dramatic. Most of the time, if a widow is being compelled to marry a man she does not like, and if she already has a man friend, she notifies him about the time and the circumstances of her departure, and he kidnaps her on the way, often after a severe fight. Later, on the threshing floor, after she has testified that she will marry her friend and that they have already exchanged girdles, the friend is required to reimburse the disappointed suitor for all his expenses and whatever part of the bride price he has already paid for the widow. (The marriage price for a widow is paid in two installments, one before she leaves home and one after she has reached the home of her new husband.) But when a widow is kidnapped against her own will, and refuses to marry the kidnapper, the decision made on the threshing floor by the chief of the village and the elders goes in her favor.

All cases are exposed and discussed in the open air, with all the villagers in attendance including youngsters and children, who thus get their social and family education through naked facts. The veil of privacy is ripped from all the miseries and realities of life before the eyes of the young, who are more sophisticated in such social knowledge than people in the Western world. A record of each case is filed in the "archives" of the chief of the village, and four strings of cash are set aside, to be offered to the T'u-ssu at the time of his triennial visit.

In most villages the influence wielded by the elders is remarkable. There are very few quarrels they are unable to patch up. Their skill seems to be based on long experience and a flair for grasping the core of problems rooted in the passions of human nature. They are supported by the reverence and esteem cultivated in the family circle for old age, which ensures attendance at their meetings and respect for their opinions. This kind of authority is even more important than the support they receive from the T'u-ssu. At the same time the fact that their meetings are public, and that the villagers can freely state their opinions and defend their rights puts pressure on the elders to act according to justice and in conformity with accepted opinion. Plaintiffs and defendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and what community opinion accepts as "Just." Typical concepts are: wrong to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu it is the villagers themselves who, for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs' and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this induction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought. Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders--and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

LIMITS OF AUTHORITY OF THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS

While the village officials are expected to deal with all possible disturbances of the peace, there are limits to their authority. The commoners, being the subjects of the T'u-ssu, who merely delegates his powers to the officials whom he appoints, have the right to appeal to him. The appeal, however, can be made only after punishment has been inflicted, in view of the fact that the commoner is also subject to the village authorities. The form of appeal to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, therefore, is not "the village authorities *intend to be* unjust to me," but "they *have been* unjust to me." The remedy, therefore, calls not merely for preventing the carrying out of a sentence wrongly imposed, but for punishing the lower authority for a mistake made and executed. This view of the working of legal machinery is not peculiarly Monguor; it is Chinese, and indeed found in many Asian societies.

The jurisdiction of the chief of the village is, therefore, limited in two directions. He is circumscribed by custom in his authority over the villagers, and subordinate to the T'u-ssu. On his triennial visit the T'u-ssu always inquires into the administration of the officials, the suits that

have been brought before them, and the way in which they have dealt with them. The outlook on these matters of Monguor society as a whole seems to be rooted in the blunt fact that the commoners are descendants of subjected tribes which might have been exterminated by their conquerors, and for which the price of survival was to become the “possessions” of the victors. The ordinary commoner, with only a confused idea about the history of his condition, knows only that he is completely subject to his T'u-ssu, to be ruled according to the customs of the clan.

In most matters the interests of each village are confined to its own territory, the payment of its own taxes, the support of its own quota of soldiers, the providing of its share of the additional levies for marriages and funerals in the T'u-ssu's family, and for the investiture of the T'u-ssu. If for any reason a village feels that it has a complaint to make, it makes its petition at the yearly assembly, or at the time of the ceremony of the opening of the seal, when all the chiefs of villages are gathered around the T'u-ssu.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VILLAGES

To the extent that villages have few affairs in common, it is easy to be good neighbors. The most frequent cause of trouble between villages is dependence on the same irrigation canal, because villages using the same canal are jointly responsible for its yearly maintenance and for emergency repairs after floods.

Most village irrigation canals tap streams running from the mountains to the Hsining River or the Yellow River. The canals are divided into sections. In a typical case, the take-off section from the mountain stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

V. FAMILY LIFE

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

The general principles of the Monguor family system have already been given above in Chapter III, and need here be recapitulated only very briefly. Until 1911-1922, when these notes were made, the Monguor family was a patrilineal, extended, patrilocal family. The extended family was under the authority of the grandfather, or of the great-grandfather if he survived. No family of which I had any knowledge exceeded four generations. The whole extended family lives in dwellings grouped around a common courtyard. The property and wealth are collectively owned by the whole group, but with authority over the property unequally concentrated in the senior generation. This manner of life is graphically described by the Monguors in expressions (used also by the Chinese and possibly borrowed from the Chinese) as "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." While these sayings may be borrowed from the Chinese, the underlying principle, that of the hearth and the fire-spirit of the hearth, belongs independently to the nomad tradition from which the Monguors are descended.

Conversely, the break-up of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families composing the extended family sets up its own kitchen, hearth, and chimney and begins to cook its own food separately. This means that it is parting from the extended family to which it belongs and founding a new extended family. The son who thus sets up separately becomes independent of the orders of the senior whom he formerly acknowledged as head of his family; he is beginning to work for himself and to retain any money that comes into his hands, instead of turning it over to the head of the family. When a son begins to act in this independent manner, the neighbors gossip, the family itself is uneasy, and it is recognized that the old family is breaking up.

It should not be assumed that polygamy is a regular characteristic of the extended family. Polygamy is very decidedly an economic question. On the one hand, polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard, because it gives rise to quarrels among wives, and on the other hand there are few Monguors who are economically able to afford a household with more than one wife. If one of the sons living in the common courtyard should venture to ask the head of the family to provide him with a concubine (perhaps because his wife is barren) all the other daughters-in-law are jealous and their husbands share with them because they feel that the cost of the concubine means that the favored brother is being given more than his share of the family's capital. If the tormenting of the other daughters-in-law should drive the concubine to despair, she might commit suicide; and a suicide always means the complete ruin of the family.

Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members.

The son who is starting life separately is therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family, and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He represents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary

routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

He is of course the one who decides on the arrangements for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and evenhanded in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical work. He entertains the guests, the other members of the family keep respectfully apart. At dinner, he and his wife occupy the places of honor and his food is served to him first. His prestige and the respect shown to him are, however, modified by the necessity for earning respect by proper conduct of the affairs of the family.

BREAKUP OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY

The usual time for the breaking up of an extended family is at the death of the grandfather. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More often, the sons divide the property and each one builds his own "chimney"; if he has grown sons of his own, he is already the founder of a new extended family. It is difficult for the oldest son to hold the family together, because, although he has a certain authority, it is not so great as that of a man of a senior generation. It is also at this moment that old quarrels among the wives of the various sons are likely to flare up; each woman, moreover, is eager to seize the opportunity to be recognized as the wife of the head of a new family, exercising authority in her own right over her sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. I have often been told by old men that wives have a bigger stake in founding new families at this moment than do their husbands.

As an example we may take the case of a grandfather who has four sons, each of whom has three or more children. At the grandfather's death, it becomes apparent that the four brothers have different and uncongenial personalities one perhaps is lazy, making the others feel that they are doing his share of the work and supporting his family for him, while another may be quarrelsome or avaricious. With the authority of the grandfather removed, it also becomes evident that each of the four sisters-in-law has her own personality; or perhaps one has several children and another, having only one, feels that life in the common courtyard means that she has more than her fair share of the household work and helping to look after other people's children. In short, it would be revealed that although there had been unity and harmony in the family during the ten or fifteen years that the grandfather had ruled it with tact, patience, and love for his children and grandchildren, there had nevertheless been underlying strains which, after his death, became strong enough to break up the family. While it is for such reasons that it is extremely rare to find

an extended family of four generations holding together after the death of the grandfather, a few such families do hold together, not so much because of family affection as for economic reasons. The moment that an extended family begins to fall apart, its creditors appear, because once they have separated the individual families will no longer acknowledge mutual responsibility. If the extended family is so deeply in debt that after a settlement there would not be enough to divide among the separating families, it may go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new “chimneys.” Sometimes the man who is establishing his own “chimney” will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new “chimneys” are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as “grandfather” not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father’s brothers. The term is *adie*, with differentiation of *sge* (“big”) for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* (“little”) for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anie* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as “grandfather,” with the same distinction of “big” and “little” for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anie*, which is also the polite expression for “madame,” I likewise apply not only to the “grandmothers” who are married to my “grandfathers,” but to my grandfather’s sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his “sisters” are not only his father’s daughters but the daughters of his father’s brothers but not the daughters of his father’s sisters, because these women have the names of the clans into which their mothers married, different from the name of my clan.

All the men of the generation of my father, according to the same system of identification, I address as *ada*, *awa*, or *aba*, the terms for “father.” In addressing them, I also remember to use the distinction between “big” and “little” according to age. There is, however, one special term: the youngest brother of my father I address as *aga*.

The wives of all those whom I address as “father” I address as *ama* or *ani*, the terms for “mother.” In addition to distinguishing between them as “big” and “little” according to age, I address the first wife of one of my fathers as “big” and his concubine as “little.”

All the sisters of my father I address as *agu* and their husbands I address as *ayu*.

In my own generation, my brothers include the sons of my father’s brothers and my sisters include the daughters of my father’s brothers; but the sons and daughters of my father’s sisters are not my brothers and sisters. In the brother class, those who are older than I are *aga*, and are classified as “big” and “little” according to whether they are older or younger than each other. Those in the brother classification who are younger than I are my *diu*, and I also make the “big” and “little” distinction according to whether they are older or younger than each other. The general term for “brothers” is *aga-diu*.

Among the wives of my brothers, I call those who are the wives of my elder brothers *biergan* and those who are the wives of my younger brothers *diu bieri*.

Among my own sisters, I call those who are older than I *k’ad’zi* and those who are younger than I *fud’zün diu*. The general term for those in my sister-class is *k’ad’zi-diu*. The husbands of my sisters I call *kurgen aga*, or *kurgen diu*, according to whether they are senior or junior to me.

If I want to make distinctions in describing those who are in my brother-class, I call those who are the sons of my own father *nige awni aga diu* (“elder and younger brothers of one father”); those who are the actual grandsons of my actual grandfather *nige adieni aga diu* (“elder and younger brothers of one grandfather”); and those who are the grandsons of men in my grandfather-class *khulo aga diu* (“remote elder and younger brothers”).

I call *k’u* not only my own sons but the sons of all those in my brother-class, even the most remote.

The wives of my sons I call *k’u bieri*.

I call *fud’zün* not only my own daughters but the daughters of all my brothers. The husbands of my daughters I call *k’urgen*. The sons of my sisters, however, I call *dzie k’u* and the daughters of my sisters I call *dzie fud’zün*. In this respect the usage of the Monguors is like that of the Chinese, who call the children of their sisters “outside” relatives, because they bear a different clan name.

My grandsons and all the boys in my grandson-class I call *sun dse k’u* and their wives I call *sun dze bieri*.

My granddaughters and all girls in my granddaughter-class I call *sun dze fud’zün* and their husbands *sun dze fud’zün k’urgen*.

My maternal uncles, both the actual brothers of my own mother and the brothers of all those who are in my mother-class, I call *nage* or *adziu*.

My mother’s sisters I call *anie* (“madame”) and their husbands I call *ayu*.

My wife I call *ndani bieri* (“our wife”) and she calls me *ndani k’un* (“our man”) or *dzanguidie*, “boss,” a Chinese loan-word. She may also call me *daxu*, the Monguor term for “boss,” or she may address me as “father of my children.” If however I should have occasion to beat my wife she will, in appealing for mercy, call me *ago* or “elder brother.”

Those who are in the grandfather class of my wife I call *gadim adie*, with distinctions of “big” and “little.” Those in the grandmother class of my wife I call *gadim anie*, with distinctions between “big” and “little.” Those in my wife’s father-class I call *gadim ada* (or *awa*, or *aba*). Those in my wife’s mother-class I call *gadim ama* or *gadim anie*.

Those in my wife’s brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than she, 1. call *gadim aga* or *gadim diu*. Those in my wife’s sister-class I call, following the same principle, *gadim k’a d’zi* or *gadim fud’zün diu*.

My wife calls all those in my brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than I, *aga* or *diu*. Those in my sister-class she calls, on the same principle, *kadzi* or *fud'zün diu*. The wives of those in my brother-class who are older than I she calls *biergan*, and those who are younger, *diu bieri*; speaking about them with other people, she adds *gadim*, “in-law relative.” Two families whose son and daughter marry call themselves *gudor*.

The classificatory system is observed even in the most ordinary family conversation. Thus a father, wanting to send for one of his brothers, will say to a child “call your big father (i.e. my elder brother) “or “call your little father (i.e. my younger brother).” In the same way, if he wants to send for the wife of his elder brother he says “call your big mother.” Even children, playing together, speak to each other as “older brother” or “younger brother.” Out of courtesy, and because of the universal respect for old age, the classificatory terms are also used “artificially”; old people are addressed as “grandmother,” “great-uncle,” or “great aunt,” even when they are not related.

GLOSSARY OF KINSHIP TERMS

The following glossary is drawn from De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, as already cited. A simplified transcription is used, instead of that of De Smedt and Mostaert, with its many diacritical marks. References to “Mongol” are to standard written Mongol, using Mostaert’s transcription with slight simplification. References to “Ordos” are to contemporary spoken Ordos Mongol as cited in De Smedt and Mostaert in their dictionary, and again in Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, already cited, but using a simplified transcription.

- *aba*: father. Cf. Mongol *aba*; Tibetan ‘*a-pa*, ‘*a-p*’*a*.
- *ada*: father. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ta*; Turkish *ata*.
- *adie*: grandfather. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-tieh*, grandfather; standard Chinese *tieh*, father.
- *adieni*: possessive of *adie*, grandfather.
- *ago* (also *aguo*): elder brother; term of respect when addressing an equal. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ko*, standard Chinese *ko*.
- *adzi*: elder sister. Cf. Chinese *chieh*.
- *aga*: elder brother. Cf. Dagor Mongol *aga*, Mongol *aqa*, Ordos *akha*, Turkish *aga*. N.B. The term *āga*, given in the text above as “youngest brother of my father,” is written by De Smedt and Mostaert *aga* (with the first *a* long), and the meaning: “Younger brother of my father.”
- *aga diu*: elder and younger brother (i.e. “brothers” as an inclusive term).
- *agu*: paternal aunt: term of respect in addressing women. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ku*; standard Chinese *ku*.
- *ama*: mother. Cf. Hsining Chinese *ah-ma*; Tibetan ‘*a-ma*; standard Chinese *ma*.
- *ani*: mother. Cf. Turkish *ana*.
- *anie*: grandmother. Cf. Tibetan *a-ne*, aunt. Also used for “madame.”
- *awa*: father. Cf. Mongol *aba*, *abai*; Ordos *awä*.
- *awni*: possessive of *awa*, father.
- *ayu*: husband of a paternal aunt.
- *bieri*: wife, woman. Cf. Mongol *beri* and Ordos *here*, both with the meaning of daughter-in-law, and Kalmuk Mongol *bere*, a young wife.
- *dakhu*: proprietor, master. De Smedt and Mostaert refer, but with a question mark, to Mongol *daruga*, Ordos *daruga* or *dargu*.
- *diu*: younger brother. Cf. Mongol *degü*, Ordos *dū*.

- *dziē*: child of a sister or a daughter. Cf. Mongol *jige*, Ordos *dzē*.
- *fud'zün*: girl, young girl. Cf. Mongol *okin*, Ordos *ök'in*. De Smedt-Mostaert refer to *sdzun* as a synonym (or alternative form) of *fudzun*, with further reference to Shirongol *uchin*, “daughter,” and *kuchin* or *uchin dyu*, “younger sister.” This suggests that we have here a word of the well-known class that once began with an *h*, lost in modern Mongol but sometimes preserved in archaic dialects (e.g. Mongol *arban*, Dagor *harban*, “ten”). In this case, an *h* or *kh* (*velar*) seems to have been replaced by an *f* (*fud'zün*) or a palatalized *s* (*sdzün*).
- *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. Cf. Mongol *qadum*, *qadam*; Ordos *khadam*.
- *k'adzi*: elder sister, Cf. Mongol *egeci*, Ordos *egetshi*. *K'adzi diu*, elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.
- *khulo*: far, distant, remote. Cf. Mongol *qola*, Ordos *kholo*.
- *k'u*: son, boy. Cf. Mongol *kobegun*, Ordos *k'ū*.
- *k'urgen*: son-in-law. Cf. Mongol *kürgen*, Ordos *k'urgen*.
- *mula*: little, younger, etc. Cf. Mongol *miltagar*, flattened.
- *nagē*: maternal uncle. Cf. Mongol *nagai*, Ordos *nagü*.
- *ndāni*: genitive plural of the first person.
- *sge*: great, honorable, etc. Cf. Mongol *yeke*, Ordos *ikhe*.
- *sundze* (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. Cf. Chinese *sun-tze*¹¹⁴

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their “classificatory” parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well-defined “nuclear” family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.¹¹⁵ The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

¹¹⁴ For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols*, Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8, Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it is the grandmother who makes the distribution, each nuclear family receiving its proper share. When a mother goes on a visit to her own parents in a different village, it is customary for her to take her children with her, and thus they come to know the parents of their mother, and her maternal uncle, very well.

ADOPTION

The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family. Its importance in this respect is well exemplified when a childless couple want to adopt a child. The custom is to adopt, if possible, the son of one of the brothers of the husband, who is already a classificatory son and bears by right of birth the same clan name. If this is impossible, the next step is to seek a more remotely related classificatory son from a more distant branch of the husband's family, who, though not so closely related, does have the clan name and a male ancestor in common with his adoptive father. Only if no child of the same blood on the father's side is available is a child of different clan ancestry adopted. I once attended a ceremony of adoption in a case of this kind. The child was a Chinese boy being adopted by a Monguor named Kan 75--Kan being his clan name and 75 his personal name, given to him according to a common custom, because that was the age of his grandmother at the time he was born.¹¹⁶ The child being adopted was a boy of five or six from a poor Chinese family named Liu, which had several boys and was on intimate terms with the family of Kan 75.

A sheep was killed for the ceremony. Those invited included the maternal uncle of Kan 75, one of his classificatory grandfathers, one of his own brothers, the chief of the village, a Chinese scribe, and myself. The boy was brought by his father, just before noon, and was clothed in rags. He was first taken to the kitchen, where he was washed, his hair combed, and he was fitted out with brand new clothes, boots, and hat. While this was being done, the Chinese scribe wrote a contract in two copies, attesting the fact that the boy was being freely given by the L'iu family to be adopted by the Kan family. The contract was signed not only by the boy's father and the adopting father, but by the adopting father's maternal uncle, grandfather, brother, and the chief of the village.

The boy was then brought out and prostrated himself, making the *k'o-t'ou* nine times first to his new maternal uncle, then to his new classificatory great-grandfather, then to his new father and mother, then to his new father's brothers, including classificatory brothers.

The new father then asked his grandfather to give the boy a new and propitious name. The boy knelt before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off than the one into which he had been

¹¹⁶ A comparable custom is known in Outer Mongolia. The father of the Dilowa Hutukhtu was called 86—using, moreover, the Chinese, Bashiliu, not the Mongol, Nayanjurgan—because he was born when his father was 86. *Autobiography*, unpublished, of the Dilowa Hutukhtu.—O.L.

born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as “belonging” to his new family, but as being descended from his new father’s ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grandfather presides, sitting on the *k’ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k’ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k’ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k’ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k’ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k’ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k’ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

One must never step over a person who is sleeping or lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that “distance has not been kept.” This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother’s home may she go bare-headed. In her husband’s home she must always wear a gown and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

Because of the veneration of ancestors and the necessity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, “are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?”

Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely “assimilated” as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of

the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family A gives a girl to family B, family B reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family A. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation--a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

The influence of wealth on marriage is of several kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when a well-to-do family needing more work done in the household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover--a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*. These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.¹¹⁷ Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 78, n. 5.

¹¹⁸ Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou*.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily to the male side of the family. When a girl marries, her family is regarded, not as “acquiring” relations-in-law, but as “losing” the girl; hence the fundamental attitude that the husband’s family is “buying” the girl and her own family “selling” her. Since by this transfer her labor and productive power are lost to the family in which she was born, the family, in arranging the match, attempts to recover the capital value of the girl and this makes it impossible to consider her wishes in making the marriage. The interests of the family come first. The same considerations apply both to the inheritance of a widow by one of her husband’s brothers, and the comparable custom, known to have been observed in the ancient Mongol society from which the Monguors are descended, under which a son inherited the wives of his father, except for his own mother. Both customs can clearly be referred to the view that these women, having been acquired at the expense of the family or clan, must be retained within the family. To the Chinese the idea that a son should inherit his father’s secondary wives is abhorrent, and therefore the disappearance of this custom probably began when the Monguors submitted to the Ming dynasty, although the dying out of the custom must also have been encouraged by the decrease of polygamy for reasons that have been described above.

Wives accept their inferior status without resentment. Their individual outlook is conditioned by the social atmosphere in which they have been brought up. When they were children, they realized that women were more proud of bearing sons than daughters. They knew that women who had no sons felt inferior. When they were big enough to work, they lived, worked, and ate in the kitchen with the daughters-in-law, while the male members of their family ate in the main room. Even if an uncle or brother took his meal in the kitchen, he had to be served respectfully by the womenfolk. Girls grew up accustomed to the rule that they could eat only after the men had finished. Consequently, a Monguor girl does not expect to find anything different in the family into which she marries.

Inferior status does not mean that a wife can be considered a slave. On this subject I cannot agree with the many writers who have maintained that among the pastoral nomadic societies of Asia the status of a wife is essentially that of a slave, and that the slave status derives from an anciently universal practice of marriage by capture. We know from history for example, from the *Secret History of the Mongols* that wives were captured. We know also, that in the marriage customs of the pastoral Mongols of today there are ceremonies or practices that suggest a tradition of marriage by capture. We know also that the capture of women was one of the causes of the chronic warfare among the Mongols of old; but all of this does not prove that capture was the sole and universal method of acquiring wives. The chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.

Hence the institution, known to be very early, of “pairs” of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.¹¹⁹ An association of this kind was a natural

¹¹⁹ Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, as cited, 58. “Les Mongols des XIe-XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s’accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effet, ... les pâtures étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun représentant d’un clan étranger. ... Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapt; les femmes étaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l’occasion favorable s’en présentait.

basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.¹²⁰ Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity in former times, defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to

“On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda*.' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans.” (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses “relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan.”—O.L.)

¹²⁰ It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as “the man who has interest in both clans.”—O. L.

see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from becoming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time. In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together; giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and *gruit*¹²¹ and to dress and sew skins, which they do with a thread made of tendons. They divide the tendons into fine shreds, and then twist them into one long thread. They also sew the boots, the socks, and the clothing. ... They also make the felt and cover the houses.

The men make bows and arrows, manufacture stirrups and bits, make saddles, do the carpentering on [the framework of] their dwellings and the carts, they take care of the horses, milk the mares, churn the *cosmos* or mares' milk, make the skins in which it is put; they also look after the camels and load them. Both sexes look after the sheep and the goats, sometimes the men, other times the women, milking them.¹²²

Marco Polo, later in the thirteenth century, wrote:

And I tell you that the Tartar ladies trade, buy and sell and do all the work that is needed for their lords and family and for themselves.¹²³

These comparisons are enough to show that the Monguors, both men and women, in spite of the change to agriculture, continue to divide their specialized work much as they did when they were still nomads. The men repair houses, saddles and harness for horses, mules, and donkeys; make the tools used for farming, and tan skins. In their leisure time men spin thread and twist cords and ropes. Women never kill sheep, pigs, or chickens; butchering and killing are done only by men. The fact that men do rather less work in the fields than the women has already been mentioned.

¹²¹ *Gruit* is Rubruck's rendering of the Mongol word *hurud*, from which comes the Russian word *krut*.—O.L.

¹²² *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253-55*, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine, translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill, 75-76, London, 1890. Rockhill footnotes with cross-references to Pian de Carpine. The word *cosmos* is, of course, the well known word *kumys*, which is Turkish rather than Mongol. See also Lama Galsan-Gomboev, *O drevnikh mongol'skikh obychayakh i sueveriyakh, opisannykh u Plano-Karpini*, in *Trudy*, Eastern Section, Imperial Archaeological Society, 4, St. Petersburg, 1859, for comparisons of thirteenth century survivals and echoes in Mongolia.—O.L.

¹²³ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.* In the Russian original, Vladimirtsov quoted from Pauthier's 1865 edition of Marco Polo. In the French edition, the translator adds the quotation as here given from the 1938 edition of Marco Polo by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot 1: 169, London, Routledge, 1938. To these citations may be added the generalized description of pastoral nomadism in W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, 236, 524. For the Mongols of the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, see P. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, cited, 102. For the Manchus and Tungus, whose ancient habitat was in the forest rather than the open grassland, see S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 263, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933; also the same, *Social organisation of the Manchus*, already cited, 105, 122.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST

Other characteristics that Monguor women inherit from the nomad past are the ability to make decisions and take responsibility and the courage, in time of need, to fight as boldly as men. In the late twelfth century when Yesugei Bagatur, the father of Chingis Khan, was poisoned by some of his enemies, most of his followers deserted, but his widow “was a woman of wisdom and decision. She assembled the small number of men that had remained loyal, raised the banner with the signs of Yesugei Bagatur, and started in pursuit of the seceders. She succeeded even in making part of them return...”¹²⁴ and though she failed in the end, her courage has remained a Mongol legend. Similarly, Shirokogoroff notes of the Khingan Tungus in Manchuria that “even the women maintain the clan honor and fight if necessary.”¹²⁵

The women of the Monguors have legends that are in this tradition. I have recorded one of them in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, describing the captivating song sung at Monguor marriages and at all festivals, recalling the daring exploit of the wife of the chief of the Lu clan, who killed a brigand chief and was rewarded by the emperor. The story goes that the country between Liangchou and P'ingfan was infested by the brigand Ta Kuan-ch'un¹²⁶ and his followers and all communications between the two cities were cut. In this crisis, the wife of the Lu T'u-ssu lured the bandits into an ambush. She pitched a tent, spread red felt rugs out on the ground, and dressed some of her maids in transparent gowns. Wearing golden bracelets, playing musical instruments, and singing local songs, they “welcomed” the bandits. When the bandits were drunk, the maids beat copper cooking cauldrons as a signal and the soldiers who had been lying in ambush rushed out and loaded the chief of the bandits, his lieutenants, and seven others with chains. When the captives recovered from their drunken stupor and began to struggle, the soldiers flogged them to death, cut off their heads, and set them up on posts along the highway of Wuchaoling. The brother of the brigand chief, when he heard the news, cut his own throat. The brave wife of the T'u-ssu then sent troops to exterminate the rest of the brigands or force them to submit.

When the emperor heard of this exploit, he presented the noble lady with a thousand ounces of silver, precious golden ornaments, a complete set of hairpins and earrings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading “She displayed faithfulness,” and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with “toilet expenses,” the Chinese

¹²⁴ B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, 14-15, English translation, London, Routledge, 1930.

¹²⁵ S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 196.

¹²⁶ There is a possibility that this name is a corruption of the Chinese expression *kuang-kun* prefixed by the Chinese word *ta*, “big.” In H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary*, second edition, Shanghai and London, Kelley and Walsh, Bernard Quaritch, 1912, under number 6389, *kuang-kun* is given as “a bare pole—a swindler; a scoundrel.” In the north China vernacular, however, the expression has the meaning “a tough,” “a gangster,” and in this meaning it has passed into more than one of the frontier languages of China. Father A. Mostaert, in his *Dictionnaire Ordos* 1: 292a, records it in the form *ganggun* with the meanings “vaurien, trompeur; qui se conduit mal, volage, leger de conduit; libertinage,” and also records a verb formed from the noun. C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, 212-214, London, Methuen, 1926, records it in the form “Gan-gung” as part of the name of a swashbuckler, with the meaning of “brigand,” in a Turki ballad from Kashgar.—O.L.

expression equivalent to the English “pin money.” The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T’u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.¹²⁷ There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless “military” jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T’u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy’s mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister’s child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister’s child and over the family into which his sister’s child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister’s children, (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

A. The sister’s children were not allowed to be buried without the permission of their maternal uncle.

When a member of the family died, a capable and outstanding man was invited to direct the preparation and the ceremonial of the funeral, and to send people to convey the obituary announcement to all the relatives. It was also his duty to call the deceased’s maternal uncle or a member of the maternal uncle’s family e.g. his son or grandson. The maternal uncle was the “master of the bones” of the deceased, and he disposed of the right to permit the burial or to impede and obstruct it, even with violence; consequently he was to be treated with the utmost reverence and respect at that moment.

If the relations between the two families had been unfriendly and hostile before, the maternal uncle and his family did not miss the opportunity to pay off an old grudge, impeding or at least delaying the burial and causing excessive expense to the family. He would assert that the deceased had not been

¹²⁷ These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, “left hand” or “left wing.” This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being “front” and the north “back”). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the “left wing” of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O.L.

well cared for, that the funeral was too small for a mother who had borne six or more children, worked her fingers to the bone, and never enjoyed any sunshine during her life, although she had been a fine mother and good homemaker, etc. He would require the deceased's family to invite twenty or thirty lamas to pray for forty-nine days, to offer a certain amount of alms to a fixed number of lamaseries, to buy the most expensive grave-clothes for the deceased, etc. In such situations, it was the duty of the director of the funeral to settle the trouble, saving as much money for the family of the deceased as possible by displaying with prodigality the proficiency of his eloquence.

If the two families had always been friendly, on the day of the funeral, before the dinner, the director of the funeral made a speech before the maternal uncle, saying that the deceased had died a natural death, notwithstanding that two or three doctors had been invited and a large amount of money had been spent for medicine; that the whole family to the best of its abilities had tried to assuage the pains and suffering of the deceased, to be agreeable and helpful to him, securing him a happy death, etc. Finally he asked the maternal uncle to examine the deceased and to give the necessary permission for the burial. In localities where the Monguors were used to burying their dead in coffins, as do the Chinese, the eldest son of the deceased knelt during the speech, presenting to the maternal uncle a plate on which was placed a hammer and the wedges with which the cover of the coffin were to be fastened. The maternal uncle himself drove a couple of wedges, after which others completed the fastening. (The same custom exists among the Chinese.) The sons and grandsons knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the deceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his sister's child.

The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'un, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. "She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'un, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

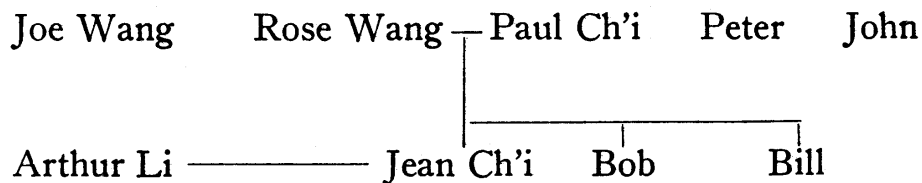
A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones."¹²⁸ After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping

¹²⁸ In both Mongol and Chinese usage, "bone" stands for the paternal and "flesh" for the maternal line of descent. Since the clan system was patrilineal, the body was referred to as "bones," even though the maternal uncle, who had jurisdiction in permitting burial, represented the "flesh" rather than the "bone" of the deceased.—O.L.

platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings, clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person who dies by his own hand, tallies with the whole wealth of the family."

In this concrete case, what relatives were involved? The relatives of the deceased girl, Jean Ch'i,¹²⁹ are shown in the following genealogical chart:



Since Jean was the daughter of Rose Wang, Joe Wang, who is Rose's brother, was Jean's maternal uncle and was "the master of the bones" and had to lead the avengers. If Jean had had no real maternal uncle, the duty of leading the avengers would have fallen on her closest male relatives in her mother's lineage.

Since Jean was also the daughter of Paul Ch'i, Paul and his brothers and sons, and his paternal uncles and their sons and grandsons—the whole Ch'i family—were involved. They had to avenge the death of one of their members, but under the leadership of Joe Wang. They would have led the avengers only in default of Jean's maternal uncles.

On the other side, the whole Li family was involved, and with them the maternal uncles of Arthur Li, the husband of the suicide. The latter were invited to take up the cudgels in favor of Arthur and his father.

Thus four families were directly involved in the suicide—two on each side. The position of the avenging group was stronger, for they had a claim to see justice done; the position of the other group was the weaker because they were recognized as in the wrong. The first group emphasized the wickedness of the behavior of the Li family, in order to extort a severe atonement, and the other group tried to minimize the wrong, offering extenuating circumstances, in order to save Arthur and his father.

It should be noted that other families could have been indirectly involved in this case. Joe Wang, the avenger, could have asked his own maternal uncle to assist him, and in default of close members of Joe Wang's lineage, this maternal uncle would have assumed the role of "master of the bones." Similarly, Paul Ch'i could have asked assistance of his own maternal uncle.

¹²⁹ Given names are fictitious.

On the other side, not only Arthur Li's maternal uncles but also his mother's maternal uncles, and his father's maternal uncles could have been asked to help in the defense.

In other words, aside from the maternal uncle of the deceased, the maternal uncles of any of the principals involved in the ensuing conflict were subject to an appeal for assistance and moral support, and, in the case of the chief avenger, for substitution in role.

It is also to be noted that in any of the clans involved e.g. Ch'i, Wang, Li family groups rather than entire clans participated. In this case, Jean Ch'i's brothers, father, father's brothers and the latter's sons were involved; in other cases, if the family of the defendant was wealthy, the aggrieved's grandfather, grandfather's brothers and their descendants joined the avenging group in the hopes of profiting during the impoverishment of the defendant's family. But this is usually the limit of involvement of any given clan.

To help himself in this tight spot, the father of Arthur Li invited the chief of the village and the elders to arbitrate the conflict, along with some influential men celebrated in the country for their eloquence and proficiency in the art of patching up troubles, and known to be on intimate terms with the members of the first group. These he promised a fine remuneration in case of success. Such were the actors in the drama which ensued.

On the day appointed for the settlement, the members of the Li family together with Arthur Li's maternal uncles and the chief and elders of the village, went outside the village to greet the "guests" i.e. the members of the avenging group. They led a sheep whose horns were decorated with red paper and on whose back was bound a piece of red cotton cloth eight feet in length. With them they also took many firecrackers, to be fired in front of the guests as they returned the long way to the Li family's courtyard. This was the customary means for making a public apology.

But the guests did not show up, and for several days the Li family had to send them new invitations every day. This was Joe Wang's way of compelling the Li family to spend money and kill more animals for the invited elders, the rest of the Li relatives and Arthur Li's maternal uncles, who had to be treated with kindness and fed all during the time that Joe Wang was delaying his appearance.

Finally, after five days Joe Wang showed up with the Ch'i family and a retinue of forty or fifty men bearing clubs, etc. The whole Li family knelt and prostrated themselves to make public apology, but not a kind word was spoken by their former friends, who had now become the fiercest enemies. Entering the courtyard, the Wangs and the Ch'is went to see the victim lying on the *k'ang* unwashed and dirty, for no one was allowed to touch the victim before the case was settled. The stench lay heavy on the air, clogged the throat, and made the avengers clench their fists with rage. They breathed fire and brimstone against the Li family. The maternal uncle declared that he was coming to take vengeance, and like a bolt from the blue, he and his followers smashed all the windows and doors and tables and benches and jars and all kinds of tools; the chickens and the dog were clubbed; all the animals in the stables were driven away, etc., adding to the chaos and confusion. Babies squalled, children screamed, the daughters-in-law clutched their children to their breasts, and the whole Li family prostrated themselves, begging for mercy. The avengers knew no compassion, and every supplication was as a hot coal hissing on ice.

In the meantime the elders had tried to calm them down a little. The neighbors brought tea. The scolding, upbraiding, and cursing having subsided a bit, a dinner was offered. Again some of the avengers carped and complained about the quality of the food, etc. After dinner the palaver began again and went on through the whole night, with endless cursing.

The maternal uncle refused to announce his conditions for settling the trouble. The avenging group ate and drank its fill for three days, and still no solution, no headway was made.

On the fourth day the maternal uncle finally announced his conditions: the important living Buddha of Erhkulung and 20 lamas should be invited to pray for 14 days for the victim; 1,000 pounds of butter should be offered, with an alms of 10,000 taels (ounces of silver) to the same lamasery; and 10,000 taels should be paid to the family of the suicide as atonement.

In the meantime the elders, knowing the ropes, and having the knack of acquiring information, had scanned the avenging group, recognized the most influential men among them, and had already invited them on three separate nights to their homes in order to enjoy a quiet sleep. Here they sounded them out concerning the mind of the maternal uncle about his final solution; some of them ultimately weakened and money was promised to them if they would see that the trouble was settled for a minor sum.

The maternal uncle, however, a very stubborn man, did not yield to the hints and suggestions of his friends. On the fifth day no solution had yet been reached.

It so happened that I was in the neighborhood and that two of the elders knew I was an intimate friend of Joe Wang, the maternal uncle, whose sick wife and son I had helped in critical circumstances. At night I was invited to see the maternal uncle and to persuade him to settle the trouble in a more lenient way, and it was thus that I learned all the circumstances of the appalling affair.

After a new palaver, lasting a whole day and night, the case was settled: only 1,000 taels was to be paid in atonement to the maternal uncle and his family, and the maternal uncle himself should take care of the question of the prayers and alms. This settlement was in fact a subterfuge, because prayers are never said and alms never given in case of suicide, so that in reality the whole atonement price accrued to the maternal uncle (Wang family), and the suicide's paternal relatives (Ch'i family).

Under the settlement, the atonement was to be paid on the nail, according to custom, not as an actual lump sum of 1,000 ounces of silver, but partly in cash and partly in livestock and pieces of cotton cloth. Moreover it was customary in all atonements that 600 coins rated 1,000; that one piece of cloth rated as two pieces, and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with loathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances. The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital

punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the patrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape with his life, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and lasted for two days, presided over by the maternal uncle of the murderer. Finally, the uncle decided that his sister's son should be buried alive, on the principle of a life for a life; that the murderer's father should defray all the expenses of the coffin, clothes, dinner and ceremonial for his own brother's funeral, should invite lamas to pray, and should give alms to the lamasery.

A document was drawn up in which the maternal uncle testified that he took the responsibility for the punishment, and to this all the chiefs of the families affixed their signatures, testifying that they agreed to abide by the decision of the maternal uncle and that they would not accuse the murderer before a Chinese court. The sons of the murdered uncle had threatened to take the case to a Chinese court, and if that had been done not only would capital punishment have been inflicted, but both families would have been ruined by the Chinese officials. The capital punishment was therefore meted out by the Monguors themselves, the maternal uncle taking the responsibility. Under the then prevailing standards, the Chinese officials, who had both administrative and judiciary powers, would take no notice of such a case of traditional and publicly approved justice unless it were formally brought before them by the relatives of the murdered man.

A deep pit was dug, thorns and brambles were thrown into it, and the murderer, cursed and disowned by his family, naked and bound hand and foot, was pushed into the hole and buried alive.¹³⁰ The coffin of the murdered uncle was placed upon the pit and a mound piled over it. The family was ruined.

A similar case happened in 1914 in the valley of Lu-mench'eng. A wife killed her husband at night with a hammer. In this case, the family of the husband with his maternal uncle was opposed to the family of the wife with her maternal uncle. Since the murder of a husband by his wife also deserves capital punishment in Chinese courts, and since the family of the husband threatened to take the case to the Chinese court, the maternal uncle decreed capital punishment for his niece. She was buried alive.

In addition to capital punishment decreed by the maternal uncle for his sister's children, lesser punishments—often of a severe nature—were also administered.

¹³⁰ It is possible that carrying out of the sentence of death by burying alive is influenced by the idea that, by not shedding blood, the chain of revenge and counter-revenge is broken, and the family of the man thus put to death feels no obligation to take up a new "blood-feud."—O.L.

In 1916, in Tolong,¹³¹ an unmarried youngster was severely beaten by his two brothers at night for theft. He was a black sheep, having brought disrepute on his family. In the morning he was found hanging from a beam. The maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family were invited to a meeting at which it was decided that an atonement should be paid to the maternal uncle. (Later I heard that this decision had been criticized throughout the countryside.)

In 1917, in the valley of Hungnai a youngster of twenty-one, who was always stealing and thus disgracing his honorable family, had his eyes burned out with quicklime in keeping with the decision of his maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family.

In 1914 in Chenfan¹³² valley a young woman, the wife of a poor man, eloped with a rich lover, abandoning her husband and two children. After three or four years, disgusted with the lover, she returned to her mother. Her maternal uncle and her parents ordered her to rejoin her former husband and two children. Her husband, however, before accepting her back, urged the maternal uncle to give him an affidavit, testifying that he would not provoke trouble in case the girl committed suicide, for the poor man suspected that she was not willing to return.¹³³

It may perhaps seem unbelievable that as late as the period of the Chinese Republic such measures as the inflicting of capital punishment by the people was allowed, without the interference of a court. The explanation is to be found in the old tradition, still persistent at the time, that the courts need take no notice of any crime whatever, if the crime were not brought before a court by someone who had suffered loss or damage through the commission of the crime.

The T'u-ssu, the chiefs, and the elders of the villages, who themselves had no right to inflict capital punishment, knew all the facts of such cases as those I have described, since they were invited as arbiters; but they did not interfere as civil officials, because they were Monguors and they felt it natural and reasonable that each family should itself avenge the murder of a member of the family, without interference from outside authority.

In all these cases the maternal uncle acted as a real “master of the bones” of the children of his sister, notwithstanding that, in this patriarchal family system, both the children of his sister and his sister herself were considered to belong entirely to her husband and his family, in all matters of property and authority except offenses that, without the intervention of the maternal uncle, might result in blood feuds between clans. The maternal uncle did not patch up quarrels, but he did take it upon himself to make decisions; he punished, and he alone took the responsibility for his decisions.

The cases cited above highlight the fact that the maternal uncle was simultaneously a protector and disciplinarian of his sister's children, and that his authority in these particular situations was the same whether the sister's children remained in the families in which they were born, or married out into other families (in the case of the sister's daughter). This relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's child leads us to inquire into the nature of the relationship between the maternal uncle and his own family, on the one hand, and the families into which his sister's children were born or married, on the other.

¹³¹ A place-name probably from Monguor *dolon*, “seven.”

¹³² A Chinese place name. *Chen* is “to exercise control by means of a military strong point”; *fan* is general for “barbarian,” specific for “Tibetan.” Hence the name means “military strong point on the Tibetan frontier.”—O.L.

¹³³ I encountered a similar case in a Chinese community. The authority of the maternal uncle is recognized by traditional Chinese law, and Chinese say that when the maternal uncle accuses the children of his sister before a Chinese court, their own parents can do nothing to defend them.

Let us consider the relationship between the family of the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's children were born. The two families—*A* and *B* respectively—were united directly by the marriage of a girl from family *A* with a man from family *B*, and the children of this couple became members of family *B*. We may suppose that the marriage was made possible originally because the two families would be strengthened rather than weakened. Evidence of this friendly relationship between the two Monguor families at the time of the marriage were the many presents which each lavished upon the other.

What was the effect of the maternal uncle's role as avenger and disciplinarian in strengthening or weakening this bond of friendship? Before children were born of the marriage, if the girl was killed or driven to suicide by members of family *B*, or herself caused the death of a member of family *B*, the two families became hostile, but the responsibility of initiating and executing vengeance or punishment fell on the girl's maternal uncle who was not a member of either family *A* or family *B*, but of a third family, *C*. This man assumed the responsibility for the final action taken, and the hostility between families *A* and *B* was thus given some indirection by the interposition of a third party.

When children were born to the girl in family *B*, her brother in family *A* became the maternal uncle of these children, and subsequently the natural death of these children, or their involvement in family murders and suicides, placed families *A* and *B* in a direct relationship of either hostility or closer friendship with each other, as shown by the following table:

A	C	C	
Paul Ch'i—	Rose Wang	her brother Joe Wang	
B	A	A	A
Arthur Li—	Jean Ch'i	her brothers Bob Ch'i	and Bill Ch'i
D	B	B	B
Joe Chang—	Mary Li	her brothers Peter Li	and Joe Li
D		D	D
Helen Chang	her brothers	Joe Chang	and Peter Chang

Joe Wang is the maternal uncle of Jean Ch'i, Bob Ch'i, and Bill Ch'i.

Bob Ch'i and Bill Ch'i are the maternal uncles of Mary Li, Peter Li, and Joe Li.

Peter Li and Joe Li are the maternal uncles of Helen, Peter, and Joe Chang.

This relationship was in fact much more likely to be one of closer friendship in such situations. Conflict of interest between the two families would occur if the sister's child had wronged or had been wronged by a member of his own family *B*, in such cases the maternal uncle from family *A* would be called in to administer severe punishment to his sister's child, usually against the wishes of at least one or two members of family *B*, or to initiate vengeance against members of family *B* who had wronged his sister's child. Such cases were quite rare.

More frequently, the maternal uncle was called in to support family *B* by leading the vengeance for wrongs against the sister's child committed by members of other families, as in the case of the sister's daughter who was murdered or driven to suicide by her husband and his relatives. He would also be called on to support his sister's son when the latter was himself carrying out vengeance or disciplinary activities as a "master of the bones." Consequently, family *B* looked on the maternal uncle in family *A* more as a source of moral support than as an object of fear.

While hostility was more apt to arise between the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's daughter married, here again this eventuality was balanced by the fact that the sister's

daughter's husband could call on his wife's maternal uncle to assist him in executing his own vengeance or disciplinary action, in the same way that the sister's son could call on the maternal uncle.

In reality, the role of the maternal uncle in Monguor society tended to contribute to, rather than detract from, the friendly relationship between two families connected by marriage. At the time of the marriage, these did not consider the possibility of feuds between themselves, and weddings were not surrounded by an atmosphere of fear and foreboding of future terrorist activity on the part of the maternal uncle.

The situations described above in connection with murder, suicide, and natural death present only one aspect of the maternal uncle's role. Being crises, they were exceptional, and a consideration of them alone might lead one to visualize the maternal uncle only as the primary agent for meting out justice in the families of his sister's children. His role was more complex and consideration must be given to other aspects, ordinarily overlooked, which were more important in the normal course of life and which reveal other strong bonds between the maternal uncle and the families of his sister's children. In order to get a clearer picture, let us next consider the special relationships between a brother and his sister.

We must first take into account the fact that among the Monguors the oldest son was the chief of the family after the death of his father. His sisters and younger brothers were most intimate with him, and would all take council with him. A particularly close relationship usually developed between a sister and her elder brother in regard to property. Although women could not claim any share of the family inheritance, either in their own family or in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daughter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa*. They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children feel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and friendly aspect of his relationship both with the family into which his sister married and in which his sister's children were born, and with those families into which his sister's daughters married. The sister's husband's family appreciated the fact that the sister received presents through her elder brother, since her husband and children would indirectly benefit. Moreover, the sister's sons and the husbands of the sister's daughters could call on the sister's brother to act as a go-between when they were bargaining for animals or engaged in court proceedings before the T'u-ssu, to witness contracts for the sale of seeds to the local oil mills, and to help out financially when large debts fell due.

It is apparent therefore that the families into which his sister's children were born or married desired earnestly to cultivate the friendship of the children's maternal uncle, not only because of his position as potential avenging or punishing angel in life and death crises, but also because he could render real aid and support in all ordinary problems both to his sister and to her children. He was in effect not simply a relative, but an intimate friend of the family, and he was given precedence on important occasions relating to his sister's children's status in the society.

When a child was born it was customary to invite its maternal uncle to a feast; when the child was married, both its own maternal uncle and its mother's maternal uncle were invited to the wedding; at New Year's the child was sent to greet its maternal uncle; and finally the maternal uncle was invited to attend the ceremonies for the installation of his sister's son as family chief, or his investiture as T'u-ssu. But the maternal uncle did not arrange marriages nor did he appoint family chiefs. He was simply the most honored guest. For example, I have noted elsewhere¹³⁴ that families of ordinary standing were accustomed to present thirteen pieces of clothing to their betrothed daughter, five pieces to her fiancé, one piece to each of her fiancé's paternal grandparents, parents, paternal uncles, maternal aunts, brothers, and sisters. For her maternal uncle was reserved the present of honor the large official scarf of felicity and a horse. If the girl's fiancé's grandfather were dead, her maternal uncle would be invited to preside at the wedding in his place.

In spite of the maternal uncle's rare intrusion into the affairs of his sister's children in other respects, he was in one kind of problem a meddler. Women are always sensitive about the condition of their daughters and are willing to believe and to magnify all of a daughter's complaints about sufferings inflicted on her by her mother-in-law. If a Monguor woman were an interfering character she could easily attempt to move her brothers to protect their niece, or her sons to protect their sister's child--to intrude, in their interests, into the privacy of a family which knew the great influence and power of the clan of their daughter-in-law's maternal uncle and had in the back of its mind the fear of a possible suicide by the daughter-in-law. A family might have

¹³⁴ L. Schram, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou*, 67, Shanghai, *Variétés sinologiques* 58, Impremierie de la mission Catholique. 1938.

to brook actual infringement of its rights by the maternal uncles, but undue pretensions of authority on the part of a maternal uncle could be considered as occasional excesses such as occur in the accepted behavior of every society.

Considering these facts from a theoretical standpoint, we may ask whether the influence of the maternal uncle in Monguor society was derived wholly from a previous matriarchal family system or was founded in human nature and hence to be considered as natural in both patriarchal and matriarchal systems. We may also ask whether the giving of some fields and animals to the daughter was necessarily related to the female ownership of land in a matriarchal society. Is the fact that the daughter keeps her wealth in her family of origin also related to that system, or may it be explained simply by the daughter's fear lest her savings be confiscated by her husband's family the first time they are in financial straits?

Let us re-examine the facts in the light of this problem. Historically, the clans of the nomad Mongols of Asia appear to have been, like the Monguor clan, an association of consanguine relatives based on the principle of matrilineal descent and exogamy; the clan protected its own members by the institution of blood feud. Furthermore, the clan would avenge the murder of a person belonging to the same "bone" i.e. persons born into the clan and related to the clan by patrilineal descent, whether such persons remained with the clan or married out into other clans. The duty to take vengeance was incumbent upon the whole clan and lasted as long as the wrong was not avenged. If one generation had been incapable of taking vengeance, then the obligation rested upon the following generation, and so on. Related clans could be called on for aid and support in carrying out vengeance or protection against it.

In view of this principle of blood vengeance, two facts of the Monguor vengeance pattern emerge as peculiar, first, the placing of primary responsibility for initiating the vengeance on the aggrieved's maternal uncle rather than on his paternal kinsmen, and second, the shifting of vengeance from a clan to a family duty.

In the case of Jean Ch'i, considering the old nomadic society from which the Monguors were derived, we might have expected that vengeance would have been initiated by the Ch'i family her own kin group, or "bone," led by Paul, her father, by Peter and John, her paternal uncles, and by Bob and Bill, her brothers—not by Joe Wang, her maternal uncle.

This form of vengeance appeared to be somewhat incongruous and I asked for explanations in order to understand the trend of mind of the Monguors. The immediate answer was: "A girl is an *outsider* in her own family; she does not belong permanently to the family, because she will eventually marry into another family; she and her children will bear another surname and she will be buried not in the graveyard of her family of origin, but in the graveyard of her husband's family. If she is killed or commits suicide she has none the less to have her avenger, but since she is an *outsider*, it is appropriate that the brother of her mother assume this duty. Her paternal kinsmen are expected to avenge her death also, but only as second best, following in the wake of the maternal uncles."

When I objected to this explanation on the grounds that in the case of the murder or suicide of Jean's brothers, Bob and Bill, who were not outsiders of the Ch'i family, Joe, their maternal uncle, would have been the leaders of the avengers in precisely the same way, the Monguors answered politely that I was an *outsider* and did not understand the importance of the maternal uncle inside the orbit of the Monguor family.

Other Monguors, in order to support and justify the custom, gave me a most confused and inappropriate explanation: "Brothers and sisters are children of the same bone; members of the same bone have the duty of avenging and protecting each other and upon the most closely related

among them the duty was most incumbent and most urgent.” This much of the explanation is an aberration which in fact explains the old nomadic and not the Monguor vengeance pattern. From this the explanation went on to say, quite illogically: “Therefore, a mother’s brother must protect his sister’s children, sisters must respect their brothers, and sister’s children are taught to respect and honor their mother’s brothers.”

This attempt at explanation indicates to me that the Monguors were confused in their thinking on this point, and had not been able to fit this aspect of the role of the maternal uncle consistently into the framework and principles of their patrilineal family system. I am led to suspect that the acknowledgment by them of his right was due to the presence, within their patrilineal society, of principles specific to the matriarchal system.

What other evidence do we have of such an intrusion? I have previously noted many of them in *Le mariage chez les T’ou-jen*, chapter VI: (1) the abnormal rights of the mother to decide herself about the marriage of her daughter; her consent had to be given even when her daughter was a widow and belonged to the family of her former husband, (2) the right of the mother, in case of the marriage of her son, to go herself to ask for his wife and to fix the date of the marriage before the go-between enters into the action, (3) the fact that in marriages between poor families, the mother-in-law herself went on the last day of the year to bring her future daughter-in-law to her home, (4) the unusual ease in adopting into a family children born of a daughter-in-law who had eloped many years before with a lover, (5) the exceptional marriages with the pole or girdle, so usual with the neighboring Tibetans, (6) the fact that a newborn son was called according to the age of his grandmother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?¹³⁵ It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.¹³⁶

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a “pure” and “original” patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. ... I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures; for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove

¹³⁵ In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, *Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China*, *Anthropos* 8: 981 sqq., 1930.

¹³⁶ W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9, Part 3, *Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker*: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?¹³⁷

My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as “master of the bones” of his sister’s children i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second, that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband’s family and go through life happily more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle’s power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. ... If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.¹³⁸

When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a

¹³⁷ W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. “... so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture ‘eines’ Kulturkreises vollkommen und rein zutage tritt. ... Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?”

¹³⁸ Van Oost, *Au pays des Ordos*, as cited, 102.

daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upwards.¹³⁹

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Special deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents are more exposed to variations of temperature. Probably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.¹⁴⁰ The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

Although the Monguors like to have large families, they have a divided attitude on the birth of twins. If the twins are of the same sex, it is a good omen, but twins of different sex are a very bad omen, foretelling the impoverishment of the family, the ending of good fortune, and the sterility of

¹³⁹ Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O.L.

¹⁴⁰ In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O.L.

the mother.¹⁴¹ According to Shirokogoroff, both the Manchus and the Tungus consider twins dangerous. They are afraid of a woman who has had twins and will not have sexual relations with her. Although they believe that twins are so closely connected that if one dies the other must die, too, they bury them separately. The Tungus believe that twins have only one soul, and when a woman has had twins no one will borrow, buy, or accept a gift from either her or her husband, for fear of also having twins.¹⁴²

Since a Monguor girl is usually married at about the age of eighteen, she usually has her first child at the age of nineteen. It is rare for a girl as young as fifteen to have a child. The rule among the Monguors is to build the kitchen in the northeast corner of the courtyard. This is also the corner that is considered most propitious for a newly married couple. A woman who already has as many children as she wants will try to move out of the northeast corner and live in another room. Monguor women bear their children lying in a horizontal position, while Chinese women of the same region give birth in a kneeling position. At the time of childbirth most of the women of the village come to offer their help. There is always one of them who has a special reputation for dexterity, and she is invited specially. The Monguors prefer to have widows assisting at childbirth, because they believe that in the presence of a widow childbirth goes more smoothly and is more painless. If the delivery is difficult and seems to be taking too long, the husband climbs up on the roof and stamps furiously just above the head of the woman in labor. If this is not successful, a shaman is invited to drive away the evil spirits who are impeding the delivery, or a lama is called in to pray. Children born in such circumstances are often promised to a monastery to become lamas. As soon as the child has been born the room is taboo and men are no longer allowed to enter it. Over the entrance to the room the Monguors hang a cypress bough or a ball of wool or sometimes, in the Chinese manner, a piece of red cotton or a sieve.

For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This taboo applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the

¹⁴¹ The second born of twins has precedence over the first born. This belief has important consequences, because if the first born sons of an eldest son are twins, it is the second born of the twins who is entitled to hold, in due course, the office of head of the family. If the first born sons of a T'u-ssu are twins, it is the second who has the right of succession. The explanation given by the Monguors is that the first born twin is the servant of the second, because a man of importance is always accompanied by a servant, who respectfully opens the door for his master.

¹⁴² S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 114, and *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, as cited, 275.

child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.¹⁴³ A round head, long earlobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup to his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME GIVING

If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity; and two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine times and invites the grandfather to name the child. The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity, and the whole family is gathered in the room. The mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet with tears stands before the grandfather with her husband at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name of good omen. This is the first time that the grandfather has seen the child. Looking like the living image of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash always an even number. He then takes his grandson in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed on to all the other members of the family who embrace him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father and mother.

In families where there are few children or where a number of children have died in infancy, it is common to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck" of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a Chinese term) of the child. This relationship somewhat resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child throughout his life is considered to be in some way related to the family of his "dry father." At the New Year and other important festivals he will always visit his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle. The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the child and can be expected to help in such things as arranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into the adopting family.

¹⁴³ In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the earrings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O.L.

Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lamaistic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Prosperity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name that records the age of their father's mother when they were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name of the father's father is given in this way only if the father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chinese of this region, on the other hand, a child is frequently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.¹⁴⁴

When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy as a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.¹⁴⁵

Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao--Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.¹⁴⁶

The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some

¹⁴⁴ Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

¹⁴⁵ Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O.L.

¹⁴⁶ This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O.L.

clothes--a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock" a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"--a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him along life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked, however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins

for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later. A first-born sick child, the future head of a new family, is never dedicated to such spirits. Usually the child is dedicated to one of the Taoist spirits whose statues are honored in the temple of the village, or to the twelve Tengris of the shamans. The shaman, accordingly, is the usual performer of the ceremony, which is most often carried out in the village temple, but may be enacted at home, in which case the shaman is invited to bring with him the picture of the deity to which the child is to be dedicated. In the case of a son the ceremony is performed when he is twenty-nine days old, in the case of a girl when she is thirty days old.

The child is taken to the temple. Thirteen rolls of steamed bread are offered to the spirit and a piece of red cotton cloth five feet in length is hung on the statue of the deity while incense and boughs of cypress are burned before the statue. The shaman then takes from the statue a piece of cloth which had been previously offered in a similar ceremony, tears a strip from it and wraps it around the neck of the child. He then prays for a while, sitting with his legs crossed under him, beating his shaman drum, and then ties knots in the strip of cloth. Then he takes a loop of the rope used at the religious ceremony of the spring festival. This rope is made up of small loops of hemp around which the spirits are supposed to have descended from heaven to bless the community. It is therefore a sacred and powerful talisman. The loop of rope is covered with a tightly sewn cover of red cotton cloth. It is taken from the statue and attached to the neck of the child with a red cord. This loop of rope has the Chinese name *malu sheng* or “the rope of the highway.” Some people fasten the two ends of the loop with a “lock of longevity” carved from peach wood.¹⁴⁷ When such a lock is used, a small arrow, made of willow wood, is sewn in a cover of red cotton cloth and attached to the back of the child’s clothes. The use of the lock and the arrow is Chinese in origin and is intended to increase the effectiveness of the shamanistic rites for protection from evil spirits.

If the parents still have doubts and are not satisfied with the effectiveness of the rites that have been performed, they may take some hair from a white dog, wrap it in red cotton cloth folded in a

¹⁴⁷ The peach is itself one of the Chinese symbols of longevity.—O.L.

triangle, and sew it under the child's armpit; for a dog does not die easily, and by sympathetic magic it is hoped that the child will be resistant to death. Other people wrap a clove of garlic in the same way, because the smell of garlic drives away evil spirits. Another talisman is made by taking a piece of paper which has been soaked in blood taken from a vein in the arm of a shaman while he was in a trance (as happens at the spring observances) wrapped and sewn in the same way. This is considered the most efficient of all talismans.

The loop of the "rope of the highway" is worn for five, seven, nine, or thirteen years, and during the whole of this time the child is considered to be dedicated to the tutelary spirit. During these years the child's head may not be shaved; though some people shave everything except the crown of the head, where the hair is allowed to grow and is braided in a "pigtail."

At about the age of thirteen, when the child is supposed to have passed successfully the dangerous years of infancy, it can be released from its "dedication"; but this requires a special ceremony, because in theory the intention is supposed to have been to dedicate the child to the deity for the whole of its life.

The ceremony of release, like the ceremony of dedication, is performed by shamans. The ceremony—which is never omitted, for fear that misfortune may overtake the child—must be performed either at the temple or at the home of the shaman, in the presence of the picture or the statue of the deity to which the child is dedicated.

The father goes to the temple with the boy and some friends. He offers thirteen rolls of steamed bread on the altar of the deity, a whole piece of red cotton cloth, and three strings of coins. He also takes to the temple a cock, a winnowing basket, a red rope five or seven yards in length, a comb, a small broom, a roll of bread, and a pair of scissors. The shaman ties one end of the rope to the statue and the other to the neck of the boy. Sitting cross-legged, he beats his drum and prays, while all those present kneel on the ground. The shaman then cuts the rope with the scissors, close to where it is tied to the statue. He takes the loose end made by the cut and ties it around the neck of the cock. He then cuts a tuft of hair from the boy, combs it, and puts it in the winnowing basket with the broom. The loaf of bread and the scissors are also placed in the basket.

One of those who has accompanied the father to the temple then takes the basket; another carries the cock, which is still attached by the red rope to the boy, and starts toward the boy's home, with the boy walking on the left side of the man who is carrying the cock. The whole of the way home the man carrying the basket repeatedly cries out at the top of his voice, calling the name of the boy: "Boy So-and-So, did he come home?" The man carrying the cock replies in the same loud voice "Yes, he is here," at the same time teasing and stirring up the cock to make it crow. When they reach the gate into the family courtyard the whole group stand for awhile repeating the same question and response. Finally they enter the courtyard where the whole family, all in their best clothes, are drawn up as if they were waiting for a distinguished guest. They bow and congratulate the boy as if he had come from a great distance, and lead him to the main room. Here the rope is untied and the cock is released in the courtyard.

The boy is seated on the *k'ang*, where he behaves as if he were a distinguished guest, drinking tea and eating some of the bread brought home in the basket. Then the rope by which he had been tied to the cock, which is still around his neck, is untied and all the talismans that had been sewn in his clothing during the period of his "dedication" are taken and placed in the winnowing basket. The contents of the basket are put at the place on the *k'ang* where the boy sleeps, and covered with the basket, upside down. The boy's head is then shaved, and he is free. A dinner follows, for all who took part in the ceremony.

On the third day after the ceremony the contents of the basket are taken away and buried in a far off, hidden place. The cock is allowed to grow old. He may not be killed, and when he dies may not be eaten. He is known as “the cock of longevity,” and is treated in the same way as sacred or dedicated animals.

Girls dedicated to a tutelary spirit are liberated in the same way as boys. Most children, when they are liberated, are given back the name that they were given at birth. In addition to children who are “dedicated” in this way when they are very small, as a protective measure, children are frequently “dedicated” when they fall seriously ill.

The importance of the “cock of longevity” is illustrated by the following story. A boy of the Ngao family threw a stone and accidentally killed a “cock of longevity” belonging to the Li family. The incident threatened to become of life and death importance, because the life of a boy in the Li family depended on the cock, and the Li family was prepared to bring suit before the Li T’u-ssu, the chief of the clan. The village elders, however, proposed settlement of the incident by compromise. At a public meeting on the village threshing floor, attended by the whole community, old and young, men and women, boys and girls, it was decided to abide by the decision of an old and experienced shaman who was requested to think of a way to save the life of the Li boy. His solution was that a new cock was to be provided and a bolt of red cotton cloth offered to the tutelary deity, while he, as shaman, would say prayers in expiation of the outrage. In addition, the elders ordered the Ngao family to defray all expenses, to make an apology to the Li family, and to bring the Li family as an offering a sheep with horns adorned with a piece of red cotton cloth, while fire crackers were to be set off at the entrance to the Li family courtyard and within the courtyard.

In families where there are few children or where one of the children has been dedicated to a deity, a lovely and naive ceremony can be seen. On the sixth or seventh birthday of the boy for whom the ceremony is to be performed, the parents invite a lama of the Yellow Hat sect to say the “prayers for a peaceful life” on his behalf. These prayers are said in the early morning. Later in the day the boy’s maternal uncle, some of the oldest men of the village, and the members of the family are invited to a dinner for which a sheep has been specially slaughtered. The boy, guided by one of his brothers (a person of the same generation is required, but may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy’s own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy’s bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindness.

Parents who do not “dedicate” a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of

cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors.

EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows,

sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals boys accompany their father and girls their mother and there they see the horse races and the merrymaking, the dancing and the singing.

In their religious life there are no churches, for the temples are not churches. Children never hear sermons or receive formal instruction in religion; but every morning they see grandfather honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the house, and they can go up there with him and make their prostrations as he does. All day long they hear him whispering his "Om Mani" as he fingers his Buddhist rosary, and they learn to pray with him. Similarly they watch their mother honoring the god of the hearth, and on the first and fifteenth of the month they see the burning of the incense and cypress boughs before the family altar. Everything that they see they ask about; and though their elders give them explanations that are closer to folklore than to theology, the children readily accept and believe the marvelous stories that they hear about Buddhas and other deities. Through watching the religious rites at monasteries and village temples and taking part in the family ceremonies for the veneration of ancestors and for deaths and marriages, children acquire, not so much a formal creed as a definite religious attitude that is a part of their social outlook.

The village threshing floor is almost as important a factor as the family in the education of a child. It is at public meetings at the threshing floor that the elders of the village and the village chief make all their decisions in community matters. Compromise is the prevailing rule of all such decisions, resort to the law being only a last expedient, and compromise in a village can only be reached through long discussion and public comment. The older generation takes it for granted that children should be brought to such meetings. Women and girls are as much interested as men and boys. Because from childhood they have heard disputes with neighboring villages settled at the threshing floor, men and women alike know the boundaries of their own villages, and what wood lots in the mountains belong to their village and where fuel can be obtained. They know also that there is a sacred hill on which fuel may not be obtained, because they can remember when somebody was publicly punished by beating at the meeting for breaking the taboo. Similarly they know that each family must pay its share for keeping up the cult of the clan ancestors and the religious observances of the village, because they have seen people punished and harshly reprimanded by the elders for attempting to evade payment of their share.

Not only have they seen men lashed and hung up by their thumbs for theft and other crimes, but they have seen young women beaten and shamed before the whole community for scandalous behavior toward their elders or for escapades with men.

They hear, moreover, every detail that goes with every story, no matter how intimate and delicate, including quarrels among husbands and wives. It is thus that they acquire a training in what is allowed and what is not allowed in their own society, and can absorb exact knowledge of what constitutes authority in the family and the village.

INSTITUTIONAL KINSHIP

The custom of "sworn brotherhood" is ancient in Mongol society and is widespread in Asia. The purpose of the institution is to bind together two or more men either for aid and support in general or for specific purposes. Sworn brotherhood is binding only on the individuals concerned and not on family or social groups to which they belong. Men need not belong to the same clan in

order to swear brotherhood; in fact the institution probably arose out of the necessity for mutual loyalty in situations not covered by clan or family loyalty. Thus a Monguor will swear brotherhood not only with other Monguors but with Mongols, Tibetans, Chinese, or Muslims. Nor does difference in social condition matter, because a rich man may take the oath with a poor man and even a T'u-ssu with one of his subjects. Women, however, are very seldom "sworn sisters," and man and women are never "sworn brother and sister."

The oath then can be taken under various conditions. Men whose purpose is not honorable will take the oath at night, in secrecy, while those whose purpose is honorable will act quite openly, taking the oath either at the home of one of them or in the village temple.

Among the Monguors the rite requires that a sheep, goat, or chicken be killed, some of its blood gathered in a bowl, and wine added. Holding incense sticks in their joined hands, the two or more men who are going to take the oath of brotherhood prostrate themselves simultaneously before a picture or statue of the temple deity, or before "Heaven and all the spirits." Each then makes a prostration to the other as they swear solemnly an oath of mutual aid and support, calling for punishment from the spirits in case of falsehood or disloyalty. Each puts on the other's head the picture of the spirit who is being invoked, or a book containing Tibetan prayers, and both (or all) drink the blood of the sacrificial animals, mixed with wine.¹⁴⁸ If there are more than two taking the oath, each is given a number and from then on they address each other only by number, as "big brother number 1," "number 2," and so on. While such an oath may be taken perfectly openly, there is often about it an air of secrecy and of something reprehensible, which is not strange in view of the fact that rebellions in China have traditionally been started by bands of sworn brothers.

After the rite has been performed, the brothers present each other with articles of clothing, such as a hat or a pair of boots.

The Monguors, in taking this oath, never open a vein and drink their own blood as was done traditionally among the Turks and Mongols, among whom this kind of institutional brotherhood is known by the term *anda*.¹⁴⁹ In this ceremony each man opened a vein in his arm, mixed the blood in a cup with milk or fermented milk wine, in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter each was not only the sworn brother of the other, but each enjoyed in his blood-brother's clan the same rights and privileges as if he were born from the same womb, and conversely was bound by the obligations expected of an elder or younger brother.¹⁵⁰

Analogous ceremonies are known from the Polar regions to southern Asia. In the region of the Behring Straits, among the Koryaks, Italmen, and Yukagirs, a dinner is given, at which the men

¹⁴⁸R. Grousset, *Empire des steppes*, 268, Paris, Payot, 1939, notes that when Wang Khan of the Keraites made peace with Chingis Khan, he sent him "blood contained in a cowhorn," to be used at the time of the swearing of the oath.

¹⁴⁹The difference between *anda* sworn brotherhood and the institution of *nukur*, which has been mentioned above, is that the *nukur* was more purely military; he was a "man-at-arms" who, instead of serving in tribal ranks where loyalty and discipline were automatically covered by tribal sanctions, declared himself to be henceforth the follower of some military leader to whom he owed no blood-allegiance, but to whom henceforth he would profess a loyalty transcending that to clan and tribe. In the *anda* institution there was seniority, but also an equality of brotherhood. In the *nukur* relationship there was the strict subordination of the follower to the leader.—O.L.

¹⁵⁰Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 61, Paris, 1896.

pledge mutual aid. Among the Koryaks and Yukagirs there is an exchange of possessions. Women and girls may also swear friendship or sisterhood in this manner.¹⁵¹

Among the Tungus the custom seems to be relatively recent and to have spread directly from the Chinese and indirectly from the Chinese through the Manchus. In taking the oath, the Tungus pray to the spirit of Heaven. Shirokogoroff considers that this is a borrowed custom because within Tungus society the relations of persons belonging to different clans were quite satisfactorily regulated.¹⁵²

In Southwest China, among the Miao of the Province of Kueichou a cat is killed and its blood is mixed with wine and drunk;¹⁵³ in another account of Miao ceremony, Legendre notes that there are no religious ceremonies and that a dog is killed and its blood mixed with wine and drunk.¹⁵⁴

Monguors, in addition to taking as witnesses "Heaven and all the spirits" or a temple deity, may invoke the buildings of a temple, or a well-known scripture such as the Kandjur or Tandjur, or a Living Buddha. The curses that are invoked in case of disloyalty are worded in such phrases as: "If I break my oath, may I be a man who has eaten the flesh of his own parents"; or "A man who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraites. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.¹⁵⁵

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brotherhood if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught.

¹⁵¹ Hubert Konig, *Das Recht der Polarvölker*, *Anthropos* 22: 736, 1927.

¹⁵² Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Tungus*, as cited, 736.

¹⁵³ P. A. Schotter, *Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus aborigènes du Kouy-tcheou*, *Anthropos* 3: 419, 1908.

¹⁵⁴ A. F. Legendre, *Le far-west chinois*, 448, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910.

¹⁵⁵ Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of securing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The division of the inheritance is one of the most difficult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up separate "chimneys." The decision to separate has usually, in such cases, been foreshadowed by quarrels and resentment among the sons, making it inevitable that when the actual division of the inheritance takes place there are bitter disputes.

In order to make a satisfactory settlement possible, the sons usually invite the chief of the village and the village elders, the senior representatives of their own patrilineal kin, and of course their own maternal uncle and those of their wives to take part in the discussion, which takes place in the open air at the threshing floor, witnessed by the population of the whole village. Such a discussion may take several days. Each maternal uncle is the advocate of his own sister's son, the seniors of the patrilineal kin represent the common interest of the patrilineal line, and the village chief and elders are the voices of the community.

In this discussion every possible proposal and compromise is put forward in order to secure an agreement that will leave no smoldering feud behind among the brothers. Finally contracts are written, a sheep is slaughtered, and a dinner is given to the elders to thank them for their services. The brothers prostrate themselves before each other to signify that, though they have broken up the extended family, they are still on good terms.

The property that is thus divided is of several kinds. Among any people, riches are relative to the economic system as a whole. Since the Monguors have become agricultural, land is the most valuable property. Since the tradition of cattle breeding still continues, however, livestock are also important. In addition houses, agricultural implements, clothes, and money must be considered.

The basis on which division must be determined is the fact that under the patrilineal system the entire extended family, with authority concentrated in the grandfather, is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements, and money, with individual property restricted to a few personal possessions. As long as the extended family holds together, all of its members produce for the common benefit and what is to be done with what they earn is decided by the head of the family.

Since, under the patrilineal system, sons alone may inherit, the property is first divided into as many shares as there are sons with the modification, already noted above, that the eldest son receives an extra large share and the eldest son of the eldest son also receives a special share; a son who has become a lama, however (and therefore will have no legitimate heirs), receives no share at all.

The sons of a son who has died are entitled to receive and divide their father's share. A son who has been adopted by his father's brother inherits from his adopted father and not from his real father. Similarly, a son who has been given to be adopted by a non-related family loses his rights of inheritance in his family of origin. If one of the sons has died without having sons of his own and without having adopted a son, his share is divided among his brothers.

If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains his original surname or clan name. Such a man may try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118-119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand

the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.¹⁵⁶

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Monguor marriage there is a hint of a custom under which, at the division of the paternal inheritance, a daughter was entitled to a share amounting to half of the share received by a son. I now doubt very much whether this reference is really an echo of a formerly existing Monguor custom. On the one hand, it does not correspond to the clearly expressed principles of Monguor inheritance, and on the other hand it tallies exactly with the rules of inheritance of those Tibetans whom the Chinese call Hsifan, who are the nearest Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors. A large number of families of Tibetan origin are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and there are many marriages between Monguors and Tibetans. The Tibetan custom is well known to the Monguors, and since it is favorable to the woman it must be a topic of conversation among Monguor women and may through this channel have crept into the phraseology of the master of ceremonies as an expression that is flattering to the bride but has no legal validity for the ultimate division of the inheritance.

Among the Tibetans, if the inheritance is divided before the death of the parents, the parents receive four parts of all the money in the family, sons receive two parts, grandsons one part, and unmarried daughters also receive one part. This division corresponds exactly to the reference in the speech by the Monguor master of ceremonies at a marriage. (Tibetan granddaughters and married daughters receive nothing.)

In the division of grain, each person—parents, sons, and daughters—receives one part.¹⁵⁷ In the division of cattle, the parents receive three parts, the sons two parts, the grandsons one part, and the sons of unmarried girls also one part. This division tallies exactly with the Monguor custom of giving a share to the children of a daughter who “marries with the pole,” suggesting that this form of marriage is influenced by the Tibetan custom under which a daughter may stay at home and bear children for her own family instead of marrying and going to her husband's family. In the

¹⁵⁶ This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (a) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (b) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O.L.

¹⁵⁷ This scale of division, not favoring either the parents or the sons, suggests that grain is a late addition to the Tibetan economy, and of secondary importance.—O.L.

division of livestock these unmarried girls do not receive horses, but they receive as many cows as their brothers receive horses.

When the inheritance is thus divided before the death of the father, the Tibetan father goes to live with one of the sons and the mother with another. The unmarried daughter who has a son must make her own living. If she later has another son, he must become a lama. If such a girl later marries, her inheritance belongs to her.

Certain kinds of property among the Monguors are recognized as personal and not subject to family inheritance. Each person owns his own clothes. A man who engages in hunting is the owner of his own gun. A man who does part time work as a silver smith or maker of knives is the owner of the tools of his trade.

Women also own personal property, including their clothes and jewelry, which are for the most part presents from the woman's own family. It has also been noted above that it is customary for a girl's maternal uncle to give her, before she is married, some land and calves, or to plant some trees for her, and to give her in addition, when she is married, some land and some more animals. The maternal uncle looks after this property for her. Similarly, sisters entrust their personal treasures to the care of a brother or brothers. Thus a married woman has a kind of insurance in the form of property that is partly in the care of a brother and partly in the care of one of her mother's brothers. (Among the circum-Polar peoples, including the Koryaks, Chukchis, and Lapps there is also "women's property"; livestock belonging to a woman before marriage, or given her by her father at the time of marriage, remain her personal property.)¹⁵⁸

A woman's property may continue to increase after her marriage. When she goes to visit her own family, they frequently give her presents of cotton cloth, clothes, or money. Monguor women have also adopted from Chinese women the practice of keeping chickens. In the extended family, each daughter-in-law has her own chickens, the eggs of which she collects herself and is allowed to sell. In addition, after the crops are threshed the gleanings on the threshing floor are collected and divided by the daughters-in-law. Similarly when opium is harvested the poppy juice is cooked until it becomes thick and gluey. Each individual family in the extended family cooks its own share of the harvest, which must be poured into the kettle of the head of the family; but each daughter-in-law may keep that part of the opium that sticks to the inside of her own kettle without being scraped off--a valuable saving.

Another perquisite is that when peddlers and traveling merchants come around selling sugar, fruit, candies, and cakes to the women and their children it is not unusual for a daughter-in-law to "steal" a little grain from the family granary, while the parents-in-law pretend not to notice, in order to pay for such purchases.

The jewelry and other little treasures that a woman keeps with her in her husband's family are carefully stored in a locked chest in the woman's own room.

CONCLUSIONS

The general conclusions to be drawn from these data on family life seems to be that the children are the hub around which the whole Monguor family turns. The chief of the extended family is a happy man at home and is esteemed in the Monguor society only if he has grandchildren; the sons love their wives only when they bear children; the wives feel that they are important in the family only when they have children and sons. The children build up the morale of all the members of the family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities

¹⁵⁸ Hubert Konig, *op. cit.*, 625.

of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at wedding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people--have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times; but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. ECONOMIC LIFE

An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of

the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368-1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchow in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchow. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.¹⁵⁹ The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.¹⁶⁰

FARMING

Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

¹⁵⁹ R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76-79.

¹⁶⁰ Hermann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is dug out with spades in the form of large, rough bricks, which are set out in rows to dry. The next spring, before sowing, these bricks are built into a long oven. The outside is plastered with mud, and after incense and boughs of cypress have been burned to propitiate the Spirit of the Earth, a fire is built in the oven. After it has burned for two days the “bricks” have crumbled into ashes. Men and women carry these ashes in baskets on their backs and scatter them on the fields that are to be sown. In some places this heavy work is done by the women alone.

Plowing and sowing begin on the propitious day and at the appointed hour designated in the old Chinese lunar calendar. Strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on all the farming implements and on the horns of the oxen. Red, in the symbolism of the Chinese, is the color for joy, fertility, and good fortune.¹⁶¹

At the appointed hour the whole family, all in their best clothes, go to the fields. The procession is led by the head of the family, guiding a plow drawn by a pair of oxen. He plows a furrow in a large circle and then a cross within the circle in such a manner that when the second stroke of the cross is completed the heads of the oxen are pointing in the direction from which, according to geomantic divination, happiness and prosperity are expected to emanate during the year. This direction may vary from year to year. The family then steps into the center of the circle, kneels, and burns incense and boughs of cypress. The head of the family offers to the Spirit of the Earth a large, flat circular loaf of bread in the center of which there is a hole in which he plants incense sticks. The family prostrate themselves while the head of the family pours a libation of wine on the ground and sprinkles wine toward the “six corners” of the universe.¹⁶² The bread is then divided into small pieces and each member of the family, and also the two oxen, are given a piece to eat on the spot. The remainder is broken into crumbs and thrown on the field. All then return home except those who complete the plowing, and sowing begins as soon as the plowing is finished.

The Chinese in this region do not have this custom, and it is possible that the Monguors took it over from the Tibetans who have a similar ceremony of beginning the farming season by blessing the earth and asking the gods for a good harvest and for protection against hail.¹⁶³

The Monguor field crops are barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp, and potatoes. Very little millet is grown. When the Monguors plow a virgin field, they plant barley for the first six years and wheat only the seventh year, because the earth of such fields is too cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

¹⁶¹ White (which for the Chinese is the color of mourning) is the traditional auspicious and noble color of the Mongols.—O.L.

¹⁶² The four quarters of the compass; upward (for the sky), and downward (for below the surface of the earth).—O.L.

¹⁶³ MacDonald, *Mœurs et coutumes tibétaines*, 229, Paris, Payot, 1930.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans¹⁶⁴ or the Sienpi.

The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige, and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in

¹⁶⁴ For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* 30: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Achendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* 25: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.¹⁶⁵

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

When there is not enough rain and the pasture is poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are

¹⁶⁵ Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O.L.

studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the habit of making and following a small beaten trail along which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the “virtue” of the musk will be lost.

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mongols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner’s next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.¹⁶⁶ As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year’s Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the

¹⁶⁶ Kukunor, the “Azure Lake,” is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch’ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 li or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii*, *schizopygopsis leptcephalus*, and *schizopygopsis gracilis*. They weigh from three to five and seven pounds (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets* 140, Jena, 1873).

chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose territory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe. The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade, transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an energetic and enterprising people, even more hard working and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transportation to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own

measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

In the profitable business of buying livestock to be slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchow, the Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchow, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and

dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukuinor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he

offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.¹⁶⁷

On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with them *p'ulu*, a kind of woollen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

The young Monguors who have once worked with the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease and variety of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

The Monguors do not have much in the way of furniture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables" low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting cross legged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs

¹⁶⁷ R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O.L.

on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

During the winter the Monguor men, who work so much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house. A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff. This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as “those who fast,” the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky “to the height of a post.” Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.) The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o’clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody--especially her own children--to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying “Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more.”

The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called “wine.” It is drunk at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a

wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel “keel.” To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T’u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men’s costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiuanp’u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.¹⁶⁸ Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a “shoe” made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman’s gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman’s working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p’u-lu*). The ends of the men’s sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a “pigtail” which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

A boy’s head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a “pigtail.” A boy’s costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new

¹⁶⁸ It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.* —O.L.

year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the “flower of longevity” from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this “flower of longevity” is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man’s finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat’o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince, “blessed by heaven and all the spirits,” begat thirteen sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women’s costume to this day.

The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T’ient’ang Ssu forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T’ient’ang Ssu¹⁶⁹ began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

The costumes of the Monguor women are much more elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

A woman’s trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep’s wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men’s trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women

¹⁶⁹ For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world and The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

of the villages north of the valleys of Wei Yüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn. Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

The boots and the sash are important items in the trousseau of a Monguor bride they display her proficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn and the inside gown is exchanged for one made of finer cotton cloth, dyed dark blue, green, or violet, and long, wide extensions are sewn on to the regular sleeves. Often two or three sets of sleeves are worn, one over the other, to give the illusion that several gowns are being worn. In order to heighten this effect, each sleeve is slightly shorter than the one under it. These outer sleeves are made of three strips of cotton cloth of different colors, such as red, green, or violet. Each of these strips is separated from the other strips by narrow bands of cotton cloth of other colors, such as yellow, dark blue, or orange. To add to this display of color on the sleeves, a woman in her best clothes may wear a red embroidered

collar, a pair of dark blue trousers, boots with red legs and black feet, embroidered. Under the bright blue sky of the Monguor country, and in the dry air and sparkling sunshine that prevail most of the year, this display of colors is not harsh or crude, but gives a wonderful feeling of life and happiness, especially in a large crowd gathered at a festival. When the sky is overcast, however, the display of color appears too garish; but almost anywhere in North China with its yellow loess earth, mud houses, and dust storms, the whole world appears monotonous and depressing in bad weather.

The old vegetable dyes formerly used by the Monguors have long been replaced by German aniline dyes, which is unfortunate because the colors rapidly fade in the bright sun. The colors also run when the clothes get wet, and consequently if a thunder shower breaks over a festival crowd there is bustle and confusion while the women take off their fine sleeves, the lower extensions of their trousers, their girdles, boots, and hats, wrap them in bundles, and run barefoot for shelter, wrapped only in their dark blue gowns. Women who have reached the age of about forty no longer wear the false outer sleeves, nor do they wear brilliant colors.

In festive dress, the Monguor woman also wears a skirt, of the pattern that used to be worn by soldiers under the empire. This skirt, which is handsomely embroidered, is of a pattern originally designed for horseback riding. It is slit both before and behind and hangs on the two sides of the body, swinging as the woman walks. The favorite color for festive dress is red, and the skirts of rich women are frequently made of embroidered satin or silk. At home, a woman usually wears a skirt of the same cut, but made of simple dark blue cotton cloth. While at home, a woman must wear either the gown or the skirt, and usually both; the members of the elder generation would never allow them to be seen dressed only in trousers and short jacket such as Chinese women wear.

The importance of the skirt as an ancient part of the costume is indicated by the fact that in former days all Monguor women, even those who during their lifetime wore Chinese costume, had at death to be dressed in a skirt to be laid in the coffin; the saying went that "one who is not dressed in a skirt could not confront the ancestors in the next world." According to tradition, Monguor women were allowed to wear this skirt by special favor of the emperor in recognition of the glorious days of the past when women had fought beside their husbands defending the frontiers of the empire.

The sash, as has already been mentioned, is one of the most important details of the wardrobe. When women gather together on holidays, the sash is the first article of dress that is inspected; after that come the boots. The embroidery on the sash is the proof of a woman's skill with the needle. Custom demands that every girl, before her marriage, should herself make the embroidery on both ends of her sash, working under the supervision of her mother and with the skilled advice of other older women. This sash is worn for the first time at the girl's wedding, and after that on holidays. The ordinary woman has only one such sash to last her all her life. At the age of forty she exchanges it for one more simple in design.

Basically, the sash is a strip of green cotton cloth eight inches wide and twelve or fifteen feet in length. It is wound around the waist so that either both ends hang down in front, or one in front and the other at the back. Only the ends are embroidered, sometimes with a mosaic design, sometimes with flowers, or symbolic Chinese designs, or the Chinese characters for "longevity" or "happiness." Satin or silk handkerchiefs, edged with embroidery, are attached to the sash so that they hang down beside both of the hanging ends. A string of the old pierced Chinese copper cash is also attached to the sash, where it jingles like the bells on a horse as the woman walks. At home, when she is wearing her blue cotton gown, the woman wears a sash of the same material and

color, without embroidered ends. If she is wearing her overgown of wool, the sash is of black wool with fringes of brown wool on both ends.

In addition to her “military” skirt, a woman also wears a waistcoat or sleeveless jacket of the kind worn by soldiers under the empire, covering the chest and back and reaching to the waist. This jacket may be made of dark blue cotton cloth, edged with black or brown velvet, or of red cotton, edged with black velvet and embroidered with gold thread. Wealthy women may wear jackets of satin or silk. The jacket worn at home is of simple blue cotton without edging. When a woman goes out to work, carrying earth or bringing back dung for fuel in a basket slung on her back, she wears a woolen jacket. Women over forty do not wear fancy jackets.

This jacket is not an ancient part of the costume. In older times, a kind of overcoat was worn, buttoned in front and reaching to the knees, with fringes at the bottom edge. These fringes were made of paper rolled into thick, hollow sticks, with tassels of silk thread at the ends. On the back of this coat was attached a small flag, also adorned with fringes. The silk handkerchiefs hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the string of copper coins take the place of the rustling noise formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume:

All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly, are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax¹⁷⁰ and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries. ... they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew. ...¹⁷¹

Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband’s group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the sub prefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as “colonists” from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days--a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past--after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T’u-ssu, of Shat’o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T’u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the

¹⁷⁰ This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O.L.

¹⁷¹ Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited.

observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat a--sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

There are nine different styles of hair dress and hat, each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1. *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown," and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Nienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of a long blue gown reaching to the knees, a sleeveless jacket, blue or violet trousers, Chinese socks, and instead of boots a kind of shoe with long upcurving toes. The men of this group dress in the Chinese fashion but still wear the Monguor felt hat. The group contains subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu who still speak the Monguor language, but at the time that I was in the region they were rapidly being assimilated to the Chinese. It is worth noting that, although the women of this group do not wear the "military" skirt or the shield and spear described below, they are convinced that the way in which they do their hair is the original, ancestral style of the days of Chingis Khan.

2. The *Huari niudar* (or *Barbardsin niudar*, “crested hat”). This is the style worn by the women of the region of Huari, north of the Hsining River. First, a lock of hair is combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is parted in the middle, and made into two braids, one on each side of the head. The ends of these braids are tightly tied together with red string. A ribbon of black cotton is tied around the head. Another ribbon of the same material goes over the top of the head, and the forehead lock is tucked back into it. The rest of this headdress is made as follows:

A head is roughly molded of clay and strips of cotton cloth are pasted on this mold, to form a pasteboard skull cap. A high, semicircular brim is pasted on the forehead of the cap. Strips of red, blue, green, and white cotton fabric are then pasted on the crown. A tassel of thin red strings is pasted in a semicircle across the crown of the cap, from side to side. Behind this tassel, small copper rods are set in semicircles. A hole is made in the crown of the cap; when the cap is set on the head, a ribbon is braided into the forehead tress, pulled back under the cap, brought up through this hole, and rolled into a small bun. Two long pins are pushed crisscross through the bun, and the bun is then covered with an inverted copper cup, transfixed by a large horizontal pin. This cup and pin represent the shield and spear of the warrior. Thin red strings attached to the pins under the cup are looped up and attached to the “spear” pin. At the back of this headdress there is a disc, made by pasting pieces of cotton cloth together, trimmed around the edge with pieces of cloth of different colors and encrusted with shells, pearls, mother of pearl, corals, and turquoise, imitation and genuine. This disc is held firm to the skullcap by red strings.

The earrings that go with this headdress are large and heavy. To the hook that hangs from the ear is soldered a plate with a dragon, tiger, or flower design. From this plate hang silver sticks or pins. To prevent these heavy earrings from tearing the ears, their weight is held up by a ribbon which is attached to the ribbon going around the head, and each earring is attached to the other by a chain encrusted with coral or pearls which passes under the chin.

This headdress is worn by the women of the valleys of Hungnai, Shuimo, and Ch’angsha. At home, these women wear a hat representing only the upper part of the headdress, without the ornaments.

3. *T’oguäan niudar* (*T’ukuan niadar*). This headdress, worn only by the women of the region under the jurisdiction of the T’ukuan Living Buddha, is the same as the one just described, with the exception that instead of the semicircle on the forehead there is a three-pronged pasteboard fork. The earrings that go with this headdress are the same as those described above.

4. *Sge niudar* (“great” or “honorable” headdress). The mold or skullcap for this headdress is made as previously described. On the top of it is pasted a miniature winnowing basket, for which reason this headdress is also known as the “winnowing basket” headdress. In front, there are tassels of red thread, and at the sides are fringes of red thread. In the middle of the front of the headdress there are pieces of glass or porcelain and one or two rows of pieces of shell or coral. At the back are eight movable copper plates, which are taken off when at home. In the middle of these eight plates are the historic miniature shield and spear, from which hang red threads. Under the shield there is a small crescent shaped cushion, held by the ribbons which go around the head. This cushion is covered with black yak hair. Whenever a woman goes to a festival, she puts hemp oil on this cushion to make it shine. This cushion is called “the heart of the hair.” As in numbers 2 and 3 described above, there is a strong ribbon going around the head and a central ribbon from the forehead to the nape of the neck. A small braid is plaited from the forehead lock, to be attached to the ribbon going over the top of the head, and the remainder of the hair is parted in the middle and combed over the ears in graceful waves. The ends of the hair falling over the ears are twisted

together, tied with a ribbon to the forehead braid, and brought up through the hole in the skullcap to form a bun, which is covered with the “shield” and fixed with the “spear.”

With this headdress is worn a collar woven of tamarisk twigs, covered with red cotton cloth to which are sewn shells and corals. The earrings are the same as those described under number 2. A red shirt is worn with this headdress. Instead of copper, rich people use a silver shield, 8 silver plates, silver pins, and silver earrings. Ordinarily, this headdress is given to a girl at the time of her marriage by her parents. It is worn up to the age of forty. To protect the headdress women always carry with them a large piece of cotton cloth to wrap around their heads in case of rain. When a woman dies, this headdress is offered to a monastery. It is sold by the monastery at public auction, and prayers are said for the dead woman according to the price at which the headdress has been auctioned.

This headdress weighs six or seven pounds (four or five Chinese *chin*), and the women who wear it walk like living statues; when they talk together, they move their heads slowly and majestically.

5. *Dziou niudar* (“needle headdress”). This headdress is like the one just described, except that the eight plates around the shield are smaller, and that a set of large copper pins forms a sort of halo around the shield. This headdress is worn by the Nima women of Lungwu and the Tsanskwor region.

6. *Sgulong niudar* (“rain-spout” headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the “winnowing basket” is depressed between the two side bunches of hair, and is level with the “shield.” It is worn by the women of the region of Areche, west of Weiüanp’u, by those of Chichiarechu, and those of Machiarechu of T’assu, near Weiüanp’u,

7. *Yu niudar* (“disc” headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the cushion covered with yak hair is replaced by a small disc adorned with pieces of shell and coral.

8. *Ndziäse niudar* (“plow” headdress). This headdress is again the same as number 4, except that its dimensions are smaller. The red fringes in front are longer. Formerly, the eight plates were worn at the back, but in recent times they have been replaced by a piece of red cotton cloth. The two tresses from the sides of the head and the small tress and ribbon from the forehead are fastened together at the nape of the neck around a small piece of wood, tied with red strings, and passed through the skullcap so that they hold it in place. The “shield” and “spear” are pinned to the knot of hair that comes through the skullcap.

Special earrings are worn with this headdress. They are made of silver in the shape of a Z. The lower part of the Z is passed through the lobe of the ear and then turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of the Neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogma niudar* (“Mongol woman’s”) headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, “a Mongol woman.” This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hair dress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch’eng and of the valley of Hualin.

Anthropologists often overlook the psychological importance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the

headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self esteem, and when they went home they were better able to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of wool and spinning them with tile aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn

that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat,

Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goatskins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work. Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for association with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations, with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These conditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to become an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of packsaddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Qing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchow, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and

garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

The merchants of the city monopolized the whole commerce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible; they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the “rest places.” Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the “houses” of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this study of the origin and organization of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is pertinent to review the political character of the T'u-ssu institution, and the reasons for its decay.

There can be no doubt that the T'u-ssu institution was regarded by the rulers of the Empire, whether they were Chinese or Manchu emperors, as a makeshift. The institution of the T'u-ssu as "wardens of the marches," as it had existed under the Mongols, was elaborately established under the Ming dynasty, after 1368, when the main forces of the previous rulers, the Mongols, had been driven out of China but were still dangerous enemies beyond the frontier. The new Chinese rulers were only too glad to accept the submission of the chiefs of small frontier tribes who were willing, in exchange for the continuation of their local powers and privileges, to defend the frontier against their own kinsmen, the Mongols, and against the Tibetans. The device was one familiar to the Chinese tradition of "using barbarians to control barbarians."

Although the Monguors repeatedly proved themselves loyal defenders of the frontier, they had thereafter to contend against a counter-process. Any empire, in exact proportion to the efficiency of its centralized administration, prefers to exercise direct control of its frontiers rather than to depend on vassals who have some degree of local autonomy. Consequently, whenever the central power in China was strong, it tended to take advantage of local dissensions among its frontier vassals in order to deprive them of their privileges and to bring them under direct administration.

The policy of the Chinese empire on its frontiers had always been to absorb barbarians and to make Chinese of them if it could. Until 221 B.C. when the famous Ch'in Shih-Huang unified China for the first time, both Chinese and barbarians lived in tribes under a feudal regime. Ch'in Shih-Huang abolished this regime and organized China under *Chiin* and *Hsien*. This was the first radical administrative revolution in China bringing "provincial" subdivisions under a "metropolitan" central administration. People living in the *Chiin* and *Hsien* were considered to be Chinese. People still living under a tribal regime were considered to be "barbarians." At the beginning of the Han dynasty, in 202 B.C., the *Hsien* in which Chinese and barbarians lived together, governed by the same Chinese officials, were called *Tao*. Wu-Ti, emperor of the Han dynasty from 140-86 B.C., after his conquests which brought many new barbarian frontier tribes under Chinese rule, tried to make Chinese of them and to include them within the Chinese administrative regime of *Chiin* and *Hsien*. His system did not work for long. Intermittent dynastic revolutions, and the numerous and bloody changes of dynasties which lasted for seven centuries, enabled the barbarians to reestablish their old feudal regimes along the northern frontiers. Under the Tang dynasty, from A.D. 618 to 906, administrative units called Chi-mi Hsien were organized, in which the tribal chiefs served as Chinese officials but were allowed at the same time to administer their tribes according to their old customs. They received official appointments from the emperor, and had to bring tribute to him every year or three years, and were granted titles to indicate their feudatory status. The Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1280-1368) allowed non-Chinese "barbarians" to govern themselves according to their own tribal customs. The Ming (1368-1644) at first followed this precedent, appointing tribal chiefs and allowing them to govern their own tribes; but Chinese officials were sent to examine the tribal chiefs and their administration, troops, taxes and corvée systems from time to time. Later they appointed Chinese civil officials, whenever possible, attaching them to the tribal leader who held military command. Among remote tribes this mixed system did not work well, but the next step was to abolish the regime of the hereditary chiefs, hoping by this means to bring division in the tribe and to enfeeble it with every

appointment of a new chief. Finally, when this system also did not work well, a ministerial order was given to avoid the word "hereditary" in the official request for the appointment of the new chief. By this device a son was prevented from succeeding his father, unless he presented a fixed sum to the high officials in order that they might overlook the formally enacted law. The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming.¹⁷²

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Chinese empire, whenever it was strong and enjoyed internal peace, tried to absorb autonomous barbarian territorial units and frontier chieftains. It tolerated them only when and where it was unable to absorb them. The T'u-ssu institution may, therefore, certainly be regarded as a device that the Chinese of the Ming dynasty adopted for the defense of the frontier only because they had to. Not confident of their ability to establish direct Chinese rule and administration in Mongolia, their intention was to build up a buffer between themselves and the Inner Asian world of Tibet, Turkistan, and Mongolia. They were content, therefore, to accept the submission of individual frontier tribes which were unable to combine with each other in a strength sufficient to threaten China, but were able to supply small, separate contingents of good warriors to screen and defend the frontiers. The chiefs of such tribes they were willing to reward with honors and military titles; they were equally ready, however, when no danger threatened from beyond the frontier, to depose these border chieftains, to bring their lands under direct Chinese taxation, and their subjects under immediate Chinese jurisdiction.

It is a remarkable fact that the institution should have survived for six centuries. The reason must be that the Ming dynasty was weak along the frontiers during its first decades, and again in the period from 1509 to its fall in 1644, and had to depend on auxiliaries. Under the Manchu dynasty the T'u-ssu were valuable to the Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had

¹⁷² Lung Shun-sheng, Article in Chinese on the T'u-ssu institution, in *Frontier Affairs* 2 (11-12), printed in Chungking during the war, 32nd year of the Republic, 1943.

to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed. In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the frontier under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu, by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also becoming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such an

official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvée that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorbing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,¹⁷³ controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia at the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochii, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the victory was won and this led to a partitioning of the new Turkish domains between his son, Muhan, who received what is now Mongolia, and his younger brother, Istämi (Shihtiehmi in Chinese transcription), who received the territory to the west and south of the Altai. This was the origin of the Eastern and Western Turkish Khaganates. In good nomad style, wars continued both within these khaganates and between them.

Among the Western Turks the most important tribes were the Tölös, who have been identified with Kaochu and have also been identified as the ancestors of the Uighurs; the Syr-Tardush, and the Karluks; less important were the Ch'umi tribes on the Manas River in Sinkiang, the Ch'uyueh tribes west of Lake Barköl, and the small Chuhsieh tribes who were called Shat'o because they lived in the desert (*shat'o*, "sandy slopes").¹⁷⁴

There are a number of errors and confusions in the standard Chinese histories dealing with this period, the Old T'ang *History*, the New T'ang *History*, and the Old *History* of the Wu Tai or Five Dynasties (the period of disruption and war that followed the fall of the great T'ang dynasty in 906). I therefore translate here a short commentary by Ou-Yang Hsiu, devoted to the Shat'o, which is to be found in ch. 4, pp. 10 *sqq.* of the Ponapen edition of the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, a supplement to the *History* of the Five Dynasties, of which he was the principal compiler:

¹⁷³ The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L' empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomson, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

¹⁷⁴ Such, at least, is the clear traditional Chinese explanation of the name. For the possibility that "Shat'o" represents the name "Sart," see Mr. Lattimore's Introduction.

Those who for generations have lost their history are numerous. Is that the fault only of the official historians? The ancestors of the Li family originated among the Western Turks. Their proper designation is Chuhsieh. Later generations changed this to Shat'o, but they used Chuhsieh as their surname and [recognized] Panyehku¹⁷⁵ as their ancestor. The authors in their own preface say that Shat'o is the desert of Peit'ing [Beshbalik; the region of Urumchi or Tihua in Sinkiang]. When T'ai Tsung [627-649] of the Tang dynasty broke up the tribes of the Western Turks, he assigned the people of T'unglop'uku to that desert and established there the *fu* [administrative district] of Shat'o and made their ancestor Panyehku Tutu [governor]; and he passed this office to his offspring for many generations. They were all Tutu of Shat'o. For that reason later generations adopted this designation.

When I examine the history, all these sayings are wrong.

The barbarians I and Ti [traditional Chinese classifications of "barbarians"] have no surnames [clan names]. The designation Chuhsieh is a tribal name. Panyehku was a man contemporaneous with the Chuhsieh and he was not the ancestor of the Shat'o. During the reign of T'ai Tsung there never existed a *fu* of Shat'o. When T'ang T'ai Tsung broke up the Western Turks and reorganized their tribes, he established thirteen *chou* [administrative districts] and appointed T'unglo to be Tutufu of Ch'iulin, P'uku to be Tutufu of Chinwei, Panyehku to be Tutufu of Yulu. There never existed a *fu* of Shat'o.

At that time among the western tribes the Ashihna of the Yent'o tribe of the Tölös were the most important. Among the other tribes there were the tribes of T'ungio, P'uku, Panyehku and others; these, more than ten in number, were smaller than the tribe of Ashihna, and there were also the tribes of Ch'uyueh and Ch'umi which were still smaller. Chuhsieh was the name of another division of the Ch'uyueh tribe; in 648 it has submitted to Panyehku.

In 649 Holu of the Ashihna revolted.¹⁷⁶ In 651 the Ch'uyueh and Chuhsieh tribes, having been left to one side looking on at the rebellion, followed Holu in revolt and fought on the Old Mountain and were defeated by the general Ch'ipiho. Thereafter they vanished and did not appear again. After 150 or 160 years, during the reign of the emperor Hsien Tsung [806-820] there were Chinchung and his son Chihi of the Chuhsieh tribe who presented themselves to China and called themselves by the [tribal] name Shat'o, having the surname of Chuhsieh. Shat'o is the name of a desert, south of the mountain Chinsha and east of the lake Barköl, Because the Chuhsieh of old lived in that desert they were called Shat'o Turks; but because the barbarians have no script for recording and because the Chuhsieh were a small tribe unworthy of record, later generations lost their history. When the grandson of Chinchung received the gift of the [Tang dynasty imperial clan] surname Li and the family of Li later became famous, then the barbarians regarded the Shat'o as a noble race.

¹⁷⁵ E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Collected works of the Orkhon expedition, 352, St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 1903, suggests that this is probably not the name of a man but that of a tribe, the Yer-Bayirkou.—O.L.

¹⁷⁶ In Grousset, *op. cit.*, 150, this chieftain is called "a khan of the Tulu," and the passage dealing with him is referred to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, cited above, 32-38, translating passages from the Old T'ang *History*; but in fact the passages cited by Chavannes support the source here translated by Father Schram. In Grousset, the name of the general who defeated Holu is given as Su Ting-fang (adjusting the French transcription to the usual English transcription); but reference to Chavannes supports the "Ch'i-piho" (see below) of Father Schram's source. The discrepancies are explained by the fact that Grousset's text is a condensation. There was a khan called Tulu, but Holu was not "a khan of the Tulu"; there was, as in Father Schram's source, a general named Ch'ipiho (given by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 34, as K'i-pi Ho-li), who was in the service of the Chinese, though he was a Turk; Chavannes gives K'i-pi (Father Schram's Ch'i-pi) as his tribal name; and there was, finally, a general named Su Ting-fang, as given by Grousset, but he appeared later in the story.—O.L.

Such is Ou-Yang Hsiu's rectification of the record of the identity of the Shat'o, their origin, and their former habitation.

The next question is when and why the Shat'o came to China and submitted to the T'ang empire. The following is the account given in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, Ponapen edition, ch. 4, p. 1:

During the reign of the emperor Te Tsung [780-804] Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe lived in the *chou* Chinnan near Beshbalik. During the period Cheng Yuan [785-804; part of the reign of Te Tsung] the T'ufan [Tibetan] Tsanpu [possibly a Chinese transcription of Tibetan *gyalpo*, "king"--O.L.] attacked and took Beshbalik [in 790]. He transferred Chinchung to Kanchou, using him to hold that city. Later Tsanpu was defeated by the Uighurs. Chinchung with his son Chihi went eastward. Tsanpu, angrily pursuing them, caught up with them at the Stone Gate Pass. Chinchung fought and died, and Chihi alone went on to submit to the T'ang, who quartered him at Yenchou [the modern Yen-an] under the command of Fan Hsi-ch'ao, the T'ie-tushih of Hohsi ["West of the River"; i.e. west of the north-south course of the Yellow River, where it separates the present provinces of Shensi and Shansi.—O.L.]

It was Chihhsin, the son of this Chihi, who received from the T'ang emperor the grant of the surname of Li, with the personal name of K'o-chang. His son, in turn, was the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son Li Ts'un-tsui founded the ephemeral dynasty of the Later T'ang (923-936).

In the New T'ang *History*, ch. 143, pp. 1*b* and 2*a* of the Ponapen edition, more details are given of the flight of Chinchung from Kanchou and the arrival of his son Chihi in Yenchou. This account first narrates how the Uighurs plundered the Kanchou region and made it insecure, and how the distressed Shat'o tried to evade them, and continues:

During the period Cheng Yuan [785-804] the Shat'o tribe, of seven thousand tents, joined the T'ufan and with them marauded against Beshbalik and took the city. The T'ufan transferred the Shat'o to Kanchou, using Chinchung as their leading military advisor. When the T'ufan pillaged the frontier regions of China, they always used the Shat'o as vanguard troops. Some time previously the Uighurs had taken Liangchou, and the T'ufan, suspecting Chinchung of ambiguous behavior (for he had not helped to prevent the capture of the city), decided to transfer the Shat'o to the outer side of the river.¹⁷⁷ The whole Shat'o tribe was distressed and frightened. Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe, conferring with [his son] Chihi, said: We have for generations been officials of the T'ang emperors, and unfortunately we have fallen into the present difficult situation [by dealing with the Tibetans instead of acting as frontier defenders of the T'ang empire in China]. If we went to the frontier gate of Suchou [Hsüchou] and submitted ourselves to the emperor there would be no danger of our race being exterminated. This, said Chinchung, is the right way. In 808 the whole group, consisting of thirty thousand people, set out, going by way of the Wutehchien [Utuken] mountains and then to the east. The T'ufan pursued them. They fought as they went, along the river T'ao. As they advanced toward the Stone Gate they fought without respite. The tribe was nearly exterminated. Chinchung died there. Chihi, gathering together the wounded soldiers, who numbered only two thousand, and seven hundred animals and a thousand camels, arrived at the frontier at

¹⁷⁷ Kanchou, at this time held by the Shat'o, stands to the northwest of Liangchou, and therefore should have served to shield Liangchou from the attacks of Uighurs coming from still farther to the northwest, in the present Sinkiang province. Kanchou stands, moreover, just to the east of several headwater streams of the Etsin Gol, which flows northward into Mongolia. The penalty proposed by the Tibetans, of moving the Shat'o to the "outside" of this water barrier, meant that they would thus be made more exposed to any raids by hostile Turkish kinsmen of theirs from Central Asia.—O.L.

Lingchou. When the T'ieh-tushih Fan Hsi-ch'ao heard the news of their arrival, he ordered that their tribe be settled in Yenchou.

A glance at the geography of Kansu is enough to reveal an ambiguity, if not a serious contradiction, in the accounts that have come down to us about this migration of the Shat'o.

According to the New T'ang *History*, Chinchung suggests to Chihi "if we went... to Suchou." This would have meant going northwest from Kanchou. It would have brought the Sha'to to a point on the upper course of the Etsin Gol. At this point they could, as suggested in the account, have made themselves useful to the T'ang dynasty as guardians of a critical frontier point on the classical trade route leading to Turkistan; or, turning to the northeast along the Etsin Gol, they could have set out for the Utuken mountains¹⁷⁸ in Mongolia--and most historians have taken it for granted that this is what they did; or--and this conforms most nearly to the text they could have started northeast toward the Utuken mountains and then, swinging to the east and again to the southeast (not mentioned in the text), have reached Lingchou, in the great Ningshia oasis on the Yellow River.

Against this group of alternative possibilities there is the fact that by starting first in the direction of Suchou they would have directly challenged the Uighurs, by whom they were already menaced. Still more contradictory of a migration route through Suchou is the mention, in the same account, of the Sha'to fighting their way "along the river T'ao," which is exactly in the opposite direction from Kanchou, i.e., far to the southeast. The identity of the T'ao is unmistakable, in both medieval and modern times. It flows from the Tibetan plateau on the southern frontier of Kansu, flows past the important cities of Old and New T'aochou, and then turns north to flow into the Yellow River. Both historical accounts (New T'ang *History* and Ou-Yang Hsiu) also mention a Stone Gate; and there is a celebrated pass in the T'aochou region that still goes by that name. If the Shat'o migration went through T'aochou, the logical route would have been from Kanchou south into the Nanshan ranges, by what is still the main caravan route, which I myself have traveled many times, through Pientuku and over the Obo pass,¹⁷⁹ traversing the territory of the ancient Little Yüehchih where, as we shall see below, Shat'o were mentioned as living in 939, and southeast past Hsining to T'aochou. Then, following the course of the T'ao River back to the Yellow River, they would have reached Lingchou.

Although this route would have involved a detour to the south, its general course would have been east, since Lingchou is east and only a little to the south of Kanchou; and this southern detour would have been much less out of the way than the northern detour through Mongolia. In support of the view that the actual route of migration was that over the mountains to the T'ao River it can be argued that this route would have taken them away from the Uighurs, whom they were trying to evade, and that they would know the route well because of the recorded fact that they had served as vanguard troops of their Tibetan overlords in raiding Chinese territory. For thirteen years, from 792 to 805, as recorded in the Old T'ang *History*, ch. 146, pp. 11-12, they had pillaged most of the cities and important villages between T'aochou and the region of Lingchou, Ningshia, and Yenchou, driving off cattle, stealing women and girls, and making themselves a scourge.

¹⁷⁸ Paul Pelliot, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie centrale*; III: Le mont Yu-t'ou-kin (Ütükan) des anciens Turcs, *T'oung Pao* 26: 201, 1929. The name of these mountains in its present Mongol form is Otkhan Tengri, "Fire-lord Divinity."

¹⁷⁹ For stage-by-stage accounts of routes in this region, see Eric Teichman, *Travels of a consular officer in north-west China*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1921.—O.L.

The foregoing analysis was written before the publication of Eberhard's valuable study of the structure of "conquest dynasties" in China, which contains an important chapter on the Shat'o Turks.¹⁸⁰ Eberhard adheres to what may be called the orthodox acceptance of the Utuken migration of the Shat'o; but, as will be seen below, there are considerations that make it possible to reconcile to a certain extent the Utuken version and the T'aochou version of the Shat'o migration, as recorded in the chronicles.

The next mention of the presence of the Shat'o, not as migrants but as living in the very country in which their Monguor-amalgamated descendants now live, is also to be found in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10 b, 11a. In 938, after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the king of Khotan in Chinese Turkistan (the present Sinkiang) sent to the emperor of the Later Chin, an ephemeral dynasty of Shat'o Turkish origin in North China (as will be seen below), a delegation with "tribute," consisting of products of his country. The emperor in return sent a mission of three ambassadors of whom one, Kao Chin-hui, wrote an account of his journey. The mission left Lingchou in January, 939, and was back in China by the winter of 942. In the desert between Lingchou and Liangchou he passed a night at the tent of a chief of the Yueh-chih tribe. The mention of this tribal name is in itself remarkable, as the Yueh-chih, a powerful tribe in the time of the Earlier Han dynasty, 202 B.C.-A.D. 8, had after that time virtually vanished from the pages of Chinese history.

Arriving then at Kanchou, he wrote:

The Uighurs occupy the country. A [few] hundred li distant in the Nanshan [south] of Kanchou is the old country occupied during the Han dynasty by the Little Yueh-chih; here there live other tribes, called Shat'o of the Luchüehshan [mountains], and they are said to be descendants of the Chuhsieh tribe.

Kao Chin-hui's note in passing is extremely important, because it establishes the presence, in the tenth century, of Shat'o Turks in the very region where their Monguor descendants now live, maintaining the tradition that their ancestors came to this region in the T'ang dynasty and that their chiefs are descended from Li K'o-yung. The text is one that has frequently been noted. Rémusat translated it *in extenso*.¹⁸¹ Stein emphasized its geographical and archaeological importance in relation to the ancient trade routes of Central Asia.¹⁸² Chavannes also noted the importance of surviving remnants of the Little Yuehchih,¹⁸³ but his frame of reference did not call for comment on the Shat'o.

For the purpose of a study of the historical origins of the Shat'o element among the Monguors, however, this text is of primary importance. It is indeed remarkable, in view of the attention that has been paid to other Shat'o groups, that so little note has been taken of the group here mentioned and geographically identified.

¹⁸⁰ Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952.

¹⁸¹ A. Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*, Paris, 1820.

¹⁸² M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* 1: 178, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1907; the same, *Serindia* 3: 1129, n. 15, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, with references to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue*, and to Ritter, *Asien* 2: 212, 1822-1859, who in turn cites Antoine Gaubil, *Suite de l'abrégé de l'histoire chinoise de la grande dynastie T'ang*, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire des chinois, par les missionnaires de Pékin* 16: 156, Paris, 1779-1814.

¹⁸³ E. Chavannes, *Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-liao*, *T'oung Pao* 6: 519, 1905.

If there were Shat'o Turks in the region between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, how long had they been there and how are we to suppose that they got there?

We may take, as a point of departure, the fact that after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 906 Northwest China was for a brief time under the control of two successive dynasties of Shat'o Turkish origin, the Later T'ang, 923-936, founded by the son of the Shat'o warrior Li K'o-yung, and the Later Chin, 936-946.¹⁸⁴ During this period contingents of Shat'o tribesmen might well have been sent to the Hsining country; it was known to be splendid pasture country, and the Shat'o knew of it from their own tribal history. There is moreover a lingering tradition among the Shat'o-Monguors that Shat'o tribesmen had been sent to this region by Li K'o-yung to take care of the breeding horses for the cavalry of the dynasty which, through his son, he was about to found. The tradition is reasonable in view of the fact that Chinese dynasties always set aside special pastures for the breeding of cavalry mounts, usually frontier pastures, because of the lack of pasture land where Chinese agriculture flourished.

After the opening of the tenth century, China, and especially North China, passed through a "time of troubles" that endured for three and a half centuries. It is true that from 960 to 1260 (in North China, or part of North China) or 1280 (in South China) the great Sung dynasty flourished; but even ,at the height of its power barbarians ravaged the Great Wall frontier, and most of the time the Sung were really a Yangtze and south of the Yangtze dynasty. It would not be impossible that the Hsining Shat'o horse-breeding nomads were able to maintain themselves all through this period of turmoil in their relatively out-of-the-way pastures.

A second possible hypothesis would be that the Hsining Shat'o mentioned in 939 had not in fact been stationed there by Li K'o-yung at or just before the founding of the Later T'ang dynasty, but were remnants who had only recently fled there after the fall of that dynasty. If this view should be correct, it would mean that the "Li K'o-yung" tradition of the Monguor-Shat'o is a later invention--of a kind with many parallels in the histories of migrating peoples. On the other hand a strong argument against this hypothesis is that if the Shat'o had only recently come to the Hsining region where Kao Chin-hui found them in 939 he would have been likely, representing as he did another Shat'o dynasty, that of the Later Chin, to mention the fact.

Still a third hypothesis may be suggested. It lacks the support of any continuing legend or tradition among the Monguor-Shat'o themselves, but it is wholly in the line of the history of nomads. The Shat'o were a loose federation of tribes. At the time that they fled from Kanchou in 808, some of them may have given up and surrendered to the pursuing T'ufan Tsanpu, who allowed them to settle in the Hsining region, while the main body broke through to the T'ao River and from there made their way to Lingchou on the Yellow River. On the whole this hypothesis is the most reasonable one, because it would also allow for the corollary possibility that some of the Shat'o also broke away in the opposite direction, reaching first the Utuken Mountains and eventually Lingchou. This supposition would allow us to reconcile the conflicting mention of an Utuken line of migration and a T'ao River line of migration for the flight of the Shat'o from Kanchou.

¹⁸⁴ Eberhard, *op. cit.*, 90-91, stresses a point that is important for the understanding of such short-lived dynasties founded by military adventurers: Li K'o-yung commanded not more than 10,000 soldiers, from which Eberhard reasons that "the whole Shat'o population could not have been much more than 100,000 men." This minority, he continues, "reigned over 19,000,000 Chinese families or 53,000,000 people; the Shat'o were not even two per cent of the population!"

We have next to account for the relationship between the Shat'o and the Mongols who conquered China in the thirteenth century. We have no explicit records mentioning the Shat'o between 939 and the expulsion of the Mongols from China and the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. We do have, however, in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 46, the explicit statement concerning the first outstanding Shat'o group that

Li Nan-ko, a Hsifan [a term for barbarians on the border of Tibet], descendant of Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin of the T'ang dynasty, holding the office of T'ungchih in the *chou* of Hsining [under the Yuan], submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period [1368-1398] and was granted the hereditary office of Chihhui chiehshih.

Concerning the second major Shat'o group it is recorded in the same source (ch. 42, p. 38) that:

Li wen, [nephew of Li Nan-ko], held the office of Tutu chihhui t'ungchih under the Yuan dynasty. He submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period and was granted [the continuation of] his former office.

From these notices the inference is clear that the Shat'o chiefs had been held in high esteem by the Yuan or Mongol dynasty and had been granted important frontier offices. There are moreover clear reasons for a benevolent attitude toward the Shat'o on the part of the Mongol rulers.

Although there is such a long gap in the record of the Hsining Shat'o, we have records of two other Shat'o groups. After the fall of the two Shat'o military dynasties in the tenth century, the Later T'ang and the Later Chin, one group of Shat'o remained in the north of the present Suiyuan province, in the Yinshan range on the edge of Inner Mongolia. Another settled in the south of Kansu province, on the T'ao River. At the beginning of the twelfth century these Shat'o were transferred to Manchuria by the Chin dynasty, barbarians from Manchuria who conquered North China, and later were allowed to join the Yinshan Shat'o. This whole Shat'o group later became known as Onguts, a tribal name from *ong*, Mongol corruption of the Chinese *wang*, "prince."

Pelliot established that both the T'ao River Shat'o-Onguts and those of the Yinshan were Nestorian Christians.¹⁸⁵ Lattimore discovered a ruined city in Inner Mongolia, just north of the Yin-shan, with archaeological evidence of Nestorian occupation.¹⁸⁶ Martin, exploring this site, also found other Ongut cemeteries,¹⁸⁷ and commenting on these Ch'en Yuan noted that one of the tomb tablets established for the first time that a member of the famous noble clan of Yehlü, of the Khitans, had been the administrator of these Nestorians.¹⁸⁸ Still more cemeteries in the same region were then discovered by Henning Haslung-Christensen, the Danish explorer, and Grønbech, a member of his expedition, showed that the inscriptions on the tombstones were in the Turkish language of the Onguts, written in Syriac script.¹⁸⁹ In this connection it is worth noting that there is no trace of Nestorianism among the Shat'o-Monguors of the Hsining region. The cemeteries of the ancestors of the T'u-ssu are on the Chinese pattern, and the tombstone inscriptions are in

¹⁸⁵ Paul Pelliot, *Chrétien d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient*, *T'oung Pao* IS: 623-644, 1914.

¹⁸⁶ Owen Lattimore, A ruined Nestorian city in Inner Mongolia, *Geographical Jour.* 85: 481-497, London, 1934.

¹⁸⁷ H. Desmond Martin, Preliminary report on Nestorian remains north of Kueihua, Suiyuan, *Monumenta Serica* 3: 232-249, Peiping, 1938.

¹⁸⁸ Ch'en Yuan, On the damaged tablets discovered by Mr. H. D. Martin in Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* 3: 250-296, 1938.

¹⁸⁹ K. Grønbech, Turkish inscriptions of Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* 4: 305 *sqq.*, 1939.

Chinese only. It is true that there are records of Nestorians in Hsining;¹⁹⁰ but the Shat'o of this region were fervent Buddhists. It was they who built the Ta-fo-ssu (Great Buddha Temple) in the city of Hsining, the only building of a temple or monastery in Hsining recorded during the period of Mongol rule.

The history of the Hsining Shat'o and those of Inner Mongolia can be joined up in the following manner. In 1201, when the ruler of the Naimans, in the present Outer Mongolia, was organizing a coalition against Chingis Khan, the chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, Alakush Tegin, although a vassal of the Chin dynasty, warned Chingis of the coalition and offered to march with him against the Naimans. In gratitude, Chingis Khan sent him a present of 500 horses and 1,000 sheep. The Naimans were defeated in 1204, and in 1206 Chingis made Alakush a prince of the new empire he was founding and also gave his daughter, Alaghi Beki, in marriage to Poyaoho, son of Alakush. In 1219, when Chingis invaded Khorezm, he was accompanied by Poyaoho.¹⁹¹ From then on for at least three generations princesses of the Mongol imperial line were given in marriage to the descendants of Alakush. A grandson of Alakush, the Prince George, was converted from the Nestorian heresy by John of Montecorvino.¹⁹²

We are thus entitled to assume that when Subudei, one of Chingis' greatest commanders, invaded Hsining in the course of the campaign in which he took Lanchou in 1226,¹⁹³ he was delighted to find there kinsmen of the Shat'o-Onguts who were already allies and vassals of the Mongols, and that it was easy to take over the Hsining Shat'o as favored vassals of the Mongol dynasty on the Tibetan frontier.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMA BUDDHISM

Since completing the writing of this volume and while preparing the material for the subsequent volume on the place of religion in Monguor life I have realized that certain aspects of the history of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism in the Monguor region should have been mentioned in this volume, as they explain why rapid economic development and growth of population in this region began only after the suppression of the revolt of Lobsang Dantsin and the Lamas in 1723.

Until 1723 this region, called Huang Chung, had been unsuccessfully colonized several times by Chinese settlers as an adjunct to Chinese garrisons. These attempts had failed because of tribal wars and frontier inroads. The population had remained thin, and its components had frequently changed and moved. The Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368, had settled Chinese colonies and posted Chinese garrisons in only a few localities, controlling the rest of the region by accepting the allegiance of the Monguors under their various T'u-ssu.

In order to promote the adherence of non-Chinese tribes and the allocation of them to permanent territories, the Ming authorities granted special favors to Lamas who encouraged the tribes to submit to China. Most of these Lamas at that time belonged to the Red sects and were married, and could be granted hereditary titles and domains. They were also encouraged to found monasteries which had special functions in administering the tribes and collecting the tribute that

¹⁹⁰ H. Cordier, *Le christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale sous les Mongols*, *T'oung Pao* 18: 59, 1917.

¹⁹¹ Summarized from H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, 85, 101, 133, 237, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

¹⁹² Pelliot, *Chrétien d'Asie centrale*, as cited, especially p. 631.

¹⁹³ Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, as cited, 290-291.

symbolized Chinese rule. In my subsequent volume the names of the Lamas and tribes will be established from the Chinese sources.

Under this Imperial patronage Lamaism flourished luxuriantly under the Ming dynasty and continued to expand under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The monastery of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, established forty-two subordinate institutions during the ensuing 119 years, and the monasteries of Sha-ch'ung and Kumbum followed the same pattern. North of the Hsining River the number of Lamas was very large in proportion to the thin frontier population. By 1723 Erh-ku-lung was inhabited by 2,500 Lamas. Of its satellite monasteries, Seerkok had 2,000; Chiebsang 800; Ch'i-chia-ssu 700; T'ien-t'ang-ssu 700, and Shih-men-ssu 700, while smaller satellites had from 10 to over 100. South of the Hsining River the monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, founded under imperial patronage at the very beginning of the Ming period, had more than 950 Lamas in the main monastery and its satellites. The figures for Kumbum are not recorded for that period, but must have been of much the same order, because 300 Kumbum Lamas were beheaded in 1723.

The absorption of a high proportion of the male population by these monasteries had a serious effect on the productivity of the region which should be taken into account in addition to the losses caused by frontier insecurity. Men who became Lamas were not only withdrawn from production but had to be fed by the depleted population. We may look also to this loss of manpower as an explanation of the eagerness of the T'u-ssu to enroll in their clans Tibetans and Chinese to till their domains, found new families, and above all pay the land taxes.

At the same time the influence and power of the lamaseries competed destructively with the authority and wealth of the T'u-ssu, whose subjects frequently moved in large numbers to become "disciples" tilling the land of lamaseries which offered them more favorable terms of tenantry. Such considerations helped to explain why in 1723 the T'u-ssu so willingly helped the Chinese military expedition which crushed the revolt of the Lamas. Even before this, in 1591, T'u-ssu forces had taken part in the burning of the famous temple built in Kukunor by Altan Khan in 1576 at the time of his meeting with the Dalai Lama.

Nor is it surprising to learn from the Chinese sources that the Chinese officials exulted over the crushing of the revolt and the promulgation of new imperial regulations curtailing the excessive power and influence of the Lamas. Hints can be found that the local Chinese officials held a grudge against the "barbarian" Living Buddhas whom they despised but whom it had been the policy of Peking to honor and favor, and against the lamaseries which had become possessors of large domains whose tenants were exempt from compulsory services and whose rents were exempt from taxation. There is no doubt that a dangerous situation had developed in the ranks of the impoverished T'u-ssu and the discontented Chinese officials.

Economically, the wealth that flowed into the granaries and treasuries of the monasteries was removed from circulation and did not provide surpluses for trade; it was either consumed, or hoarded, or used to found new Lama communities, and was not even used for charitable grants to the lay population. At the same time, the rest of the community suffered from lack of labor to expand agriculture and production. The economy inevitably shrank until it produced scarcely enough for its own consumption; there was no surplus left to stimulate trade and the growth of cities.

Thus the sociological and economic history of Lamaism in the Monguor region can be summarized by saying that under political patronage its growth was artificially stimulated, with the result that it expanded so fast that it disrupted both the economic system and the social structure of the country, making improvement and progress impossible.

PART II: THEIR RELIGIOUS LIFE

PREFACE

The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,¹⁹⁴ together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject

¹⁹⁴ Louis M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1), 1954.

which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the “wuism” of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of “Heaven and all the spirits.”

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the second part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, to Mr. Owen Lattimore and his colleagues of the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Schuyler Cammann for assistance in the final editing.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Miss Theresa A. Tims and wish to express my sincerest appreciation for her considerable help graciously rendered in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours. I owe no small tribute to Miss Patricia E. Kenney who assisted in the typing with the same gladness and devotion.

L. M. J. S. June, 1955
Arlington, Virginia

NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the Annals of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih*, *New annals of Hsining prefecture*, in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these “new” Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung-chih, New collected annals of Kansu*, in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsüan-t'ung period (1909-1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um*.¹⁹⁵ It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,¹⁹⁶ find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang¹⁹⁷ of the village all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their courtyards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by waterpower, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

¹⁹⁵ The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *Manipadma* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

¹⁹⁶ A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that platform is always warm.

¹⁹⁷ A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the entrance of evil influences.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, listeners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Monguors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fervent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests

performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not understand the striking incompatibility which exists between the religious and philosophical principles of these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed appears to be responsible for the Monguors still being fervent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side

by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong among the Monguors and over the whole country, that even Sinicized Monguors and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.¹⁹⁸

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13a incidentally notes: "...the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1-12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scythians to support the assertion of the profession of Buddhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."¹⁹⁹ However, the main

¹⁹⁸ Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentils-hommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

¹⁹⁹ *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202-201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1b). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121-119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9,000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huangchung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2a). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89-105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, respectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6a-11b. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11b) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the

branch of the Yüeh-chih tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.²⁰⁰ When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80-11-, or A.D. 120-162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630-650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775-788 or 797), was more successful.²⁰¹ Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism “seems,” however, to have been spread into the country in the first centuries of our era, because the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2b) mentions the “monastery” Pei Ch’an-ssu, and notes: “... the ‘monastery’ is situated five li outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the ‘Earth Tower Mountain’”; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: “. . . north of the T’ing of Hsi-p’ing is the monastery of the ‘Earth Tower.’”

According to the Chinese “Dictionary of Famous Men of China,” (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts’e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chu-ch’ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401-439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T’ing of Hsi-p’ing is the ‘Earth Tower’ temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the ‘Earth Tower’; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

According to this text, Han-yin does not report having seen the temple between 401 and 439. He notes only the text of the *Shui-ching-chu*, an earlier geographical work, probably completed before A.D. 265, by an unknown author and largely commented and expanded by Li Tao-Yuan on the basis of his own studies and observations. He died in 527.²⁰² Han-yin consequently used the original edition of the *Shui-ching-chu* and thus the fact of the existence of the vestiges of the

Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, *Les Pays d’occident d’après Le Wei Lio*, *T’oung Pao*, 6: 527-528, 1905.

²⁰⁰ René Grousset, *Histoire de l’extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

²⁰¹ Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, *Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po*, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

“The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontier of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court.”

²⁰² A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing period 2*: 970 sq., note by Dr. Hu Shih and *passim* the references concerning the *Shui-ching-chu* in Vols. 1-11 (see “Index of Books,” in Hummel, *op. cit.*).

ruined temple (or temples) of the “Earth Tower” before A.D. 265 is evidenced. The *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-Yuan notes *verbatim* the same text (p. 24b), adding: “... when Han-yin says, ‘on the northern side of Hsi-p’ing is the temple of the “Earth Tower,”’ he refers to this temple.”

NOT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The original *Shui-ching-chu* in mentioning, “the temple of the ‘Earth Tower’ uses the term *Shen-ssu* for “temple.” This term is not specific for temples devoted to the worship of Buddha, but rather is used to designate temples devoted to sacrifices to ancestors or to the spirits in general. The text notes that the vestiges of the “temple” were still existing in 265.

The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 notes the existence of the *Pei Ch’an-ssu*, “the northern temple of contemplation,” also called *Yung-hsing-ssu*, “temple of eternal inspiration,” situated five li outside the northern gate of the city at the foot of the “Earth Tower Mountain.” The name of “Earth Tower Mountain,” situated five li north of the city, was still well known in 1912; the temple was still called *Pei Ch’an-ssu*, which eliminates any doubt concerning the identity of the location of the temple called by these three names.²⁰³ In 1912 a steep winding path led to the temple, which was a deep cavern, and some smaller ones, dug half way up the mountainside. A large, elaborate veranda constituted the entrance. Inside the cavern were statues of Lu tung-ping, Ho-hu-yeh, Ma-wang, and Niu-wang. It is certain that the temple was a Taoist temple. An old Taoist, living in one of its small rooms, took care of it, collecting some grain in autumn from the neighboring farmers and enjoying his job.

IT IS ACTUALLY CALLED PEI CH’AN-SSU

Ch’an-ssu suggests that the builders of the temple belonged to the Dhyana sect, diffused in China by Buddhidharma, an Indian or Iranian Buddhist missionary, who arrived only in A.D. 520 (?) and died in 535.²⁰⁴ The temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch’an-ssu* would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssa*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch’an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China “officially” between A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,²⁰⁵ before the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80-110 or 120-62), whose realm was

²⁰³ *Yüan huo Chiün-hsien chih*, ch. 39, p. 16a, erroneously notes: “130 li west of the city of Hsi-p’ing is the mountain of the Earth-tower, at its base is the temple (*Shen-ssu*) of the Earth-tower.”

²⁰⁴ O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 299-300, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

²⁰⁵ Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, “...nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China.” However, Franke wrote earlier, *Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India*

situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.²⁰⁶ Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.-A.D. 101).²⁰⁷ The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.²⁰⁸ All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.²⁰⁹

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2b). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 32 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9b). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13a). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by

nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, "...Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D...."

²⁰⁶ Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: "...the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

²⁰⁷ O. Franke, *Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China*, "...during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

²⁰⁸ Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

²⁰⁹ Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier. *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. ... It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription ... which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. ... The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan tribes²¹⁰ and assimilating the smaller ones, changed the whole of the population. This raises the question whether Buddhism was spread into the country by these Hsien-pi tribes. It could hardly have been spread by the group of nomadic Hsien-pi tribes called *T'u-fa* which, coming along the Yin-Shan, settled in the region between Lanchou and Hsining during the second century A.D.²¹¹ No historical data exist concerning the diffusion of Buddhism along the Yin-Shan at that time. Consequently, these Hsien-pi tribes did not spread Buddhism in Huang-chung at the time of their arrival.²¹² Two centuries later they founded an ephemeral realm called "Nan-liang," having its capital in Hsining (339-414). For the same reason, Buddhism cannot have been spread at the time of the arrival of the second group of Hsien-pi, called the Ch'i-fu tribes, which in the third century A.D. came from the northern desert, where they lived as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, and then settled in the country of the T'ao River, south of Hsining. They founded the ephemeral realm of Hsi Ch'ing (385-431) with its capital in Ho-chou.²¹³ Nor can Buddhism, again for the same reason, have been spread at the time of the arrival of a third strong group of Hsien-pi, the T'u-yü-hun tribes which, living as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, settled in A.D. 280 in the neighboring region of Hsining and in Kukunor, and founded a realm which lasted until 672. At the time of the invasions by these Hsien-pi tribes in the country of Huang-chung, they were still buried in barbaric darkness.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY THE BUDDHIST KINGS OF LIANG-CHOU?

This interesting problem will be approached from geographical and historical aspects. The countries of Huang-chung and Liang-chou are separated by the Nan-Shan (southern mountain range), across which many low passes facilitate communication. During the Hou-Han dynasty Huang-chung depended on Liang-chou.²¹⁴ Later on, it was conquered and governed successively

²¹⁰ Wieger, *Textes historiques 2*: 1207-1208, Ho-chien Fu, Imprimerie de Hien-hien, 1904.

²¹¹ O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, op. cit. 2: 112.

²¹² James A. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 126, 1933. "Before the Wei had established their realm in the north. ... They had not yet heard of Buddha, or if they had, they had not yet put their trust in him." Wei, alias Yüan Wei, ruled over varying portions of North China from 386.

²¹³ Franke, op. cit. 2: 85.

²¹⁴ *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 29, p. 15.

by the kings of the ephemeral realms of Ch'ien-Liang, Hou-Liang, and Pei Liang, who resided at the important emporium of Liang-chou.²¹⁵

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 30, pp. 14-17).

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the most important emporium of the West but also the most active cultural center of Buddhism.

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345-385) promoted and protected Buddhism.²¹⁶ The kings of Hou-Liang (385-401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.²¹⁷ However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401-39), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.²¹⁸ His counselor was the celebrated Dharmakṣema.²¹⁹ One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers and all the more since during the period of 401-439, two thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18a), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18b). It

²¹⁵ Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich in Nord China*, 180, Leiden, Brill. In 439 T'o-pa Wei conquered Pei Liang, the last of the petty realms which had successively settled in Liang-chou from 345 on. These realms had so monopolized the entire trade of Central Asia that Liang-chou became the most important colony of foreign traders, whose caravans arrived incessantly. Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

²¹⁶ They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottoes of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue ... App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

²¹⁷ The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the *Sutralankara* (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals of Liang-chou*, 300); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34b, 35a.)

²¹⁸ *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64-72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, *Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

²¹⁹ *Annals of Liang-chou*, 34b. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerors and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345-439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438-452).²²⁰ From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20b-24b). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25a-31a). During the Wu-tai period (907-960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920-1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1a-8b). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.²²¹

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or 901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years. However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris).

In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65-66) it is stated that:

dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits²²² had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born

²²⁰ Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, "... when in the period T'ai-yen (435-440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

²²¹ George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: II. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these “Three Learned Men of Tibet” ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw “Asuras” known as the “Nine Brother Dwarfs” residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages “promising to become his lay supporters.”

In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called “The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*,” who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-sgal in the country where, during that period, there existed “great hermitages.”

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: “Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua.” In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that “dGe-ba rab-sgal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams” (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-sgal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 li southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan period (1280-1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.²²³

²²² *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

²²³ R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the *Hsining Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; “the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nienpei) (ch. 4, p. 15a). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 li west of the Great Rapids” (ch. 4, p. 10b), which are *circa* 30 li east of Nienpei. “The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17a). South of the subprefecture of Nienpei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko.” The *Sung Annals* note: “The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chiün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region “great hermitages” and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t’ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P’ing fan). At what time were the “great hermitages,” the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari?

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65-66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T’ufan occupied Huang-chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T’ufan family

situated to the southwest of the actual Nienpei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nienpei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city.”

Shih-ch’eng (ch. 7, p. 13a) “is situated south of Nienpei near the Yellow River,” But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: “south of Nienpei is the old city of Hua-ch’eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch’eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch’eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T’ang emperor adopted this appellation.” (See also article *K’uo-chou*, *Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12a and b.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: “To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch’eng, which joins the river of the northern valley.” This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch’eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nienpei.

In modern times the region south of Nienpei near the Yellow River was separated from Nienpei by the Ch’ing dynasty and organized as the T’ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch’eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch’eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 li below Nienpei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch’eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nienpei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nienpei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: “...and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch’ung.”

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch. 31, p. 2b). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t’ung-chieh*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6b, 7a and 7b. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch’eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. I, p. 28: “The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place.” The location seems to be the region directly south of Nienpei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region.

(Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang-chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang-chung between 756-842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940.

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang-chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YÜAN DYNASTY (1280-1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerors and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.²²⁴

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, the brother of Guyuk (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246-1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.²²⁵

According to history, the troops of Godan had defeated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.²²⁶ Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be

²²⁴ Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23-57, 1954.

²²⁵ Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

²²⁶ Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217-91, 578.

sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.²²⁷

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to the emperor.²²⁸ The court of the Mongols was sincerely Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: "...it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368-99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans'" (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1b). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yueh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923-947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.²²⁹ They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.²³⁰ This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."²³¹ No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.²³²

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), rumors upset the country for a long time, according to which all the temples were to be confiscated and converted into schools. The Li T'u-

²²⁷ Tucci, *op. cit.* I: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

²²⁸ Frank, *op. cit.* 4: 510-517-522.

²²⁹ Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 96.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 92.

²³² *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning monasteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 li southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203-1282),²³³ the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding mountainous country. It was inhabited by two or three hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.²³⁴

²³³ Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skyä (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

²³⁴ E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istan, 1934-1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo,

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built-in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most important monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living Buddha, Goorongbzang, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzang, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.²³⁵ For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

More than 100 li southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamastery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamastery repeated over and over that the lamastery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the

translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. 1, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

²³⁵ Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280-1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too farfetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.²³⁶ Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368-1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions.

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.²³⁷

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Vice-regent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects

²³⁶ *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 34, p. 3a.

²³⁷ Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.*

had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

FOUNDING OF THE LAMASERY OF CH'Ü-T'AN

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13a, 13b) that

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,²³⁸ and built a monastery south of Nienpei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368-1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].²³⁹ The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

TITLES AND DOMAINS GRANTED TO LAMAS

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the

²³⁸ E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

²³⁹ Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3b, 4ff). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7b and 80 of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

...in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih [“teacher of the empire”], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425-35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3b, 40). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to “influential lamas,” which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368-1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 40), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of “great teacher of the empire” and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of “teacher of the empire” had previously been granted (1403-1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title “Master in Dhyana” and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.²⁴⁰

REASONS FOR THIS POLICY

The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

²⁴⁰ The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih*, *Chüan chou* (p. 27a) records: “Kubilai [1280-1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of ‘great king of the precious law,’ *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, ‘teacher of the emperor’; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of ‘teacher of the empire,’ and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368-1398] the titles of ‘teacher of the empire’ and ‘great teacher of the empire’ were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403-1424] the title of ‘king of the law’ had been granted to two lamas, and that of ‘Buddha of the western Paradise’ to two other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450-1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count.” P. Pelliot, *Les “kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume” dans le Bouddhisme chinois T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of “teacher of the empire” was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550-557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.²⁴¹ On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3b): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naively notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

- Page 6a: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."
- Page 6a: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."
- Page 6a: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason.
- Page 8b: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.)
- Page 10b: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11a) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5a), the Yeh-ch'u (p. 6a), and the Nan-ta (p. 6b).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,²⁴² the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the

²⁴¹ Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

²⁴² Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden van Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them.

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest.

Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.²⁴³ This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo*, "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai Hang chia*, "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910-1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 60 and 6b;

Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 li north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its

²⁴³ *Tung-hua-lu*, First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23a, 25. *Ming-shih-lu*, Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S. J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine*, 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine*, 49-50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.*, 36.

lama had received the title of “Master of the Empire,” with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefecture of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15a), say that “in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery.” In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of “Master of the empire” and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 150). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch’eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples. Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa²⁴⁴

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch’i, Ch’ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seigniorie presided over by a lama. Granted by the emperor, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16a). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next

²⁴⁴ The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their “personal” property with “right of bequeathing” it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said.

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members of his family assembled and protested, urging that a boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord as his apprentice, and that a testament should be written and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih chia ("Master in Dhyana" families)

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhyana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, their families being exempted from land taxes because they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-fan I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had inherited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sania, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals of the Province of Kansu*, ch. 88: 12-13).

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357-1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The principles on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashil-humpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.²⁴⁶ Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.²⁴⁷ Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincarnation, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.²⁴⁸

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7b and 8a, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403-1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4a and 5a, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14a, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 li south of Ch'ü-fan, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 li west of Hsining in 1537 (ch. 31, p. 15a).

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these five poor items. Huth notes²⁴⁹ that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and

²⁴⁶ Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

²⁴⁷ Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

²⁴⁸ Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237.

²⁴⁹ Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribon-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these “big” monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.²⁵⁰ The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16-20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403-1424), and concerns a “golden” (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368-1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of “Ch'ü-t'an,” and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426-1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Ming dynasty designated his grandson, Hui-ti, to succeed to the throne in 1399. After three years, his uncle Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period), usurped the throne and Hui-ti perished in a conflagration of the palace. A note added in the history states that it is related that Hui-ti escaped, disguised as a lama, and wandered incognito from monastery to monastery in Yunnan and south China; that he finally returned to Peking in 1440, and died after revealing his identity. This topic seems to be the basis for the legends concerning Ch'ü-t'an. However an “historical” fact may well have provided the fabric from which was woven the legend elaborated by the lamas, since the fact concerns the very province of Kansu.

At the time of the collapse of the Sung dynasty in 1276, the last emperor, Chao-hsien, was made prisoner by the Mongol conquerors in Hang-chou and the Chinese imperial harem was transferred to the north. In 1288 the imperial prisoner was sent (banished) to Kansu (Ho-hsi) in order to study Tibetan sutras. In Kansu he became a lama monk and adopted the religious name of Ho-tsun (mKha-'bcum). He died in 1323 in Kansu, a century before the founding of Ch'ü-t'an.

During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) Chinese scholars liked to gossip about the possible Chinese origin of the Mongol emperor, Shun-ti,²⁵¹ as well as the possible Mongol origin of the

²⁵⁰ Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means “most victorious on earth.”

²⁵¹ P. Pelliot, L'Edition collective des œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei, *T'oung Pao*, 26:136, 1926.

Ming emperor, Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period). These tales are well known among the lamas and the Monguors.

A lama, honored for his holiness, lived in secluded retirement on a high mountain near Ch'ü-t'an. He left for Peking one July carrying a small pack held by a light wooden frame, on his back. The heat was tropical and the holy man threw his mantle in the air, where it remained floating over his head protecting him the whole long way, even in the streets of Peking. Emperor Hui-ti, seeing the miracle, renounced his throne, left the palace and harem, and followed the returning holy man to Ch'ü-t'an with two of his ministers and his two brothers, all of whom became lamas.

At first the emperor resided at the very small monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 li south of Ch'ü-t'an. He sent his cattle and horses to the pastures of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and went to Ch'ü-t'an. There he planted his stick at a certain spot and suddenly it turned into a blossoming sandalwood tree; whereupon he decided to build a monastery and a temple around the tree. A dry tree is still shown inside the temple, adorned with ceremonial scarves offered by the worshipping people who pass under its branches in order to receive blessings. Three small trees outside the temple are said to have sprouted from the dry tree.

The emperor had a well dug to be used for watering his horses. A small lama boy, while drawing water, fell into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors.

There are displayed in the head temple three fine saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nienpei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley.

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-hun, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of

the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.²⁵²

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the courtyard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples.

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously.

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368-1398; Yung-lo, 1403-1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426-1435; Wan-li, 1573-1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628-1643.

In temple (B) called the Chu-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hiarang (Mai-treya the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries: Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year

²⁵² In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

(the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 80). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 140). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862-1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute. Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture of Nienpei and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living

Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both clad white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families. Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12b-19a) that during the period 1448-1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426-1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498-1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.²⁵³ In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.²⁵⁴ In 1621-1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,²⁵⁵ but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had

²⁵³ Tucci, *op. cit.*, 1: 39.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

spread.²⁵⁶ Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölot Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542-1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617-1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.²⁵⁷

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717-1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.²⁵⁸

KUMBUM²⁵⁹

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some “cells” for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the “tower,” whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357-

²⁵⁶ Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248-253.

²⁵⁷ Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

²⁵⁸ L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

²⁵⁹ Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huangchung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a “White Sandalwood”) in the geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: “On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a ‘hundred thousand images of Buddha’ having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks.” The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, “the lamasery of the [eight] stupas,” because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: “They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country.”

1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.²⁶⁰ According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?²⁶¹ According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4a and 5b), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19a). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,²⁶² the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,²⁶³ the palace for the Khampo in 1687,²⁶⁴ the Pakar temple in 1692,²⁶⁵ Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,²⁶⁶ College of Medicine in 1850,²⁶⁷ and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.²⁶⁸ Actually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum.

²⁶⁰ Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

²⁶¹ W. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa*, *T'oung Pao* 11:14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

²⁶² Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 124.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 237.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 230.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910-1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908-1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*²⁶⁹ notes that the series of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed.

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzang rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,²⁷⁰ and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.²⁷¹ Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery.

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the committee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang-chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by Achia.'" ²⁷² However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."²⁷³

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the

of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

²⁶⁹ *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

²⁷⁰ Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun, (Frontier Affairs)* 3 (5): 15, 1944.

²⁷¹ *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

²⁷² Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 110.

emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu ²⁷⁴ and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seer-kok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha.

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. "*dGon*" means a hermitage, hence a monastery; "*lung*" means valley—the hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung*; the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kuku-nor.

LEGENDS

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280-1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Sa-skye Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, "asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and

²⁷⁴ *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of alms to the lamas.

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-nang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

HISTORY OF THE LAMASERY

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have been less miraculous. The construction of the monastery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598-1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery.

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.²⁷⁵ He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.²⁷⁶ Nothing more is known about this lama²⁷⁷ except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGYud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu,

²⁷⁵ R. A. Stem, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri si-on bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

²⁷⁶ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

²⁷⁷ *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

from the very beginning.²⁷⁸ Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,²⁷⁹ must have been members of the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.²⁸⁰ T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680²⁸¹ and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha.

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING (1644-1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVII^{me} et XVIII^{me} siècles*, the question, "*Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?*"²⁸² It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.²⁸³

²⁷⁸ *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

²⁷⁹ Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya*, *Jonanpa*, *Shanpa*, *Digun Pa* are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa*, *Bulugpa*, were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa*, *Dso-gchyenpa*, *Chhyay Chhempa*, and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya*.

²⁸⁰ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 12.

²⁸¹ *Idem* 3 (5): 12.

²⁸² *Annales de l'université de Lyon*, n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

²⁸³ Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF ERH-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet.

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nornun khan,²⁸⁴ a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nornun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo. a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).²⁸⁵

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, will be briefly described.

CHANG-CHIA HUTUKHTU

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty li northeast of Hsining.²⁸⁶ He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher,

²⁸⁴ *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

²⁸⁵ Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

²⁸⁶ Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4.

the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a “humble member of his retinue” (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.²⁸⁷

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, “entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is anointed.”²⁸⁸ He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar.

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696-1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor.

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and

²⁸⁷ Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-liin* 6 (4): 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayors, *Chinese government*. Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: “The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway.”

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: “K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia.”

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, 48: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

²⁸⁸ *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien*, 93.

that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717-1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech'uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.²⁸⁹) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet."²⁹⁰ Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.²⁹¹

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjar*,²⁹² enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.²⁹³

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759-1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.²⁹⁴ The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-

²⁸⁹ Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

²⁹⁰ *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

²⁹¹ Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

²⁹² Walter Heissig, *Die Mongolischen Publication und Uber-setzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604-1634; the translation of 1717-1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

²⁹³ Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

²⁹⁴ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.²⁹⁵

George Bogle in 1774-1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and that the English allowed everyone to follow his religion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.²⁹⁶ An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.²⁹⁷

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.²⁹⁸ All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6-18, 1949.

²⁹⁶ Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

²⁹⁷ Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

²⁹⁸ *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, II. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,'" 1923.

²⁹⁹ After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekingener Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642-1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662-1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604-1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p.

28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717-1786) was still a boy, living in Huang-chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723): The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736-1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints, according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II). From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737-1802) (p. 158).

The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789-1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a

T'U-KUAN HUTUKHTU

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal. With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.³⁰⁰

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.³⁰¹ He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang-chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.³⁰² (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a diplomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to Lhasa.³⁰³ The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.³⁰⁴ He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia.

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with

period of 261 years (1650-1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

³⁰⁰ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12.

³⁰¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

³⁰² Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 15.

³⁰³ Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

³⁰⁴ Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178-9.

favours. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nornun khan.³⁰⁵ While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects*, which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradjin, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.³⁰⁶ He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favours and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-suu.³⁰⁷ He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.

SUMPA HUTUKHTU

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.³⁰⁸ At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not

³⁰⁵ Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

³⁰⁶ Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881-1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

³⁰⁷ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 148-149.

³⁰⁸ Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.³⁰⁹ The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the monastery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet*.³¹⁰

The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who wrote about all the important subjects related to the curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.³¹¹

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzang and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang-chung, and especially upon the country north of the Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-t'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River.

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku-lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 58, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: "...the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. ... It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

³¹¹ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 16.

to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,³¹² the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.³¹³ In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta-t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.³¹⁴

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.³¹⁵ In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.³¹⁶

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.³¹⁷ In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.³¹⁸ He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.³¹⁹ In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia³²⁰ at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.³²¹ From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Yao, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries³²²; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas, three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures

³¹² *Idem* 1: 45.

³¹³ Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

³¹⁴ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45; 3 (4) 10: 5: 13a.

³¹⁵ Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

³¹⁶ *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 123.

³¹⁷ Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 283.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 288.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 279.

³²¹ Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 198, 1889.

³²² Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46b and 47a.

of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723.

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.³²³

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.³²⁴

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes.

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum

³²³ Huth, *op. cit.*, 372-374.

³²⁴ Petech, *op. cit.*, 242.

300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.³²⁵ The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.³²⁶ During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.³²⁷

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

WHAT WERE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THESE CALAMITIES?

The troubles in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth century ruined the influence and power of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet who had founded the realm of the Dalai Lama.³²⁸ bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, the grandson of Gushi, devising the unification of the Qoshots and the revival in his person of the imperial dream of Gushi, assumed the title of Dalai Hung-T'aichi, and broke into open rebellion against China in the eighth month (September, 1723).³²⁹ His rebellion did not have much appeal for the divided Qoshots, and his power was greatly enfeebled. However, having obtained the tremendous support of the mK'ampo Nomun-khan, superior and chief of Kumbum and his nephew, who called all the lamas and Tibetans of Huang-chung to take sides with him, Bstan-dsin started invading the Chinese frontier and Huang-chung.

Since it was feared that Bstan-dsin would perturb Tibet, the Chinese authorities acted with great prompt³³⁰ Nien Keng-Yao, marshal for the pacification of the distant countries, and General Yüeh Chung-ch'i were provided with strict instructions to furnish a drastic example for the government which had so lavishly bestowed unusual favors on the lamas of Huang-chung. Nien

³²⁵ *Shih-lu*, *Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Ch'uan 14, 10.

³²⁶ These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner; that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-s at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

³²⁷ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46-48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu*, *Shih-lu*, *Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals of the province*, ch. 46; 55b-56a, 56b.

³²⁸ Here the consequences of the revolt relative to Lamaism are exposed. The political aspects are dealt with in Schram, *op. cit.*, 36-37.

³²⁹ Petech, *op. cit.*, 82.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

Keng-yao disposed of 900,000 soldiers,³³¹ of whom 3,000 were soldiers of the Monguor T'u-ssu. He crushed the revolt by March, 1724, and made Bstandsin flee with but a few men. The example was drastic. The revolted lamas and tribes were severely punished, and the monasteries destroyed. In the reports of General Funingga, concerning the quelling of the revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, written in the Manchu language, and sent to the emperor from Hsining, not a single word is encountered about the part played by the Hsining lamas in the revolt or of the drastic repression by Nien Keng-yao, although Funingga three times had defeated the Moslems and Tibetans who helped bLo-bzan. It is not easy to guess the reason for this reticence.³³²

WHERE WERE THE THREE CELEBRITIES OF ERH-KU-LUNG AT THAT TIME?

The Chang-chia of that time, the second, was still a boy seven years of age. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had hidden him at the monastery of Chiar-too. Nien Keng-yao, according to orders of Peking, brought the boy there. The whereabouts of T'u-kuan seem mysterious. In 1720 he was in Lhasa, vested with a diplomatic mission, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth³³³ tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says³³⁴ that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.³³⁵ At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.³³⁶

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang-chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic as the repression itself. They show that the emperor was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to

³³¹ *Tung-hua-lu, Yung-cheng* 3: 29.

³³² *Berichte des Generals Funingga, 18 Jahrhundert*, 104-114, 1953.

³³³ Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.

³³⁴ Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.

³³⁵ Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.

³³⁶ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 47.

prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.³³⁷

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huang-chung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.³³⁸ The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910-1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still existed. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been reconstructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-

³³⁷ *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu*, *Yung cheng*, *op. cit.* 4: 34-36.

³³⁸ *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, p. 12a.

lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off.

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain.

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.³³⁹ Instead, he rebuilt his own monastery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some-years, could no longer stand the

³³⁹ It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yuan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was found the next morning hanging from a beam in his palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipotent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa. were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of administration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic revindication of the autonomy of Kumbum by Achia sharply confirms the trend of mind of the Monguor lamas concerning the autonomy of their monasteries.

Not a single lamasery in Huang-chung was founded by the Dalai Lama. Kumbum was founded in 1560 by the lama, Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, and his ten disciples of their own accord. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, sent a lama to invite the Monguors of Erh-ku-lung to be so kind as to build a monastery in their country.

Seerkok had been ruined and burned to the ground. The chief lama was beheaded in 1723. Seerkok having no more leaders, the Dalai Lama sent the learned lama, Tsanpo, who was studying at Lhasa, to rebuild the monastery. He bestowed upon Tsanpo the title of Nomum-khan, and recommended him to the emperor. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu. Lhasa no longer cared for Seerkok because it was autonomous, having its own chief.

The other monasteries throughout the whole region were institutions of the Red Sect, such as Ch'ü-t'an, which was founded by the lama San La. Most of them later adhered to the Yellow Sect but maintained their independence. However, some small ties seem to link the lamaseries of Huang-chung to Lhasa. Upon the death of the Hutukhtus of Huang-chung, Lhasa is asked to designate three names to be placed in the golden urn at Peking. One name is drawn from the golden urn thereby determining the new incarnation. However, the three names required for the new incarnation of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu are supplied by his friend, the grand lama of Labrang. The recognition of the incarnation of all the other Living Buddhas of Huang-chung who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu is attested to by the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung. Confirmation of this recognition by a minor Living Buddha is sufficient to establish the Living-Buddha-hood of lamas deemed by their confreres to fulfill the requirements *ad hoc*.

For more than a century (1600 to 1723) the relations between the monasteries of Huang-chung and Lhasa had been really important, because of the imposing array of learned scholars of Erh-ku-lung who taught in the most important lamaseries of Lhasa, the lamas of Huang-chung who performed their studies at Lhasa, and the several diplomatic missions of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus sent by the emperors to the Dalai Lamas.

It is not hard to understand why Lhasa displayed so little interest in the monastery of Kumbum. The reason is that Kumbum was autonomous. The Third Dalai Lama paid a short visit to Kumbum for the first time in 1583. He insisted on the founding of a school for the explanation of the sacred texts. In 1723 the chief lama of Kumbum was the fateful mK'ampo No-mun-Khan, nephew of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin. He received his title of No-nun-Khan from the Dalai Lama. From 1715 until 1720 the Seventh Dalai Lama was confined at Kumbum by the emperor. Several visits to Kumbum, made by the Dalai Lama or the Pan-chen Lama on their way to Peking, have to be added in order to complete the scheme of the relations between the two monasteries.

These facts suffice to prove that the relations between the lamaseries of Huang-chung and the Dalai Lama were of courtesy, friendship, and helpfulness, not those of subordinates with superiors. The independence from Lhasa of the lamaseries of Huang-chung is evidenced by their independence in managing their affairs. Each had its supreme chief, who was the recognized proprietor.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LAMASERIES

Each monastery has a supreme chief who is the recognized proprietor of the lamasery and the initial territory granted by the emperor or T'u-ssu for the establishment of the monastery. He is the proprietor of the temples and buildings built by him or his previous incarnations, and of the alms offered to it. In Huang-chung the supreme chiefs of monasteries are all Living Buddhas. At present some of them are minor, others major Living Buddhas. In Kumbum, Achia Hutukhtu is the supreme chief of the monastery; in Seerkok, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu. In Erh-ku-lung there are three supreme chiefs, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa, but actually T'u-kuan Hutukhtu alone governs the whole monastery because of the historical circumstances already recorded. Minor Living Buddhas are Buddhas who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu, granted by the emperor, and whose name, usually, is not recorded in the files of the Li Fan Yüan in Peking. Minor Living Buddhas, in order to live inside the walls of the great monastery and to build a palace, must obtain the permission of the supreme chief; they are considered as guests of the lamasery.

The supreme chief is responsible before the Chinese administration for his subjects' crimes or murders committed in his monastery, or in his domain. He appoints the superiors of the various institutions established inside the monastery and in the branches. In time of trouble between the various institutions he tries to mediate. The extent to which he interferes with subordinates depends not on institutional regulations, but simply on whether he is personally a meddling character.

In monasteries the "community of the lamas" is a recognized autonomous unit, with its own wealth, properties (herds, fields, subjects, etc.), administration. It has its own right to bring suit in the Chinese courts, and to establish subsidiaries, whose administrators depend upon it and not upon the supreme chief. The community of Erh-ku-lung has three such subsidiaries: Ta-ssu, Hsiao-ssu, and Hsiao Erh-ku-lung. It was the lama community of Erh-ku-lung that brought suit against Sumpa and spent the money for the trial, not T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, who would not interfere to prevent the scandal.

The colleges or faculties in monasteries are also recognized autonomous units, with their own administration, properties, wealth, gifts, alms, and the right of suing in Chinese courts. I do not have any record of colleges possessing branches, but I suppose they do.

What bond binds these disparate elements together? Usually a Living Buddha who is the supreme chief of a lamasery is honored by the lamas, who know that he is always ready and braced to defend the rights of the institution, like Achia at Kumbum. When the communities or colleges meet with financial troubles, they know that the supreme chief uses his own wealth to make donations to them—"help provided makes sympathy wax." Nevertheless, each institution has its own administration, and the supreme chief does not interfere with its jurisdiction. The governing board of each institution confers with the supreme chief on the appointment of administrative officers and on such matters as the invitation to be sent when a new Fa-t'ai is needed.

If troubles arise the board of the autonomous institution takes advice from the supreme chief, and many difficulties are thus avoided. Finally, the supreme chief has the right to dismiss recalcitrant members, but if an entire group persists in standing up for its rights, and threatens to bring suit in the Chinese court or to quit the monastery, the supreme chief can rarely prevail against them. Nobody can prevent a lama or a group of lamas from quitting a monastery; no vows or bonds tie the lamas to any monastery. Undoubtedly, a great amount of kindness and devotion on the part of the supreme chief toward the members of the monastery is required. This is the real keystone of an effective administration in monasteries whose elements are so loosely united.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAMASERIES: MATERIAL ASPECTS

The administration of a lamasery is complex. In order to get a better insight into the matter the material aspects will be dealt with first, and then the religious and educational.

OFFICIALS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES

Most Living Buddhas who are supreme chiefs of monasteries live in retirement in their palaces, and are happy to entrust the entire material administration of the institution to a lama intendant, for whom the Tibetan term is *Tsuordzi* and the Chinese term, *Hsiang tso*. The few exceptions who are meddlers with the administration—are well known throughout the country, and that kind of Living Buddha usually does not get very far with his intendant.

The appointment of the lama intendant is an act of overriding importance and far-reaching consequences. The supreme chief himself chooses a capable, loyal, and dependable lama and appoints him as Intendant of the Monastery—not of the community of lamas, or of the colleges. The appointment is indefinite and can be transferred to another lama at the will of the supreme chief. Usually, however, it lasts for a lifetime. The intendant is a man of confidence on whom the supreme chief relies completely. He occupies a large courtyard of the administrative buildings constructed in the center of the monastery. The instruments of torture displayed at the gate of his courtyard indicate that he rules its court of justice and is its chief executive by appointment of the proprietor of the monastery.

All important administrative questions of the monastery are discussed between the supreme chief and his intendant: the invitation of the *Fa-t'ai*'s proposed by the boards of the community of lamas and of the colleges, the appointment of procurators and of lay intendants; matters concerning the subjects, the villages, and branches of the monastery; and troubles between lamas or within the community of lamas or the colleges. The intendant knows the lamas of merit and the intrigues, competitions and factions among them. He is invited to attend the meetings between the supreme chief and the boards of the colleges and the community of lamas. Because he is a man of experience, and usually of long residence at that articular lamasery, his advice is respected and usually followed. The ability to mediate is even more important than the manner of authority.

The intendant must be a man who knows the Chinese officials and the intricacies of the courts of justice. He sends the seasonal gifts to the Chinese officials, visits them to knit friendship with them, and knows who among them is well or ill disposed toward the monastery. He also knows the influential persons in the city who are friends of the officials, and who among them can be used if need be for the benefit of the monastery by exerting their influence upon the officials. He visits such people occasionally during the year to offer them gifts, in order to have a foot in the door when needed. Lamas know very well that "Justice cannot stand on its own feet, it needs to be supported and steadied." The intendant must be a man who can see farther ahead than ordinary naive and ignorant lamas and is able, therefore, to dissuade them from bringing lawsuits.

The intendant of the monastery alone disposes of all the wealth of the monastery (not of the wealth of the community of the lamas or of the colleges), its revenues, investment of capital, loans, gifts, and alms received (but not of alms given to the community of lamas or to the colleges). He has to cope with all the expenses of the monastery, and to try to increase the collection of gifts and alms. He is in charge of the provisioning of the monastery, and must see that the procurator secures the colossal amounts of butter that a monastery requires. In the temples of *Erh-ku-lung* eight butter lamps burn before the statues day and night. Each lamp consumes 180 pounds of butter every year, making 1,440 pounds for the eight lamps. The intendant told me that every year he had to provide a total of more than 3,000 pounds of butter for lamps, kitchen, and

tea, and had to send lamas to Kukur and Mongolia in order to collect this enormous amount. The intendant, in short, is the biggest cog in the wheel of administration. A visitor must inquire for him and pay him a visit, for it is he who cares for visitors and pilgrims of note.

It is easy to understand why it pays to have an experienced intendant, one who creates good relations with the outside Chinese world, acquires benefactors for the monastery, maintains control of the inside world of the monastery and has sufficient influence to be successful in the office, but these things cannot be realized in a few months.

The choice of an intendant who is capable is usually easy, but it is not so easy to find a lama who is, at the same time, capable and always loyal and dependable. Because so much power is vested in him it is not exceptional to encounter an intendant who is getting too big for his britches, stirring up trouble and acting as if none of the rules of the monastery existed for him. He disposes of so much wealth that it is almost impossible to control his financial transactions, and many intendants pile up their own comfortable fortune. They know all the liabilities and the debts of the monastery; they enjoy too much personal influence in Chinese administrative circles, and when things go wrong they can pull many wires in order to save themselves or even to harm the monastery. It is not easy to handle intendants, and it is more difficult to dismiss them, according to the sayings of experienced old lamas.

Next to the intendant comes the procurator (*nirwa*, in Tibetan; *Takuan-chia*, in Chinese). He also is appointed by the supreme chief of the monastery, in consultation with the intendant. The appointment is for three or five years, and may be renewed. The procurator supplies the personal needs of the Living Buddha, and under the supervision of the intendant he administers the internal affairs of the intendency, including the board and jobs of servants, upkeep of buildings, stables, and equipment. He organizes the expeditions that go out to collect alms in Mongolia and Kukur, keeps the accounts of the collection of revenues and of the *corvées* imposed on monastery subjects, and judges minor lawsuits. He discusses with the intendant the small loans granted to subjects or other people, dispenses the alms distributed to lamas. He is in fact the lieutenant and usually the protégé of the intendant, through whom he has obtained his appointment from the Living Buddha. If an intendant and his procurator are in collusion, they can easily dupe the supreme chief for a long time.

The procurator in turn has an assistant (*htie wa*, in Tibetan and *erh kuan chia*, in Chinese), who helps him at the job. He is appointed or dismissed by the Living Buddha at the same time as his superior. The servants under the procurators vary in numbers according to the importance of the monastery. At *Erh-ku-lung* there are thirty lama servants and ten lay servants.

Two lay intendants are also appointed by the Living Buddha. It is customary, after three years, that they present their resignation, which is accepted or refused. Their duties are more honorary than executive. When the Living Buddha goes on a journey they accompany him as masters of his retinue. Under the empire a blue button adorned the top of their hats. They take care of the impedimenta. Arriving at a destination at night, they take care of all necessities at the inn, and then take the visiting card of the Buddha to the Chinese official of the village or the city. The intendant sends them to the city to bring gifts or to greet the officials when he is unable to do it himself, and he delegates them to mediate in the villages.

When the personal wealth of the supreme chief is great enough, he appoints a private intendant and procurator to administer it.

The minor Living Buddhas who are guests, living at the monastery, have their own administration. It is more or less personal, according to their wealth (subsidiaries, villages, herds),

and according to their own propensity for caring for their business. Their intendants do not enjoy such influence as the intendants of the important monasteries.

The material side of the administration of the communities of the lamas and of the colleges is identical, consisting of an intendant and procurator chosen by them but approved by the supreme chief. Their attendants are important personages who care for the wealth of the community or the college, investment of capital, revenues of villages, sale or purchase of land, herds, relations with the Chinese administration, suits at the court of justice, judgment of the suits of subjects, care of the subsidiaries and gifts. These procurators provide the food used at the meetings, and supervise the upkeep of the buildings and temples of the community of lamas and the colleges, and of the palaces of their Fa-t'ai's. They manage the expeditions to Mongolia and Kuku-nor for the collection of alms, distribute the share of alms offered to the lamas of the community or to the colleges, and the collection of the revenues of lands. They are appointed by the supreme chief on the joint recommendation of his own intendant and the board of the community or the college. The intendant of a community of lamas or of a college is therefore always the protégé of the superintendent, although the administration of the community and of the colleges is at the same time institutionally autonomous.

These notes give an insight on the personnel used for the material administration of the Monguor monasteries and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from I to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1) In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the country. He had often extricated the monastery from very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the

monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-kulung inadvertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to the community of the lamas. The intendant of the community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands \$800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast for \$150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates.

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*)³⁴⁰ by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he

³⁴⁰ "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha “acquainted” with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-fung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendancies had preferred to wreck the lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.³⁴¹

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called “second childhood.” His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living

³⁴¹ Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased.

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, living according to his station, giving bribes and sending gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the allotted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seer-kok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the

same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries.

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants.

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks, encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.³⁴²

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain.

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.³⁴³ Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven

³⁴² The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo.

³⁴³ *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.

valleys³⁴⁴ The country for 200 li around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand “tame” barbarians are its subjects.³⁴⁵ Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.³⁴⁶ Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch’i T’u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch’i T’u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch’ü-t’an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts’ao-t’ai and Hung Shan-ssu *Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T’u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that “...in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years.” This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.³⁴⁷

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants, but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants’ donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

³⁴⁷ In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch’ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1-7, 1948.

surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendantcies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendantcy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendantcy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lanchow, the capital of the province. The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendantcy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403-1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha.

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue.

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin.

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma?

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910-1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important source of revenue. They last for several months and are organized by the various intendancies in their own behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court.

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such expeditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk,

satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then “fishing after the net is a losing business”; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do business on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per cent interest is the most important source of revenue for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukuror and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides of the intendancies dispose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section.

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: “*Chin ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama*,” meaning “even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him”; also, “*lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la*” meaning “It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman,” because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is

due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material administration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges.

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had compelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910-1920.

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries.

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaserries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaserries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaserries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaserries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaserries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

FARMERS OFFERING OIL AND PIGS

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the farmers were organized in villages, and each village continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendency whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendency a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendency on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendency.

SERVICE FOR PRAYERS AND ALMS COLLECTION

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendency, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendency or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendency. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendency, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour.

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Surndoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy.

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Surndoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

REPAIR OF THE LAMASERY

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées.

TRAVEL OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the monastery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor living Buddha of the monastery of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good relations with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices,

have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Notwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910-1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910-1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaserie flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part 1: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part 1: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaserie, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride.

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaserie, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed chiliarchs

still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien fang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées.

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country.

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun products and animals for trading. All year long the silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the monastery. There was no need for them to go to the city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and

administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there was no more question of nobles and commoners among them. They were all equally subject to taxes and corvées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no outstanding rich families could rise up among them. Since the entire administration was carried on exclusively by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368-1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punishment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries. However, no compulsory religious instruction was provided for adults or children in order to make the subjects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institutions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs.

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid increase in the founding and branching out of monasteries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs.

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, coproprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in

BRANCH LAMASERIES

It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS

The first act of the founder of a branch was to appoint a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed.

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36 1/2 bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendency of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent

order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder.

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes.

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such tragic events seldom happen, independence is never acquired without friction between the daughter and mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life.

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the influential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless.

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder.

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of \$10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506-1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Sha-chün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army consisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not

allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.³⁴⁹ Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed the administrator, who was killed.

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

³⁴⁹ Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

LAMAS LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911-1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they begin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family starts losing its identity, no more children become lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was provided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-fang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910-1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'u-t'an, and T'ien-fang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,³⁵⁰ it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause

³⁵⁰ W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, 98, New York, Century, 1891.

contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.³⁵¹ Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.³⁵² At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas who attended the morning ceremonies in the central hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials

³⁵¹ W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

³⁵² The census (1729-1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nienpei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals of Hsining* 16: 6b, 9a, 10a, 12a.

of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."³⁵³ To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.³⁵⁴ He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukur, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: "*Shan-hsi tik'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama*" meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan here also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the monastery

³⁵³ Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

³⁵⁴ Wang Wen-ban, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*. No. 1: 1 and 2, 1948.

in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery. Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son.

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE

On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monastery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the ceremony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng³⁵⁵ lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüings makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.³⁵⁶ In some monasteries only two Gelüings preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teaching him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to commit the texts to memory, punishments being inflicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master

³⁵⁵ L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-bzun—Gelüng.

and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naively admitted that in former times a lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious education is complete. The lama can then read a text more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guidance is provided by an experienced spiritual director and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and

his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the shortcomings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who talk of commerce and business deals, and about the interesting places they have visited. In this way the youngsters come to know about a great deal of unedifying material which they discuss, with relish and interest, when they meet outside the monastery, and so the spirit of commercial adventure is cultivated in them, and the passion to see places and to wander. This poisoned atmosphere, woven around them, has a pernicious bearing on their careers. In the long run, the young lama receives his education outside the monastery in the groups of unrestrained young lamas, and in the evening at the home of his master when old lamas talk unguardedly. In the Orient there are no secrets.

In 1913 I was a guest at the monastery of Hsien-mi. One night the rich intendant of the community of lamas arrived after an absence of three weeks. His two disciples, sixteen and nineteen years of age, had disappeared after being beaten by him for insubordination. Finally, he had found them at the monastery of Shih-men, five days distant from Hsien-mi. By dint of promises he had succeeded in bringing them back home. Two days later I arrived at the monastery of Chu-erh. Two pupils had just undergone a terrible ordeal. One had stolen 50 taels from his master and the other had concealed the stolen money. Punishments were inflicted on both the thief and his accomplice with ruthless severity.

The old rector of the branch of Hua-Yüan-ssu, depending on Erh-ku-lung, had borrowed from a rich Monguor 200 taels. Trusting his pupil, thirty-six years of age, he had sent him with the money to the Monguor. Three months later the Monguor again asked for his money. Then the pupil disappeared and the rector had to pay the sum again. A year later the pupil returned and apologized. The rector was happy to see him again.

An old, sick, asthmatic lama, a friend of mine, came to get some medicine. His young pupil, sixteen years of age (this was his second disciple), had come back after wandering for a year. The asthmatic old man had implored him not to act in that way any more, and had promised to give him a horse and to defray all the expenses of a trip to Lhasa, after he reached his twentieth year of age.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 36, 37, more about this matter.

The disappearance of the young lamas is the greatest concern of the old lamas. Punishment is enough to make them leave. Often two or three young men, lured by adventure, decide to abandon their masters and disappear, taking their leave for months or years. The masters, not knowing whether they will return, cannot make provision to search for another pupil, for in case a master's pupil should return, and in the meantime another pupil had been taken on, suit could be brought in the Chinese courts by the former pupil to obtain the wealth of the master and a definite separation.

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nienpei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law."

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background.

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.³⁵⁸ Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910-1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama.

In the very early morning the master awakens his pupil, who prepares tea. He presents a cup of tea to his master and enjoys one with him. In the winter he kindles the brazier. Then he sweeps the courtyard while his master rises. He brings him a basin of hot water, so that he may wash his face. He wipes the dust from the house altar and the furniture, and prepares the ritual tea to be offered before the Buddha image (a yellow powder consisting of several kinds of pounded roots mixed with water). The master fills the brass cups, displayed in a row before the image, taking care not to

³⁵⁸ Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

spill a single drop outside the cup. Master and pupil recite the ritual prayer, prostrating themselves as long as the prayer lasts. Fervent lamas are accustomed to make 108 prostrations with their pupil. Everyone assured me that this is really hard work, especially in wintertime.

After the ritual the pupil empties the brass cups, pouring out the ritual tea in the courtyard in a place assumed to be clean, and cleans the cups. About this time the conches are blown and the drums beaten in the central assembly hall, and master and pupil go to attend the morning ceremony. They then come back to their quarters, and, after driving the oxen and horses to pasture, the pupil places the text book on the lap of his master and then with his back turned to the master recites the lesson indicated for that day. If he fails, the master inflicts corporal punishment and fixes the lesson for the next day. The pupil then prepares breakfast, after which he goes out to collect fuel. He is back at noon in order to serve tea and tsamba to his master. The ritual tea is offered again before the images, with prostrations, and the pupil, free for the whole afternoon, is then allowed to relax with his friends outside the monastery. He has to be back by the time the sun is as high as two posts, in order to prepare the evening meal of noodles and tea, which the master enjoys sitting on the k'ang while his pupil squats on the floor. After the kitchen chores are finished and the animals tended, the pupil starts memorizing texts for the next morning. When it is time to go to bed, a last and third ritual tea is offered, with prostrations, before the image on the house altar, and master and pupil sleep next to each other on the k'ang. A pupil is never allowed to go to bed before his master.

During the long winter nights, in order to have an idea of the time, the good lamas fix three sticks of incense, end to end. To the third stick is attached a thread with copper coins. This device is suspended above a basin. When the third stick has burned down, the thread with the coins falls into the basin. The lama awakes and kindles a new series of three sticks of incense. He repeats this process a third time. When he coins fall for the third time the pupil is awakened and he starts the day's chores as before. If it happens that, when master and pupil are ready to attend the morning ceremony, the dawn is still some way off, they return to their slumbers: but if it is at hand they must, according to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer.

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely

the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines.

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd.

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth³⁵⁹ or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and

³⁵⁹ W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet m 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894 describes *p'ulu* as woollen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. "*P'ulu*" is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, "*p'ruk*."

more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. 38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum disappeared in a furious blaze after the morning convention of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered a thousand big trees, Labrang \$6,000, Erh-ku-lung \$1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

The supreme chief of this independent institution is the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an

affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendency proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862-1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.³⁶⁰ Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

The Fa-t'ai even has the power to redress the maladministration of the intendancies, but all these powers are more nominal than effective, because the name of the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the

³⁶⁰ Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba*, mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few remarks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges.

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them.

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councilors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty all day and night.

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy.

Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices.

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the nonadmittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been established, theoretically as centers of higher education. Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority of the members of a college, at the time they enter, have previously received only the training of ordinary lamas, which consists of learning to read and write more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910-1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

The master starts with the explanation of the text after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a second or a third book, while the others are still studying the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same educational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary schools and high schools compels the master to adapt his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzang, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910-1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-Yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained

members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the colleges is not that these institutions are centers of higher education, but rather that they provide meals for their members. The richest colleges, able to give the greatest number and the choicest meals, are the best attended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these

- 1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges.
- 2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
- 3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
- 4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
- 5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
- 6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
- 8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
- 9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
- 10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
- 11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
- 12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. Among the huge numbers of members of the College of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated debaters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability.

Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many

years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung."³⁶¹ The dialectic methods of Nagar-juna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the nonexistence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.³⁶² The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.³⁶³ After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the program of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung for many years, knew the language very well and was always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.³⁶⁴ In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them."³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

³⁶² René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

³⁶³ Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184-188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350-358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

³⁶⁴ Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

³⁶⁵ David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.³⁶⁶ It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.³⁶⁷ He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.³⁶⁸

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.³⁶⁹

LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang.

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendants. This kind of "residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA?

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 348.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 560.

³⁶⁹ Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

³⁷⁰ Tucci-Ghersa, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-Ch'ung. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it.

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of Huang-chung, and the mother lamaserie became firmly established.

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer³⁷¹; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.³⁷² It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail.

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e-bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living Buddha of Labrang,

³⁷¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 281.

the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.³⁷³ After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,³⁷⁴ from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confidentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung.

³⁷³ Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

³⁷⁴ W. W. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa*, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family.

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the whole community lavishly entertained. The guests were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive learning, in order to provide for the education of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after months and months the exercises always have to be repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.³⁷⁵

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-kulung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur.

³⁷⁵ Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendency of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months.

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Ugurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning.

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality.

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom.

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations.

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang-chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter.

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. hereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice.

The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time.

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery.

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently toward his father, and he could not understand how the same individual could happen to be the incarnation of the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had irretrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side, the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy'.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beautiful and fast horses. Every three days he participated in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nan-king in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendency. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-fao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society.

LAMAISM AND MONASTICISM

The study of the preceding topics will help in understanding what the Lamaist institution in Huang-chung, called lamasery, consists of fundamentally. It can best be done by means of defining the respective positions of its chiefs and its subjects.

In speaking about lamas and lamaseries, the terms “monk” and “monastery” are used indiscriminately, because we have no other terms. However, except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.³⁷⁶

Lamas take the first and second vows, promising to Buddha to be faithful to them. They take no vows of submission to the chief of the community, promising nothing to him except to remain celibate and to observe the rules of the community, to attend the exercises in the temple, and not to disturb the peace of the lamasery.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to impose any duty on the lamas. A salary is paid for the fulfilling of any office, and those who do not intend to earn the money, do not apply for the job. The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the studies or the scientific trend of mind of the lamas. He only has the right to urge their presence at the ceremonies and knowledge of the texts recited at the meetings, because lamas attending the assembly receive a remuneration of tea, *tsamba*, meal, and a share of alms.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the religious and spiritual education of the lamas. These fields are under the jurisdiction of the individual master who directs the studies of a pupil. The lamas have the right to bring suit against each other at the Chinese courts, and the pupil has the right to bring suit against his master, without interference from the chief of the lamasery.

The amazing respective positions of a chief of the lamasery and the lamas are crudely demonstrated by the facts of the admission of a lama to the lamasery, his retirement from it, and the conditions existing between them after the abandonment. Admission into a lamasery in Huang-chung is not complicated. Every unknown man who wears lama clothes and who goes straight to the courtyard of the intendancy of the monastery, presents 100 copper cash and asks for admittance, is given a scarf of felicity. He is led to see the intendant before whom he prostrates himself and to whom he presents the scarf; he promises to observe celibacy and the rules of the monastery, and to attend the morning ceremonies. His name is entered on the roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors

³⁷⁶ David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 100.

for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendancy itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before the main temple, while the community read imprecations. Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery.

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery.

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.³⁷⁷ Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.³⁷⁸

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still

³⁷⁷ The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

³⁷⁸ L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations.

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living.

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible."

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood ... details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. ... I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. ... Externally the two sects do not differ much

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages, the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged in magic. It is not known when most of them went over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-ku-lung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the

from each other.” And on p. 434: “I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration.”

country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,³⁸⁰ and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the practice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha all the more since Kan-ha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868-1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

³⁸⁰ *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and the deities honored in their temples may be passed over here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, where lamas fought each other and destroyed each others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

Nonetheless, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku-lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403-24), granted us extensive properties and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a

picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for seven days.

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practitioner of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.³⁸¹

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the religious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind.

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor the spirit of the well from which they draw water. They make a *Wei-sang*³⁸² near the well, plant a stick to the top of which is affixed a

³⁸¹ David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126; also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

³⁸² See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95.

bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year.

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880-1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890-1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.³⁸³ Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911-1921, the spirits he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the circumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,³⁸⁴ challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it

³⁸³ Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) :47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

³⁸⁴ Walter Heissig, *Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Kuriye-Banner*, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I attended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BÖ*, on account of the lack of the vowel *Ö* in their dialect. *BÖ* and *BÖ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and authors are even unable to find a definition with which they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."³⁸⁵

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic religions and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.³⁸⁶

Åke Ohimarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.³⁸⁷

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

³⁸⁵ W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

³⁸⁶ Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* 48 (3-4): 671, 1953.

³⁸⁷ Åke Ohimarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrag zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* 47 (1-2): 244, 1952. 47: 1952, No. 1-2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, 7: 291, 1952.

According to Helmut Hoffman³⁸⁸ the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bön is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, “Weitgott” (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the “way of the spirits” (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.³⁸⁹ Bön likes to emphasize the cosmic tree on the mount Mere. In addition the whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism.

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein³⁹⁰ in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi³⁹¹ notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as those of the commoners of the clan. They are not exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the

³⁸⁸ Helmut Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion*, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, 4, 1950.

³⁸⁹ Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already “a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god.”

³⁹⁰ R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

³⁹¹ Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan.

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow.

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families.

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans.

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later.

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristocracy."³⁹² Shamans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and corvées.

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

³⁹² Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan*, 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, *Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten*, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organisation of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author. *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

Why did the shaman devote himself to the service of his special spirits? In very old times one of his ancestors, according to the shamans, had been singled out and ordered by these special spirits to devote himself to their service. These spirits had ordered him to continue this service, generation after generation, and had promised to shower blessings on him, and to help him in averting troubles from his customers. These spirits taught the initial shaman the method of serving them, of beating drums, of performing rites, and today's shamans have to discipline their behavior according to these instructions. Thus every shaman is a descendant of an initial shaman chosen and compelled to serve certain definite spirits. The initial shaman now being in contact with these spirits still provides his descendant shamans with the means of communication with them, and secures their aid and support for the successful achievement of their duty. This seems to be the specific belief of the shamans themselves, and of the Monguors about the shamans.

According to the ethnologists, "the strongest evidence of the ingenuity of the shaman lies in the fact that the shaman possesses the power to take into himself spirits, which speak by means of his mouth, but which he controls and makes obedient to himself."³⁹³ Ethnologists assert that, physically, shamans suffer from nervous diseases, and are easily excited.³⁹⁴ They are unbalanced people with a marked disposition to all kinds of illusions and hallucinations.³⁹⁵ Cases of epilepsy, idiocy, mental breakdown, and insanity have been noted among the shamans.³⁹⁶ This record is not very flattering or inspiring.

SUCCESSION OF THE SHAMANS

The care and the protection shown by the spirits for their initial shaman and his successors are most effective. They interfere even with the choice of the boy who has to succeed to the incumbency of a shaman, by guiding the father shaman to indicate which among his sons fills the bill of requirements in the most appropriate way. The general belief among the Monguors is that the avocation of a shaman does not depend on the individual or on any other person, but on the spirits, who select the person who is to discharge the duty.

The succession, according to the Monguors, is necessarily inherited by one of the sons of a shaman. This is explained according to the Monguor mentality. It has been noted that, since the worshipping of a spirit once begun by a family should never be discontinued, for fear of calamities which would be sent by the abandoned spirit, the eldest son therefore has to perpetuate its cult. In a more imperative way, when the head of a family has dedicated himself to the cult of a spirit, the

³⁹³ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 9: 243.

³⁹⁴ Georg-Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 50, Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder, 1925.

³⁹⁵ Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977.

³⁹⁶ Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 3. Eliade. *op. cit.*, 7.

duty of a member of the same family to continue this dedication is far more urgent. Since it can never be neglected, one of the sons has to assume the duty.

When a shaman, however, has no sons, he indicates his successor among the sons of his brothers and adopts him. The boy will inherit his wealth and substance and become a shaman. If he did not adopt a son during his life, a family council convenes in order to indicate one of their boys to succeed to the deceased shaman, for the future of the whole family is at stake. The Monguors harbor a deep conviction that the whole family is responsible for the continuation of the dedication of a member to the cult of the spirits, and that the family would not be able to withstand the calamities entailed by such neglect.

The Monguors say that in former times, when the shaman had no sons, one of his daughters discharged the duty, but at present there are no more female shamans. Many times I received from the Monguors this explanation which, according to their trend of mind, seemed logical.

When I asked the shamans why they accepted only their sons or nephews as pupils, and never sons belonging to families in which there were no shamans, they always answered that such boys could not become shamans. They said their old ancestor had been chosen and ordered by the Twelve Tengris themselves to honor them; that the way of practicing their art had been taught to him by the Twelve Tengris themselves and that consequently their "family" had to discharge this duty. "We have to honor our shaman ancestors," they said, "because when we are fulfilling our duty their spirits come to us, helping us serve the tengris; they know the way of approaching the tengris; they live with them and know them, make them take possession of us, and make them help us in every way. Without the spirits of our ancestors we are unable to perform the rites, to call up our Tengris and to combat evil spirits. The spirits of our ancestors know us, and protect us, because we are their descendants, and so do the Twelve Tengris; but our ancestors will not help strangers and our Tengris recognize only our family as their servants; therefore a member of an alien family can never become a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMANS

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken

Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and accustomed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that shamans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the

spirit who had selected that boy as its minister. Such recollected facts always sear the mind of the Monguors, convincing them that the spirit is to be obeyed, and that it is a terrible spirit.

When we take stock of what has been said of the behavior of the Monguors toward the shamans, the inferiority complex of the shamans, the exacting requirements of the spirit, and the poor remuneration of the office, it is no wonder that the shamans do not enjoy their profession and meet their obligations with revulsion. What is more remarkable is that the same trend of mind exists among all the shamans all over Asia.³⁹⁷

DEDICATION AND TRAINING OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS³⁹⁸

Usually the son succeeds the father, and the father is the trainer of his son; the father has no other apprentices. However, during the slack season of agricultural routine, it is not unusual to see sons of different shamans staying for a couple of months with a shaman relative, celebrated for the proficiency of his art. The boys recognize the shaman as their master.

The training of the shaman boy starts when he is about ten years of age. At that time the father invites the elders of his family and some shamans, he kills a sheep and performs the ceremony of the dedication. The boy kneels with incense sticks in his joined hands. The shamans beat drums, perform a dance before the picture of the twelve spirits especially honored by them, and before the staff placed before the picture. A shaman, holding the staff in his hands, then invites the spirits to descend into it. When the staff starts shaking, he makes the announcement to the spirits of the dedication of the boy to their service, and asks them whether or not they approve the dedication of the boy. The invited spirits make the staff shiver and shake more and more in the hands of the shaman. The shaman states that the boy is accepted and dedicated for his whole life to the Twelve Tengris; that they will help him, but will get him into serious trouble if he gives only lip service to them; that he is no longer his own master, but is linked to them by the dedication; then he describes the most terrible calamities which are in store for undutiful shamans, while the staff shakes feverishly in his hands. A dance is performed around the boy while drums are beaten and the ceremony is completed. The gamut of all kind of misfortunes and calamities visited on undutiful shamans will be dinned in his ears in all circumstances, so that the boy, living in an atmosphere of fear and apprehensions, will reach his manhood. Stress is to be put on the fact that the shaman is dedicated to the Twelve Tengris who descended into the staff.

PHYSICAL TRAINING

A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and

³⁹⁷ Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 55-56. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 248-706.

³⁹⁸ See also Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 249, *sq.* for shamanism among the Daghor Mongols.

elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense.

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the

shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, are told about powerful shamans who lived in former times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall conclusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communities or private families, dresses in the same way as the Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle³⁹⁹ four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.⁴⁰⁰ Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.⁴⁰¹ The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.⁴⁰²

CAPS⁴⁰³

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brimless pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites.

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave

³⁹⁹ A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, 84.

⁴⁰⁰ P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.

⁴⁰¹ Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.

⁴⁰² L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.

⁴⁰³ Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.⁴⁰⁴

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.⁴⁰⁵

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,⁴⁰⁶ divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)⁴⁰⁷

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters.

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁴ J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

⁴⁰⁵ Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese society*, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

⁴⁰⁶ Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

⁴⁰⁷ Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

⁴⁰⁸ Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted.

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.⁴⁰⁹ To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it.

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions.

⁴⁰⁹ Ugo Hoimbergs, *Siberian mythology*, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the “god of the five roads,” the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god.

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, “to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads.” During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year’s the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, “Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads.” It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu (provider of rain), Hsüan-t’an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts’ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

“GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS”

The Monguor shamans during the performance of their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert before the public that they are the real disciples of the god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122-256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,⁴¹⁰ and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2-3.

⁴¹¹ Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658-1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T’ang, he was created “war god” by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'uan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,⁴¹² most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits, and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.⁴¹³

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-fang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,⁴¹⁴ locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On the eastern panel is painted another general, the god of the

⁴¹² William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'uan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁴¹⁴ Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves—he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery.

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the “register of the living and the dead” (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the “Tablet to hook souls” (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: “Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace.” All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes: on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, “the pursuit of the evil ones,” explaining that “the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained.”⁴¹⁵ What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out of his large sleeves he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms.

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

⁴¹⁵ Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them.

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads.

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the group, and also, that on old images painted before the Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*.

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bō* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.⁴¹⁶

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.⁴¹⁷

The tiger was the white tiger.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

⁴¹⁷ Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299-320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.⁴¹⁹

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80-100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount.

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftain (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907-1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: "...at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days."⁴²⁰

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous ... the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. ... In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. ..."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 62, 1933: "...spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies... I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ulki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3:1:44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1 344-35; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

⁴¹⁹ Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

⁴²⁰ Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907-1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es für sehr wahr-scheinlich dass die "Tiertänze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.*, 1: 188.

it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed by the shamans against hail is called, all over the country, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Monguors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave cult but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.⁴²¹

⁴²¹ Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 92-95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.⁴²² “This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty” (202 B.C.-A.D. 8).⁴²³ The *Wu* included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (*Wu* are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).⁴²⁴ They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.⁴²⁵ Later the *Wu* were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.⁴²⁶

In the *Chou-li*, 1122-256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.⁴²⁷

Wittfogel and Feng write:

In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received “directly from the spirits as a gift or grant.” In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch’i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely “subarctic” and possession was more the exception than the rule.⁴²⁸

The *Wu* in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.⁴²⁹ At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.⁴³⁰ Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.⁴³¹ The capacity of becoming *Shih-kung* can hardly be obtained except by inheritance, from a line of able priestly ancestors. They adopt no pupil who is not the son of a colleague,⁴³² and they use Taoist gods for their own purpose.⁴³³

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS SPECIFICALLY SHAMANIST

The Monguor shamans seem to belong to the Altaic classification. The traditions concerning the antiquity of the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the preference of the Monguor shamans for the cult are not to be overlooked. An obvious reason for this preference may be found in the fact that the range of activities of the Tengris is more far reaching than that of the *Wu tao shen*, the god of

⁴²² Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

⁴²³ J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1201.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1190.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1191.

⁴²⁷ Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

⁴²⁸ Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.

⁴²⁹ De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1245.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 1251.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 1252.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 1254.

the Five Roads, because the Tengris combat all kinds of evil spirits while the god of the Five Roads and his associates combat only the hail spirits.

However, the basic reason for the preference among the shamans for the cult of the Twelve Tengris is deeply rooted in the peculiar philosophy of shamanism as it exists in Asia. According to Dioszegi, there existed

two notions, from the time Shamanism was still in formation, concerning the combats of the shamans with evil spirits: the first assumes that the shaman himself, having taken the shape of an animal, is engaged in the struggle; the second, that the guardian spirit of the shaman, having taken the shape of an animal, waged war.⁴³⁴

The Tungus tell of two shamans who changed themselves into bear and tiger, fighting in the presence of the people, and of shamans who assume one of the animal spirit forms to travel a long way.⁴³⁵ Concerning this philosophy Shirokogoroff notes:

...the group of spirits associated, animals is very numerous ... by the Northern Tungus these are not considered as animals but manifestations assumed by the spirits; there are the snake, dragon, deer, roe-deer, dog falcons, hawks, eagle, etc.⁴³⁶

The old specific shamanist concept concerning animal-like beings (spirits) waging war with evil spirits lies at the base of the Tengris cult. It was realized in the rite of the twelve animal spirits who, long before our era, drove the evil spirits out of the palace of the prince.

This peculiar old philosophy must have caused the ancestors of our Monguor shamans to choose for themselves the cult of the Twelve Tengris and to dedicate themselves to these animal-like Tengris. Today the Monguor shamans unconsciously continue to perform the same dedication and to practice the same cult. The philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the “goatskin” and of the “wooden raven” against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.⁴³⁷

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

⁴³⁴ Dioszegi, *Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans*, *Acta Orientalia* 2: 315, Budapest, 1952.

⁴³⁵ Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 371.

⁴³⁶ Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 174.

⁴³⁷ Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the

South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Turned and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha...Shamanism and other “unorthodox creeds” had since been “outlawed” by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditii Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bō), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.⁴³⁸

“Outlawed” does not mean that these “unorthodox creeds,” these Bön-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. “Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called ‘Mongol-Oirat regulations.’” Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.⁴³⁹

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch’ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T’u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T’u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily, have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the

⁴³⁸ Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

⁴³⁹ V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929.

crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the Families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits; one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests existing in China from the dawn of history, who are considered akin with the shamans of Central Asia; that the Monguor shamans probably entered the guild of the Taoist priests before the catastrophe which befell Lamaism in 1723 in order to save their institution, but that they still harbor the conviction that they are genuine shamans and not Taoist priests. The fact that during the performance of their rites they act as shamans, and not as Taoist priests, will give evidence for this assumption.

VII. THE KURTAİN

THE TYPE OF THE KURTAİN

Among the Monguors there is encountered still another type of possessed man whom they call a *Kurtain* (Tibetan, *Skurgdien*), and whom the Chinese call *Fa-la-shih* or *Ku-wai-tien*. He is found most frequently in genuine Monguor families, and plays an important role in the religious life of the Monguors.

A farmer, shepherd, or laborer anybody, old or young, poor or rich, even a lama may become a Kurtain but well-to-do or rich men seldom do so. Several times I was told, by old Monguors, that in former times in San-ch'uan a woman subject of the Li T'u-ssu discharged that duty.

A Kurtain is a man who, all of a sudden, is seen to be possessed by some spirit. It happens most often at the time of a terrific storm, when he is helping combat the hail spirits, or at the feast in the spring when he sees a possessed shaman worked into a frenzy, or at night while attending the awful ceremonies which are performed to appease the avenging spirit of a suicide. Suddenly he starts speaking indistinctly, nervously gesticulating with his arms and hands, acting in an unusual way. Arriving at the temple supported and led by his companions, he declares himself to be possessed by so-and-so, a spirit who compels him to be his disciple. Such Kurtains, the Monguors told me, are usually the genuinely possessed. They always added, however, that they suspected the authenticity of Kurtains who become possessed by dint of weeks and weeks of exacting exercises in which they study how to imitate the behavior and trances of old Kurtains.

The "Kurtainship" is never inherited in the family. The possessed is singled out by the spirit himself to be his disciple, and after his death, the spirit chooses another disciple in another family. Thus, no duty is imposed on the family to continue providing a successor to the Kurtain, and the honoring of this spirit. Kurtains are not like the shamans described above, whose families are bound to continue the service of the Twelve Tengris accepted by their ancestors. Shaman boys must receive a training by their masters in order to learn how to become possessed. Upon the genuine Kurtain, however, the possession is forced unexpectedly and then for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must

discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the “Wu-tao-shen,” some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

The Monguors, having found themselves tricked many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the authenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a “diploma” showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple

yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large “cloud collar,”⁴⁴⁰ which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is placed a sword, and near him a dagger and a long whip. He never uses the drum, which is the specific tool of the shamans.

Shamans, Kurtains, and all kinds of people possessed by good spirits, are everywhere accustomed to assuming the duty of defending their customers against evil spirits. They are fighters and protectors and therefore use all the weapons befitting the job. The Kurtain, in his theatrical attitude, is most aggressive; in his acts he is violent and savage. Shamans, however, by means of their elegant dances, first try to soothe the ruffled feathers of the malignant spirits and to make their spirit protectors feel well disposed.

A fire of cypress twigs is lit before the Kurtain, who prays some version of Om Mani or the *swork'a* prayer of his spirit protector, inviting him to descend into him, while the lamas beat the drums. The Kurtain becomes excited and starts shaking his head, causing the small bells attached to his headdress to ring, making sounds like the bells on the bridle of a running horse. He shakes them more and more furiously, for a long time, becoming more and more excited, and is supposed to be possessed. The shaking of the head is the specific behavior of the Kurtain; hence the Chinese all over the country call him the “head shaking Kurtain” *Yao t'eon fa-la-shih*. Then the Living Buddha starts asking him about the danger of hailstorms in the next summer, about the next harvest, the peace in the country, in the village, in the lamasery. Then, jumping up on his feet, he does a really furious dance. Bounding savagely, he works himself into a frenzy and starts playing with his sword, cutting and fencing against imagined spirits. He grabs the whip and beats it against the ground with deafening blows. Chasing and pursuing spirits, he jumps in all directions pretending to pierce with his dagger one enemy after another. Finally, dripping with sweat, having used all his weapons, one after another, he is ordered by the Living Buddha to sit down and keep quiet. Then the Living Buddha asks him of whose spirit he is the disciple, and asks for explanations and the history of his spirit. In the event that the answers satisfy the Buddha and the dances are in conformity with the choreographic rules, the Buddha puts a *khatag* around his neck

⁴⁴⁰ This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes “Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l’habit): un collet nommé ‘Jaqa’ sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigüe; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline.” H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*, Les coutumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* 10: 145, 1945. For the “cloud collar” (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

and declares that he is the genuine disciple of so-and-so (a spirit). Holding in his hands some ropes of cloth, dyed red, he blows on them several times, as Living Buddhas do when they bestow special blessings. He ties them around the neck of the dancer, takes a handful of barley and throws it on him, saying: "Spirit so-and-so is truly your spirit, act accordingly in order to honor him." The Kurtain is then declared officially to be the accredited disciple of the spirit, and all the evidence seems to substantiate the fact of his possession. Having succeeded in the test, the esteem of the people follows the Kurtain in the wake of his achievement. His prestige is enhanced, and surrounded with an aura of success; he will start a new career.

However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made.

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Nie-bturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities, but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way, but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him.

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine,

to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution.

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken red-handed one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.⁴⁴¹

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. The feast is celebrated all over the country. The Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

⁴⁴¹ DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *Wu* arsonist.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-fung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called “the Eleventh House of the Li T’u-ssu,” in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people. The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village.

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork’a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is encountered a category of possessed men and women who seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.⁴⁴² Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,⁴⁴³ sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.⁴⁴⁴ They are called *fa chang*, “Chief of Magic,” while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, “Master,” or *fa shih*, “Master of magic.”

⁴⁴² DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.

⁴⁴³ DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1276.

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* 47: 27-33, 237-248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910-1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions.

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources.

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism.

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the question of whether a substantial principle underlies the soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the

duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil spirits, which the good spirits could not master.

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*⁴⁴⁵ to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the *Wei-sang*,⁴⁴⁶ and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him

⁴⁴⁵ In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu'ma*; Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan*, that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

⁴⁴⁶ *Wei'sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar,

“Heaven and all the spirits” and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, “Heaven and all the spirits” save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is that Monguors never perform any important act without having carefully inquired whether it is propitious and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without having attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall. The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the

threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the “big wei-sang” entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, *Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes* (Kukunor), *Anthropos* 47 (1): 43, 1952; 48: 222, 1953. The famous “Wind Horse” is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 239-245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 6: 67.

collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order that the family may become rich and be blessed with children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, *Tiere in Volksleben*, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beiträge aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly, the study of F. Franz Eichinger, *Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekämpfung in der Volksmedizin*, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions preferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goatskin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors.

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length;

15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow, some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different mountains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.⁴⁴⁸ All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers, the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the

⁴⁴⁸ Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5-6): 954, 1951.

interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.⁴⁴⁹ On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die under the same circumstances as the dog.

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago an old Chinese beggar instead of a dog had been buried alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed.

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in

⁴⁴⁹ Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, *Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker*, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkultren*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese.

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits whom they officially use for combating hail.

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?⁴⁵⁰

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its

⁴⁵⁰ F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day.

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl is put on the roof of the gate.

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer, and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

Despite the promises of the shamans on the feast of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*.

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family. The ritual cypress offering, Wei-sang, is first performed in the

temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogeneous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.⁴⁵¹

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goatskin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village not on the sacred mountain. A big fire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*⁴⁵² and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.⁴⁵³ Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual curses upon the *tormas*, which will be thrown to the evil spirits—the big *torma* in the direction of the northwest, and the small ones in the direction of the four points of the compass. In the meantime the goat is killed and skinned, the head and hoofs being left attached to the skin which is then stretched and fixed on a post. Magical daggers are attached to the feet and head. The goat in threatening attitude faces the northwest, where the hail spirits are supposed to dwell, and challenges them. Then horns are blown and *tormas* thrown and the goat will protect the crops

⁴⁵¹ Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

⁴⁵² *Torma*: a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are preferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV.)

⁴⁵³ According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

against hail during the whole summer.⁴⁵⁴ The Monguors assert that in former times they did not use the goat for this purpose, but the horse, and that a horse skin was fixed on the post.⁴⁵⁵

RITE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN OF THE VILLAGE

Since the village is still uncertain and disturbed after all these resources have been exhausted, it is customary that on an auspicious day, without the attendance of representatives of any religion, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family of the village, go to the top of the highest mountain of the village. They go with banners, drums, cymbals, horn, in front, and carrying the god or goddess of the temple in the sedan chair, in order to implore, under the vast dome of the blue sky, the protection of “Heaven and all the spirits.” In a primitive oven, built with superimposed stones, a bushel of cypress leaves, pounded and passed through a sieve, are burned with some butter and roasted spelt, colza, linseed, and wheat (the kinds of grain planted by the Monguors), and some water is sprinkled over it; 108 butter lamps made with dough are lit and prostrations are made nine times. The customary cry is howled to all the spirits, notifying them of the act of adoration for them all, and the god or goddess sitting in the sedan chair seems to implore “Heaven and all the spirits” with the villagers together. Finally, prostrations are given to the god or goddess in the chair, and the chief of the village asks him or her whether “Heaven and all the spirits” will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-fang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were

⁴⁵⁴ According to Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 215, among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia on the grave, “a reindeer is killed, its skin is left together with the antlers and hoofs, fastened upon a bar horizontally fixed to two trees and left hanging there. This is the reindeer which will be used by the spirit (soul) of the deceased for going to the lower world. If there is no reindeer they use a horse and its skin in the same function and manner.”

Owen Lattimore, The Gold tribe “Fishkin Tatars,” *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 57 and 379, 1933, notes that the Gold tribe, “Fishkin Tatars,” use “two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. They looked to be otters, perhaps weasels, or sables. ... There are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a Keku (cuckoo or wood-pigeon) ... these divinities keep guard over the whole house and courtyard.”

⁴⁵⁵ See Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Die Pfahlziege*, 823, where a philosophical explanation of the rite is provided. For the horse sacrifice among the Buryat Mongols, see Jeremiah Curtin, *A journey in southern Siberia*, 44 *sqq.*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1909.

Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"⁴⁵⁶

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.⁴⁵⁷

The groups join each other on the way. Friendly and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

⁴⁵⁶ I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

⁴⁵⁷ The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884-1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the small rapids), 30 li east of Hsining, causing the region of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers⁴⁵⁸ encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

⁴⁵⁸ Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262-263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1*: 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs 1: 40.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away.

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devastating hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the “spirits of the hail” in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year’s, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.⁴⁵⁹

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: “In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down.” The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is attached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

⁴⁵⁹ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-fang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the

sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the assumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire community, obeying day and night the orders of the chief of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.⁴⁶⁰

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple, by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about

⁴⁶⁰ Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397-399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.⁴⁶¹

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of the statue or picture of the guardian deity of the village. The chief of the village pours milk mixed with water, while all the participants kneel,

⁴⁶¹ N. Poppe, *Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen*, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home; that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

holding incense sticks in their hands. The animal shakes its head, and ribbons are attached and red paper is pasted on the horns.

Every year the animal must be presented to the deity in the temple on the third of the New Year. It is a quite dangerous and difficult job, assigned to the youngsters of the village, who wash and comb the savage bull.

The Tibetans in the country perform the Rite of the Sacred Animal in the same way.

The monasteries also feed a sacred animal. They never use a bull or he-goat, but the stallion and sometimes the mule. They never use their sacred animal for riding; it freely roams the country. The ceremonies of consecration are the same: washing, smoking, pouring of milk, prostrations, attachment of ribbons, but in the temple a special prayer is said by the lama community for the reproduction of the animals. Every year, on the third day of the New Year their animal must be presented to the deity in the courtyard of the temple. The stallion must be saddled, for the deity is supposed to take a ride on the animal on that very day. The lamas say that it is difficult to saddle a savage stallion. I could never get any information about the deity to which their animal is consecrated.

SHAMANIST RITES OF SPRING

PREPARATIONS

The reaping of a rich harvest is the dream of the Monguors. After sowing is done, a religious rite is performed by the shamans, not by lamas, in order to gather fine crops in autumn. The rite is performed in every Monguor village, and many Chinese villages follow the same practice. From the second until the fourth month the shamans are very busy going from village to village. In autumn, when there is plenty of grain, preparations for the feast are started. In every family, according to its wealth, spelt is gathered for the distillation of wine; wheat collected for the making of noodles, rolls, and vegetable oil for the baking of bread. It is all put in the temple for safekeeping.

A few days before the feast, the chief of the village with the elders impose corvées on the villagers ordering them to prepare all the required items. Reliable men and women are chosen, because it is important that nobody should eat a roll or drink a cup of wine before all items have been offered to the gods. Consequently, faithful adherents to the traditions are carefully chosen and they take an oath accordingly. Three big loaves, each three feet in diameter, are prepared; thirteen smaller ones, called cartwheels; a large number of steamed rolls, and baskets of smaller ones steamed or boiled in oil; one or two pigs are killed, poor villages kill a sheep; chore-men are sent to the city to buy paper, incense sticks, colors, firecrackers. All the items are locked up in the temple.

The day before the feast, a couple of shamans arrive with their apprentices, to paint and paste paper flags and streamers, print flower designs and inscriptions, and prepare the “thrones” of the spirits expected to attend the meeting. A “throne” is a sheet of red paper on which are printed the words, “throne of god so-and so.” It is pasted on the wall of the courtyard of the temple. A large sheet, that is a big throne, is prepared for the souls of the last three generations of deceased villagers. In the middle of the courtyard the shamans erect a pole thirty feet high,⁴⁶² to the top of

⁴⁶² The pole and the rope play an important role in the ceremonies performed by the shamans in the village temple, and in those performed in private families in honor of their guardian deities. Pole and rope assured communication between the gods and man. Pole and rope must be planted and attached by the shamans in order to be efficacious. The manikan pole (see above, p. 95, n. 1),

which is pasted a triangular banner made of red paper, trimmed with yellow paper strips. Under the banner is fixed a circle covered with yellow paper; a bit lower is hooked horizontally a two-pronged fork with two rolls impaled on the prongs, and nine streamers with flower designs and inscriptions pasted on its handle. Supplementary streamers, always attached to the pole, are offered in thanksgiving for a happy delivery or recovery from illness. In front of the pole a long table is prepared for the offerings. The statues of the gods honored in the temple and the god sitting in the sedan chair are set out in front of the table. Before the “throne of the souls of the deceased villagers” are placed the offerings of the community: tea, wine, rolls, raisins, noodles, meat. A long rope is fixed on the roof of the entrance gate, and is pulled to the top of the pole, from which it falls down on the long offering table. Halfway down the rope from the top of the pole, a long bag of cloth is attached containing nuts, peas, and jujubes, all made of dough. The rope is called the “highway rope” (*ma-lu-sheng*), the rope along which the spirits will come down and depart. It is made with hemp shackles and is supposed to be endowed with celebrated magical power, since the spirits walked on it. The shackles are very effective talismans for the protection of the sick and small children.

At midnight the two shamans and their apprentices honor “Heaven and all the spirits” in the courtyard. They offer on a plate small rolls in which are fixed candles made of paper imbued with oil. They also light some butter lamps, set off fire crackers, prostrate themselves and beat drums and cymbals. They take a meal and then go to rest.

The feast, organized in order to reap a good harvest, starts by honoring “Heaven and all the spirits” at night, under the twinkling stars, in the courtyard of the temple. Shamans devoted to the cult of evil spirits would not perform that rite, say the Monguors. Neither the chiefs of the village, the elders, nor the people attend this midnight rite. Around eight or nine o’clock the following morning, six or eight more shamans arrive. Drums are beaten, and the chief of the village and the elders arrive to greet them. All the villagers go to the temple. Most of them bring their private offerings of rolls, wine, incense sticks, paper, while some among them paste on the wall of the temple the throne of their own ancestors and place some offerings before it. The temple is crowded to capacity with people dressed in their festival best. The shamans finish their meal, drink wine, and start the rites with the invocation of the spirits.

FIRST DAY

INVOCATION OF THE SPIRITS

The shamans, wearing the black gown, flower-decorated silk coat, and the crown of the god of the Five Roads, stand erect before the pole and start beating the drums. The villagers prostrate themselves nine times toward the pole, in time with the command of the chief of the village, holding incense sticks in joined hands, and sit on their heels waiting. The elders sit in the first rows. The shamans start dancing before the pole, keeping time with the beating of the drums and cymbals; they become more and more excited, when all of a sudden their chief points at the rope fixed on top of the roof of the entrance gate and cries: “Here they are, the Twelve Tengris!” and continuing to point at the rope, he follows them with his finger and eyes, just as if he were seeing

planted in the courtyard is said by many people to have the same meaning. Because the pole and rope rites are so unusually suggestive, they are enjoyed by the people and their use is widely spread all over Asia by shamans. Shirokogoroff notes the rites among the Tungus (*Psychomental complex*, 336), etc. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 120, 368, 381.

the spirits climbing along the rope that reaches to the top of the pole. He grasps the end of the rope lying on the table, and runs with it, straight to the throne (sheet of red paper on the wall) prepared for the Twelve Tengris and their leader. He holds reverently the end of the rope against the throne, so that the spirits may step unhurt onto the throne. The other shamans and the apprentices run to the throne and prostrate themselves; the whole audience prostrates itself with incense sticks in the hands and the chief shaman starts greeting the spirits: "We are so glad to honor you" and the audience repeats each time the words of the shamans and prostrates itself "You must be tired from the long journey. ... It is kind of you to have come so far. ... We are very happy to honor you. ... Please sit down among us, the throne is a poor one, but be so kind as to excuse us. ..." Then the shamans ask them about the coming of the other spirits, whether they have already started their journey. Suddenly he points again at the roof of the gate, and sees the God of the Five Roads with his four associates. Then one after another come the god of the highest Obo of the region, the dragon god, the dragons of the five lakes, of the four seas, of the nine rivers, of the eight streams, of the new rain; the goddesses of the nine heavens, the three girl goddesses, the heavenly generals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.⁴⁶³ Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act, making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a

⁴⁶³ A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you ... notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more ... please enjoy their offerings. ... You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. ... All these people trust in you and are confident of you. ... You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers ... in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard. ... These people are very happy and thankful for your kindness... they are happy to be so close to you, and they all hope you will be so kind as to preserve the peace of the village, protect the mountains and pastures, the crops and the herds against hail, and protect the children and the elders."

During the talk of the shaman, the people repeat his words while prostrating themselves. Some among the shamans really have the knack of saying things that go to the marrow of the bones. Such shamans are always invited, and are beloved by the people. Their talk is long or short, according to the inspiration of the moment and the circumstances, and at that moment the audience is in a really prayerful mood.

After the speech, all the shamans start their most gracious dance, honoring the kind spirits. Then for a long, long while the shamans sit down. They beat the drums softly, and the chief shaman, the whole time listening to his drum, makes the statement in stereotyped terms that "The gods just finished their council and have decided that during the three summer months, the crops will be protected against hail and the village will enjoy peace. The gods have decided that during the three winter months the people and the herds will enjoy peace and be preserved from illnesses. It has been decided by the gods and the decision is irreversible." The people prostrate themselves thankfully, repeating: "Irreversible." Then the gods decide that for the faithful, who are not remiss in the duty of burning incense every day during the four seasons, thieves will not find a way to come into their houses; that wolves, prowling to harm the herds, will no longer be able to open their mouths; that the swords of brigands, if they come, will bend and be useless; that childless women will enjoy this year the hope of giving birth to a boy.

After the promises of the gods, the souls of three generations of deceased villagers are honored. The shamans, standing erect before their throne, beat drums and prostrate several times, pouring wine before their throne, making the libation. Then the chief shaman gives them an account of all the offerings deposited before them by their descendants. He invites them to taste the offerings and to enjoy them, repeating several times that the descendants are happy to be in their presence and the attendants repeat his words. Finally a last dance is performed before the pole, prostrations are made, and the attendants leave the temple. By then the sun is setting, the gathering having lasted a whole day.

The shamans are very proficient in the art of predicting and promising the blessings really desired by the villagers. Although all the promises will not be implemented, the people leave the temple in a happy mood, hopeful and satisfied, for everybody likes the predictions concerning the fulfillment of his hopes and wishes. The children in the schools and the women remember very well the details of these talks, which have gone straight to their hearts. In order not to get a warped view of the talks of the shamans at these religious feasts, it must be said that the talks were not always sugary and sweet, adorned with delightful promises fitting the moods and feelings of the audience. Two unusual events happened, one in Too long in 1909, and the other in Hsin yüan-p'u in 1914 at the feast of spring. These were described to me several times by different Monguors and Chinese, because they were so well known for their unusualness and because they were fraught with terrible forebodings.

During the rites, at the moment when the people, kneeling in deep religious silence, were waiting for happy promises of the spirits, the shaman, listening to the spirits speaking in his drum, threw the attendance into confusion and terror, declaring the inauspicious disposition of the spirits, and foretelling threatening calamities in store for the villagers, such as hail, epizootics, diseases. The shaman saw in his drum the aversion in the hearts of the spirits and heard the bitter words on their tongues, because of the lack of fervor in the cult of the guardian spirit of the village; the disregard of the youth for them; the lasting feuds and discords among the families of the village, unwilling to overlook their petty differences.

The distressed audience was suddenly thrown into the throes of despair. All hope for blessings was dashed to the ground and crumbled in a heap. Everybody shuddered at the thought of hail and diseases. The audience, caught in a web of indecision, did not dare to laugh the threats to scorn. Predictions of impending calamities are never viewed in a light vein. The congregation was like a ship without a rudder, lashed by big waves of fear and apprehensions. Then the chief of the village said, "Let us prostrate ourselves and ask for forgiveness for our shortcomings and deficiencies," and he asked the shaman for a solution of the problem. In Hsin-yüan p'u the shamans agreed to attempt to propitiate the spirits, although, according to them, only a small hope remained. In desperation, trying to propitiate the angry spirits about to loose their avenging bolts, they danced their gentlest dances, listening to the drum, talking with the spirits, leaning towards the drums, flattering, cajoling, wheedling, apologizing, promising for the future, while the audience prostrated itself incessantly. Finally the chief of the shamans, with a glint of victory in his eyes, declared that the scales of mercy had been successfully weighted, but that an additional pig had to be offered. Breathing vows of deathless devotion, the audience was happy; solace had been brought to their sadness. Such scenes are recorded by the people to their dying day, with all the details.

In Too long, however, the angry spirits stuck by their decision. The shamans recommenced their dances, the people prostrated themselves, and the shamans, unsuccessful in pulling the heartstrings of the gods, declared that their power was too weak and unavailing, that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.⁴⁶⁴

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the people feel happy to approach, face to face, the

⁴⁶⁴ De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188-1190; 1201-1208, 1247.

spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

rites of the second day

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, (2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

possession by the white tiger

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.⁴⁶⁵

Greeting of the Goddess of Joy

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like

⁴⁶⁵ De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls “go to the goddess.” Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting “a goddess of joy,” with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance.

The split-personality of the “good” shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere.

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the “opening of the highway” (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge⁴⁶⁶ is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken.

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? Answer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milkyway? Yu Huang,⁴⁶⁷ preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by

⁴⁶⁶ Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419.

⁴⁶⁷ The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wiegner, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.⁴⁶⁸ A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goatskin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

⁴⁶⁸ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most important. The shamans explain that the spirits in the temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that they may be able to protect the village against hail. Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.⁴⁶⁹ The present rite takes the place of the former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing of the spirits.

The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, dreadingly howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

⁴⁶⁹ This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*. Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161-162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and examines their position. "All right!" he cries, "all events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time during which these rites are performed in one village after another, everywhere children are encountered wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed upon them by a more civilized environment than that of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their institution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.⁴⁷⁰ It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."⁴⁷¹

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the country between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in the same way the territory of the village is supposed to have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and widespread all over China also.⁴⁷² From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in

⁴⁷⁰ Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, *op. cit.*, 91.

⁴⁷¹ Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, *op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

⁴⁷² Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.

rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the mountains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning these gods is encountered all over Asia⁴⁷³ Buddha once enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.⁴⁷⁴

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot occupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.⁴⁷⁵

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the starting of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.⁴⁷⁶ For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing

⁴⁷³ Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.

⁴⁷⁴ de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351. Paris. Beauchesne. 1909.

⁴⁷⁵ David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 100.

⁴⁷⁶ Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713-741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn.

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.⁴⁷⁷ On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.⁴⁷⁸

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are not only honored on the tops of their respective mountains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in

⁴⁷⁷ Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

⁴⁷⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68-69.

which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,⁴⁷⁹ singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in undisturbed silence his ownership over the country.

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

⁴⁷⁹ L. M. Kervyn. *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*. 76. Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, belonging to the circumscription of the big spirit of the celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes⁴⁸⁰ of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again, and the group then marched three times around the Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.⁴⁸¹

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

⁴⁸⁰ Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

⁴⁸¹ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the “precious bottle” (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the “sacred hill of the village.”⁴⁸²

On New Year’s each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sang, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips of paper on which are printed the Buddhist “flying wind horses” are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill.

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.⁴⁸³ The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated.

⁴⁸² R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

⁴⁸³ Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168.

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the “Spirit of Heaven” recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the “Spirit of Heaven” is called first and the offering is made first to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.⁴⁸⁴

rites of autumn

Thanksgiving Rite

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors “Thanksgiving meeting,” is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest, is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper “to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads”; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard,

⁴⁸⁴ See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped around the base of the pole to steady it. The villagers do not participate at the erection of the pole. After the shamans' breakfast, taken with some of the elders, the bell of the temple is rung and the drums are beaten to call the people for the ceremony.

A group of young folk had already been sent early in the morning to all the hills, situated within the boundaries of the village, where rites had been performed against hail, to remove the stakes, the raven, the hammers, manikins, and goatskin, planted by the shamans in the spring. All these items are stored in the side rooms of the temple. Although the shamans did not accompany the group removing the items, it is said that their presence is required in order to store them.

The long offering table is removed from the temple and placed in front of the pole. A big fire is built in front of the pole and the table, in the center of the temple yard; cypress boughs are thrown into the flames and water sprinkled on the fire. Shamans and helpers purify their hands and utensils in the smoke of the cypress boughs. In the early morning the hog is killed by cutting its throat. The blood is collected, the skin shaved, bowels cleansed, and blood mixed with flour and spices is stuffed into them, and they are exposed on the offering table. The victim is washed and smoked above the fire only. If a sheep is offered, water is poured into the ears, or milk is poured on its back (never done for a pig); the throat is cut and the blood collected and filled into the bowels in the same way. The sheep is skinned and put on the table upon the skin in its entirety, without the head; thirteen big rolls are deposited next to the victim (thirteen rolls are offered to spirits and shamans, and only twelve to the dead), at the time of burial, with a vase containing vegetable oil, a jar containing wine and two bushels with wheat, some peas, spelt, and linseed, the kind of crops reaped by the Monguors. All these offerings are the gifts of the community.

In the meantime, the villagers arrive at the temple: men, women and children, with their own offerings of rolls, meat, raisins, cookies, which they deposit on the table.

The shamans, wearing the flowery coat and the crown of the god of the Five Roads, start the rite by a beating of the drums. The audience kneels in a half circle around the fire, in front of the pole and the table. The chief and the elders of the village, in the first row, hold incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the village pours first a libation of milk and wine on the ground before the fire and throws several handfuls of pounded cypress cones and leaves on the fire and sprinkles water. When the smoke billows in the air, he kneels, and prostrating himself says, "Old Father Heaven you know that we thank you for the harvest," and the whole audience prostrates itself three times in deep silence. Then the shamans beat drums in a slow tempo and the thanksgiving ceremony is finished.

A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat.

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village not to that god, but to “Old Father Heaven” only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that “Heaven and all the spirits” are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of “Heaven and all the spirits” as practiced by the Monguors.

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to “Heaven and all the spirits,” offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to “Old Father Heaven” alone, the “Old Father Heaven” who provided their subsistence.

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.⁴⁸⁵

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the “spirit of Heaven” as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep, seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the

⁴⁸⁵ Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37-40: 867, 1952.

fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment "*ling liao*" ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons.

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal.

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed.

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears; the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain

blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article “Die Tierweihe,” (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an “animal spirit”; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does “not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: “The offer is accepted!” Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.⁴⁸⁶

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.⁴⁸⁷

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.⁴⁸⁸ The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.⁴⁸⁹ Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal in this case a sheep.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ Garma Sandschejew, *Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten*, *Anthropos* 23: 938, 1928.

⁴⁸⁷ It is worthwhile to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

⁴⁸⁸ F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos*, *op. cit.*, I seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

⁴⁸⁹ Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

⁴⁹⁰ Yule-Cordier, 1: 207, 1929.

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.⁴⁹¹

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.⁴⁹² This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeiner religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."⁴⁹³ Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.⁴⁹⁴ It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.⁴⁹⁵ Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.⁴⁹⁶ Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.⁴⁹⁷ During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.⁴⁹⁸ At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.⁴⁹⁹

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.⁵⁰⁰ Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young

⁴⁹¹ Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315-322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* 1: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

⁴⁹² W. Koppers, *Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde*, *Anthropos* 30: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10: 70-76; 9: 228-241, 534-535.

⁴⁹³ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 550.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 3: 555.

⁴⁹⁵ N. Poppe, *Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen*, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

⁴⁹⁶ Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese society*, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 279.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 267-317.

⁵⁰⁰ Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.⁵⁰¹

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her.

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire.

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas*⁵⁰² for the arrangement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering."⁵⁰³

⁵⁰¹ L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42-71.

⁵⁰² *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

⁵⁰³ Schröder, *Der Feuerguss*, *op. cit.*, 860.

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a “white Wei-sang.” One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the “black Wei-sang,” using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the “red Wei-sang.”

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the “fire of the hearth,” the “hearth god.”

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen “before the god of the hearth.” The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.⁵⁰⁴

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress

⁵⁰⁴ L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

boughs are kindled. While musicians beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.⁵⁰⁵

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.⁵⁰⁶ This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.⁵⁰⁷

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

RITE AT THE END OF THE YEAR

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly.

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed

⁵⁰⁵ Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

⁵⁰⁶ Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 301.

bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law; boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family prostrates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also.

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say."

rites during the year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god.

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with

an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.⁵⁰⁸

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.⁵⁰⁹

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.⁵¹⁰

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.⁵¹¹

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Dore, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁸ N. Poppe, *Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen*, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁵¹⁰ Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

⁵¹¹ Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

⁵¹² H. Dore, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

In old China,

Chieh was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman, [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire; the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.⁵¹³

The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of “their” hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, notwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual “*Mtchioo*” and “Heaven and all the spirits.” The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the “Old Father Heaven” and not “Heaven and all the spirits.”

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for “Heaven” separately, with shouts of “Heaven” and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of “all the spirits,” and that after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the guardian

⁵¹³ M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols perform the same rite for “Heaven” only, when for a dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.⁵¹⁴

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for “Heaven and all the spirits,” and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: “Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year.” They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for “Heaven and all the spirits.” At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. “We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.”⁵¹⁵

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: “Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep, may ride a hundred beautiful horses, and that your children and grandchildren may prosper as the waves of the sea rising with the tide, and be full of life and as exuberant as the rising flames of a fire into which oil is poured.”

After breakfast the children in all the families collect some rolls and wine and go to congratulate the shepherds outside the village. They build a fire, warm up the wine, then pour a cup for each of them.

The youngsters go to the sacred hill to enact the Wei-sang for “Heaven and all the spirits,” and throw into the air slips of paper on which is printed the picture of the “Wind Horse.”

Back home the young folk enjoy performing the rite of Ying-hsi, the greeting of the goddess of Joy, after the manner of the Chinese. Sheep, horses adorned with ribbons, and cows are driven to a designated threshing floor, where a big fire is kindled, paper is burned, offerings of rolls and meat are given, and a libation is poured, while some bread is fed to the animals. Some say it is a rite honoring Lung-wang (the dragon king); others say it is a rite for the horse and cow spirits, in order

⁵¹⁴ F. A. Mostaert. *Folklore Ordos*. 489: 590. Peiping. 1947 (Monograph II of *Monumenta Serica*).

⁵¹⁵ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more detail about New Year's.

that the cattle will be blessed. It is a very old rite, practiced in the entire province, from the time of the Chou (1122-256 B.C.).⁵¹⁶ Young folk at that time like to ride their best horses, have a race, and make fun.⁵¹⁷

Back home with the animals, they go to congratulate relatives and friends, carrying with them some wine and six rolls; they honor first the guardian deity of the family they visit, and then prostrate themselves before the family. At evening, on the first and the second of New Year's, the eldest son kindles lamps and incense sticks for each of the spirits in the courtyard. He goes into all the rooms, putting a red hot stone into a pot of boiling water in order to purify the rooms.

On the morning of the third day, after performing the rite of the sacred animal, the male members of the family go to the cemetery to honor the dead, by means of libations, prostrations, burning paper, incense sticks, and offering rolls.

Some people, on the sixth, invite a lama to read texts in the family. From the sixth until the sixteenth, old people stay at home, and every evening the young folk gather on the largest threshing floor of the village, to sing, dance, and have fun.

On the fifteenth, in the morning, the Monguors kindle a large Wei-sang for "Heaven and all the spirits" on the highest mountain of the village; at evening, men and women jump over the fire heaps, which according to the Monguors is a rite promoting fecundity.

On the second of the second moon is enacted the rite of the guardian spirit of the village, who goes to pay a visit to all the families of the village. Its statue is placed in a sedan chair and carried by four youngsters, preceded by the guardian of the temple carrying an old bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma*, five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple.

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

⁵¹⁶ Granet, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 166.

⁵¹⁷ Schröder, *Anthropos* 41-44: 185, 1946.

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

It is a fact of common knowledge that “the earliest obtainable reports about the popular religion of the Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks ..., that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth.” They were called “Ong-ghot.”⁵¹⁸ This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family.

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two or three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia t'ai, however, did not

⁵¹⁸ W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

allow him to introduce the ill-boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,⁵¹⁹ and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities honored in the families should belong to Lamaism; all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non-Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother goddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, although these are considered the most potent protectors among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part 1: 102-103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the

⁵¹⁹ Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, the same preparations are made by the shamans and their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, including pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate. and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, incense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits. but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, always recognized that before their conversion they enjoyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the

presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.⁵²⁰

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand; lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his sword. A couple of devout old Monguors reverently told me that on sick people the Kurtain practiced washing with boiling water, piercing his chest and that of the patient with his sword, putting in his mouth red-hot stones and vomiting them out again, but they themselves had

⁵²⁰ F. A. Mostaert, *Ordosica*, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58.

never seen the Kurtain practicing these actions. All other Monguors, however, burst into peals of laughter when I inquired about these tales.⁵²¹

White shamans get indications about the evil-doer by listening to their drum, wherein their Tengris reveal the culprit and the means of combatting it; or they use their staff, by means of which their Tengris inform them. The Red lamas use the staff into which descends the deity whom they peculiarly honor, in order to be able to undo the harm. They say that they invite not an unknown spirit but the deity to which they are devoted to enter the staff, for evil spirits could also possess the staff and lead them astray. The shaman, worked into a frenzy, combats and drives out the spirit with whip, spear, and sword (but he does not use the sword at the time of the spring rite). Red lamas read texts for some days and make *tormas*, and are as capable as the shaman is in practicing the rites of the scapegoat,⁵²² or that of the sedan chair, in which the evil spirit is carried away and buried in a pit,⁵²³ or the torturing of the straw doll, or the cypress burning with plenty of aromatics, or the black, white, and red Wei-sang rite.⁵²⁴ Shamans, when healing the sick, use the rope⁵²⁵ along which the escaped souls of the patients are called back, captured in a bottle, and restored to them. Yellow lamas are invited by the Monguors to read texts and make *tormas* for seven days when things go wrong. They also practice the rite of the scapegoat and the burying of different kinds of urns⁵²⁶ in order to conciliate the earth god.

All of them, shamans and lamas, perform upon the sick the practice, well known all over Asia, of applying over the entire body pieces of bread and paper soaked in water, and saying, "Those who came from the north, go back to the north and wait at a crossroad for other wayfarers." They repeat the same words for each of the points of the compass and then the used bread and paper are brought to a crossroad and thrown on it. A goat is killed and the head is thrown in the direction of the cemetery of the wicked people. Nobody dares to eat such heads. All the rites performed by shamans, Kurtains, and Red lamas are accompanied by terrible noisemaking and crying and theatrical evolutions. After all holes in the walls have been plugged and the doors closed and sealed, in order to prevent the evil spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times.

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better

⁵²¹ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 852, Krankenwaschung.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 844, Dämonengeleit.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 847, Figurensanft.

⁵²⁴ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 860, Der Feuerguss.

⁵²⁵ Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 581. It is strange how all over Asia souls and spirits are supposed to walk on ropes.

⁵²⁶ Schröder. *op. cit.*, 856. Erdgott-urne.

clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish.” Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced.

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above.

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth and straw. It is carried from house to house by four young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.⁵²⁷ It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty-ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of

⁵²⁷ M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging injustices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'ue-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast

more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

rites concerning the guardian spirits of the wealth of the family

According to the Monguors, persons who commit injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.⁵²⁸ Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both

⁵²⁸ The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 215b, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha*. Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientate*, Roma, IV, Part 1, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa*; but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man. Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁹ Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 li south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 li west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdämon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See Museum of Oriental theology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beiträge aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales unter des Chinesischen Tibetischen Kontaktgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional temple besides the community temple, had been built and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100,000." Outside of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epizootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Such constructions are never built inside the villages or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u-kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas

Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuch I, 40.

do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

When the building of the walls was finished, the images having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and circumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marht-sang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover themselves at night only with their own clothes. Before dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.⁵³⁰ The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with

⁵³⁰ Granet, *Danscs et légendes*, *op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea, with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds hidden in his gown. Then follows a new *chiap* and the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and *chiap* is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual *chiap*. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no *chiap*. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and *chiap*, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and *chiap*. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no *chiap*. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no *chiap*. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissible to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the directors of the exercises, and their stock of punishments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. People who committed injustices had to repair their faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields,

carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after year, devoutly reciting sacred texts, and only a lovely pigeon, perching on the lowest branch of the tree, was listening and enjoying the reading of the holy books, during all these years. The holy man loved the pigeon ardently and fed it every day. The pigeon died, and was reincarnated in a boy born into a poor family in the mountains, and on the very day of his birth he asked distinctly, three times, "Where is my master so-and-so?" The fact spread all over the country like a prairie fire; everybody came to look at the wonderful boy whose fingers and toes were webbed, whose hands were unusually beautiful and fine. As the boy grew he walked as upright as a pole, always his right foot first. Nobody had ever seen such a handsome, intelligent boy. Then the parents were told, by lamas, that the boy was the incarnation of the lovely pigeon, which during years had enjoyed the reading of the texts of the holy man whose name he pronounced three times at the very moment of birth. The boy became a celebrated learned lama, endowed with universal charity for animals. The congregation enjoyed the moralistic conclusion: be kind to animals, because Buddha loves such persons and blesses their families; their merits will be turned into more joy in paradise and the rebirth will be more happy and outstanding.

In Tibet, on the summit of a mountain, there lived in a cave a holy hermit, always praying in order that the animals might be happy, and preaching the love of animals. In his cave hung the

picture of a Buddha, painted in a wonderful landscape, wherein a couple of cows grazed in a meadow. The holy man, practicing severe penance, received from the people some flour and tea leaves, and always he drank tea without milk or butter (which is one of the most tremendous kinds of penance for Tibetans). Once Buddha, delighted with the behavior of the holy hermit, suggested that he approach the picture hanging on the wall, and gave him the power to milk both the cows that were there depicted, and from that time on the holy man got milk in his tea. So great is the love of Buddha for those who love animals.

Another topic of the lectures concerned the necessity of performing acts of charity, giving alms to the poor, and especially to the lamas, in order to get remission of sins and an easy entrance into paradise. The merits of good acts performed in behalf of holy lamas, Living Buddhas, and lamaseries are more important and valuable than those performed for less holy men, because lamas are the beloved of Buddha, and the good old Li supported his assumption by a lot of savory examples.

A certain old lama was the beloved of Buddha to such an extent that several times, when he was praying in the temple, the lamas saw all the statues opening their eyes, moving their heads, and smiling wonderfully at him. Another was so holy that once, as he said his Om Mani over his beads, they became red hot from the glow of his love, and melted away. Another holy lama was preaching in a wealthy village. The chief of the village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste.

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people.

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a relatively small number of older people, their impact upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country.

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to

be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray. when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and peace in the families, and assured entrance into the paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba*.⁵³¹ At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on the neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba*, sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been accustomed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.⁵³² The Monguors and Tibetans of Hsining follow the Chinese custom, performing this celebration in their own way on their sixtieth birthdays. The cycle of age is celebrated according to the wealth of the people with more or less festivity, with a master of ceremony, dinners which, as at marriages, are served around a big fire, songs, Members of the family, relatives, chiefs of the village, friends, are invited and offer their congratulations. Poor people are happy to kill a sheep and to entertain fewer guests. Many Monguors and Tibetans are accustomed to add to this celebration a Lamaist religious rite, inviting a Living Buddha, and ostentatiously offering him substantial alms, receiving his blessings and assuming on that day the duty of observing more Lamaist prescriptions, by becoming a kind of lay-monk or lay-nun. Even poor people add this rite, but act in a more modest way.

⁵³¹ *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

⁵³² Yeh Te-lu, *The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with the Ch'i-Liang dynasties (479-587) and came in vogue during the T'ang and the Sung. In 729 the imperial birthday was for the first time made a national festival. The institution of letting people join the Buddhist order as monk or nun on the imperial birthday dates from 767; the offering of felicitation to the emperor on his birthday dates from 820. On their birthdays, the T'ang Emperors used to fast, and hence the slaughter of animals was forbidden on these days: this institution dates from 837.

The essence of the rite of the cycle of age among the Monguors consists in the required assistance of the maternal uncle of the subject of the feast. The latter's presence is so important that in case he has departed, a member of his family must take his place. The ceremony consists in a morning rite attended by all the guests, the honoring by the celebrant of "Heaven and all the spirits" in the open courtyard, with the setting off of firecrackers, immediately followed by his honoring the guardian deity of his family on the altar in the living room. The rich and the poor, and those who add the Lamaist rite, always are faithful to the two essential customs. The fact that at this time some invite a Living Buddha and become a lay-monk is accidental, because most of the Monguors enact the celebration without this Lamaist rite.

The men celebrate their cycle of age in a more or less elaborate way, but the women usually celebrate it on a minor scale. The Lamaist rite is usually performed on the same day, so that the expenses of two feasts are avoided and a big attendance is secured, for the Monguors are afraid few people would arrive for the celebration of a Lamaist rite only. It happens that sometimes a man may enact the Lamaist rite before his sixtieth birthday. In fact no time is fixed for the performance of this rite, it can even be done after death. More men than women perform the Lamaist rite, but young people are not interested in it.

In the early morning of the birthday the guests arrive, the members of the family and the relatives offer the traditional scarf and the "ten breads of longevity" and two jars of wine; sons-in-law add three strings of cash. The subject of the feast, holding incense sticks in his joined hands, led by his maternal uncle, proceeds toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day.

Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarves. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarves. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarves. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.⁵³³

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some

⁵³³ Schram, *op. cit.*, 42.

noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters of the village on good horses to the lamasery after breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, according to the custom, he urges that they should offer five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas.

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma*; he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled

in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.⁵³⁴

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Monguors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the *p'o* and the *hun*. The *p'o* appears at the moment of conception, the *hun* at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the *p'o* dwelling with the corpse, the *hun* going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry *p'o* become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the *p'o* similar to that of the *hun*. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.⁵³⁵

Pure shamanism—shamanism before its contact with Lamaism, had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed

⁵³⁴ Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Alters Segen, 630.

⁵³⁵ Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.

into haunted places, and through fear were taboo to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.⁵³⁶

Johannes de Piano Carpini (1246-1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals⁵³⁷ and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.⁵³⁸ A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.⁵³⁹ Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might have existed.⁵⁴⁰ The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.⁵⁴¹

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.⁵⁴² The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."⁵⁴³ These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confusion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the bones,⁵⁴⁴ which seems to adhere to the bones in general, not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concerning the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the

⁵³⁶ Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.

⁵³⁷ Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.

⁵³⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 10: 105.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 108-110.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 9: 65.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵⁴² Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, *Anthropos* 23: 578, 1928.

⁵⁴³ Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 1952.

⁵⁴⁴ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.

clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.⁵⁴⁵ In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the deceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).⁵⁴⁶ Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsueh*, "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou*, "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku*, "examining the bones."

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle.

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lamaseries, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news.

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after

⁵⁴⁵ Schram, Part I: 91.

⁵⁴⁶ This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for how long a time will the existence of this soul last? Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Monguors honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished.

The second soul seems to be more independent of the body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them, The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontanelle. Surely, therefore, this soul leaves the body after death.

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.⁵⁴⁷

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring back souls abducted by evil spirits.⁵⁴⁸ The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,⁵⁴⁹ and then a dog carries it into the lower world;⁵⁵⁰ that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,⁵⁵¹ and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.⁵⁵² The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.⁵⁵³

The Monguors do not say in which part of the body the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;⁵⁵⁴ they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.⁵⁵⁵ Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁴⁷ Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.

⁵⁴⁸ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.

⁵⁴⁹ Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 142.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 276.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁵⁵⁶ Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204-214.

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us."⁵⁵⁷ Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.⁵⁵⁸

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining

⁵⁵⁷ Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

⁵⁵⁸ Schram, Part I: 59-70.

after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register.

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280-1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.⁵⁵⁹

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng.

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because this case had involved the village and caused a lot of trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;⁵⁶⁰ the old Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.⁵⁶¹ The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.⁵⁶² This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cremated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁹ However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period.

⁵⁶⁰ W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120-126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.

⁵⁶¹ Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15-86, 104.

⁵⁶² Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204.

⁵⁶³ Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

In the case of married people dying without children, the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the earliest times⁵⁶⁴ If the sick man has a painful agony, lamas are invited to pray for a fast departure or revival, according to the fate fixed for him; they beat drums and ring bells, around the sick man, making a terrible noise, and finally they help him to confide in Buddha. After the last breath has been drawn, they pull some hair out of the top of the head in order that his souls may escape through the bregmatic fontanelle. When death is approaching, his face and hands are washed, and he is shaved. Some Monguors undress him completely; others put his best clothes on him. It is said that in former times all the dying were undressed. In China it is a capital sin for a son to let his parents die without having dressed them in their best clothes. The Mongols, however, not only undress the dying person but bring him into the courtyard, for nobody is allowed to die in the home.⁵⁶⁵

Immediately after death, all the jewels are removed, the hair unplaited, and some butter and tea leaves put into the mouth. Some Monguors add a "pill of immortality," bought in the Chinese pharmacies or in the lamaseries; some are fond of adding a precious stone or a piece of silver, as the Chinese used to do. The knees of the dead are drawn up under the chin, the hands placed on the chest and bound with a hemp rope, and a piece of white cloth is placed on the shoulders. Often the corpse is put into a sack of white cloth, and a gown and a scarf put upon it. Much has been written concerning the position of the dead, and many contradictory explanations offered by lamas, shamans, and laymen. A piece of yellow cloth is put on the shoulders of those who had become lay-monks or lay-nuns and burned with them. At that time most of the Monguors, old and young, who during their lifetime had not performed the rite to become a lay-monk, invite a lama who pours water on a mirror in which is reflected the face of the deceased, thus making him a lay monk.

The toilet is made by members of the deceased's own generation, except that sons care for their parents. During the laying out of the dead, the women start the lamentations on the roof, in the courtyard, or at the gate, so that the whole village knows of the death. A coffin is made by the carpenter, large enough to contain the corpse in a squatting position; it will be more or less elaborately decorated, according to the wealth of the family and the line of generation of the deceased. In the coffin is also placed a dough roll, according to the Chinese custom, for which contradictory Taoist explanations are given. A small coffin is prepared for the bones collected

⁵⁶⁴ Couvreur, *Li-ki*, 1: 85-181, Ho-Kien-fu, 1927.

⁵⁶⁵ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 635. Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

after the cremation. The corpse is put in the coffin as soon as it is ready, before which is placed a small table with twelve rolls and a lamp. Paper is burned, and at every meal a cup, with the same meal prepared for the family, is put before the deceased. Sons and relatives relieve each other day and night to keep watch, in order that rats and cats may not spoil the corpse, so say the Monguors. All the neighbors offer their services in order to help carry on the funeral activities, for during the mourning period the members of the family are not allowed to leave their home or to enter the homes of other people, even temples and lamaseries. The whole family of the deceased is taboo.

A capable master of ceremonies is invited to direct the activities of the entire funeral. He starts by inviting lamas, usually of the Red Sect, to indicate the place propitious for the cremation. The incineration of a corpse in the wrong place might seal the fate of a whole family, for, according to the philosophy of the Monguors, the soil belongs to the god of the village, who has to be recognized, and from whom a piece of land must be bought in order to enact this rite peacefully. On a place chosen by the staff-spirit of the lama, the lama spreads a brand new felt, upon which he stretches a piece of red cotton eight feet long. Then, squatting on the felt, he offers incense and throws blessed spelt, reciting texts, ringing bells, and beating the drum. In the meantime, the attendants throw copper coins one after another on the felt. The spot is supposed to be bought, the bargain concluded, and paid for on the nail. The lama arises and announces ceremoniously that the god approves the transaction and will protect the family, averting from them any harm on account of the cremation. He fixes four arrows at the four corners of the spot to indicate its limits, and enjoins the attendants to start the building of an oven.

Lamas of the Yellow Sect, more ritualistic than those of the Red Sect, indulge in designing mandalas for which each of them advances his own peculiar explanation.

Monguors never build an oven without having recognized the god-owner of the spot, but many Monguors prefer to invite a Taoist priest or a Chinese geomancer to perform the rite, which is enacted in nearly the same way by them.⁵⁶⁶

Then the master of ceremonies determines, with a lama of the Red Sect, the day propitious for the cremation. He invites Red or Yellow lamas to come to say prayers, together with the Living Buddha who will perform the cremation and will arrive the evening before the ceremony. The rite is performed usually on the seventh day after the death, very rarely on the twenty-first or the forty-ninth day. The master of ceremonies, at the time he invites the lamas, offers a gift to the lamasery in order that the community of lamas will say the prayers intended to lead the soul straight to paradise, and to help it avoid all kinds of troubles and vampires on this journey.

According to old Monguors, the most important duty of a master of ceremonies is to go himself to invite the maternal uncle in order to determine with him, in private, the amount of alms to be given to the lamas, and in order to know beforehand at what point he will lower his fantastic claims on the day of the funeral. The discussion finished, the traditional cup of wine is poured.

The married daughters with their husbands, if they were not present at the death of the father, arrive as soon as possible with the traditional offering of seven big rolls, each one foot in diameter (which must be burned before the deceased), a sheep, paper and incense sticks, and two strings of copper cash. The offerings are not the same in all villages and poor people present smaller rolls and a hen.

GUESTS AND THE MATERNAL UNCLE

The day before the cremation, all the relatives and friends arrive with the traditional twelve steamed rolls and two-hundred copper coins; they prostrate themselves three times, burning paper

⁵⁶⁶ Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130; Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 212.

and incense sticks before the coffin, called the “sedan chair.” All await the arrival of the maternal uncle, who goes directly to prostrate himself and burn paper before the coffin, while the women start with the lamentations. The same rite is observed by the Chinese.⁵⁶⁷ Some women have a real knack of touching the deepest feelings of those assembled. Many times I listened to these real masterpieces of elegies: “Father, why did you leave us? We love you so much. Father, Father, did we offend you? Forgive us, we love you so much. Mother cries day and night; she does not eat any more. She loves you so much. Father, come back, for mother’s sake, lest she die. Father, who will care for us now, care for mother, and for baby brother, etc., we miss you so much. Who will sow the fields and tend the animals, we do not know all these things. Father, why did you leave us? How will we live any more, you were so good to us when we were sick, etc.” All these apostrophes were mixed with tears and heavy sighing. Certainly the origin of the elegiac style is to be sought in similar circumstances.

In the presence of the whole assembly, the pretended discussion concerning the alms begins between the maternal uncle and the master of ceremonies. Assurance is given of the love of the family for the deceased, and of the care taken of him during his sickness. Finally permission is given for the cremation. Wine is poured, and the whole family kneels and thanks the maternal uncle. The master of ceremonies offers him, as keepsake and remembrance, a nice piece of woolen felt, some of the best clothes of the deceased, and some pieces of his jewelry. However, the maternal uncle must by custom refuse the gifts. The maternal uncle goes, followed by the whole assembly, to prostrate himself before the corpse. The dinner follows, in the open courtyard, after which the whole group prays Om Mani.

Every evening at dusk, beginning on the day of the death, the villagers, with their children, come to say Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: “On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains.” This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.⁵⁶⁸

CREMATION⁵⁶⁹

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles.

⁵⁶⁷ Johannes Ternay, Familienjustiz in Trauerhaus, *Ethnographische Beiträge aus der Ch’inghai Provinz, Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 1: 103 *sqq.*, 1952.

⁵⁶⁸ Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.

⁵⁶⁹ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42.

In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time,⁵⁷⁰ "Do not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built, before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items. The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have tended the oven and closed the four openings. After three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and

⁵⁷⁰ A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part 1: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls.

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the “black period.” A son born after the death of his father is still called a “black son.” The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted.

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122-202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.⁵⁷¹ In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.⁵⁷² The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.⁵⁷³ In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.⁵⁷⁴ The Liao officials (907-1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.⁵⁷⁵ The maternal uncle of Emperor K’ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.⁵⁷⁶ Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.⁵⁷⁷

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*.

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

⁵⁷¹ Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

⁵⁷² Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

⁵⁷³ Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

⁵⁷⁴ Hottmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

⁵⁷⁵ Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

⁵⁷⁶ De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

⁵⁷⁷ Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,⁵⁷⁸ and so do the Tibetans.⁵⁷⁹ The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.⁵⁸⁰

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.⁵⁸¹

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.⁵⁸²

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The lama says special prayers, drives away the ominous souls, makes *tormas* and a straw manikin, which is pierced with daggers, set on fire, and pulled burning out of the courtyard. The cremation is performed without ceremonies, the woman is carried away in the sedan chair through a hole pierced in the wall of the courtyard, and the bones are buried in the abode of the evil spirits. The maternal uncle attends the rite; there is no dinner and no Om Mani prayers are said at night. The Mongols of the Ordos do not permit the deceased to be carried through the gate of the courtyard.⁵⁸³ Neither do the nomads of Siberia.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁷⁸ Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

⁵⁷⁹ David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

⁵⁸⁰ Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

⁵⁸¹ Serroys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

⁵⁸² Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130-131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

⁵⁸³ Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁵⁸⁴ Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 25.

However, the Monguors prefer to invite at such times a Taoist priest, because his rite seems more efficient. He plants a post in the courtyard on top of which is the flag of the souls, *Hun-fan*. A rope leading from the top of the post is attached to the sedan chair in which the deceased woman has been placed in a squatting position. A rooster's head is cut off, and its blood gathered in a pot. The praying Taoist throws into the blood 360 coins, one after another, which the kneeling husband collects, one after another, each time calling the name of his wife. When the rite is finished the souls are supposed to be saved from the blood lake. Then follows the driving away of the souls, the carrying through the wall, the cremation performed by themselves and the burying of the bones in the abode of the wicked people.

SUICIDES

In Part I of this study the difficulties of obtaining permission for the incineration of a person who committed suicide have been described. After the permission has been obtained the shaman drives away the souls and the deceased is carried in the sedan-chair to the crematory. The collected bones are never buried in the family cemetery, but in the abode for ominous people, because it is said that these souls would harm the dead of the family buried next to them, and incite them to help wreak their vengeance.

In such ominous places are buried the bones of unmarried youngsters and adults who hated their family, thieves, murderers, persons who died from plague, people blind in both eyes, lame in both legs, deaf mutes. Every village has one or two places reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They are situated outside the village and after sunset nobody dares to pass through such places. The souls of young women who suffered maltreatment from mothers or sisters-in-law gather in these places to wait for an opportunity to pay off an old grudge; souls of people who suffered injustices wait there to wreak vengeance.

Usually the shaman—very very seldom a Red lama—is invited to drive away and chastise these evildoers. Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to persuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the custom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver, and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth.

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

INCINERATION OF LAMAS

Lamas of the Yellow Sect are cremated after death. Often lamas of the Red Sect invite those of the Yellow Sect to perform the rite for them, but seldom do lamas of the Yellow Sect invite those of the Red Sect for the same purpose. Lamas are lowered into the crematory oven, while laymen are put into the oven through one of its side openings. Their bones are collected on the third day and spread on the mountain. The bones of the minor Living Buddhas are collected after incineration and put in a *chorten* built for this purpose. The corpses of the Hutukhtus usually are not cremated but are placed in salt, in a squatting, crosslegged position. The dried mummy decked out in its best clothes and a mitre with the five Dhyana Buddha images is enclosed in a chorten. But if they are incinerated, their bones and ashes are pounded and enclosed in a small silver chorten exposed in the temple.

At the death of the Lu chia Living Buddha, the Fa-t'ai of the monastery of T'ien T'ang was invited to perform the cremation rites. For forty-nine days prayers were said at the lamasery. The tribes subject to the lamasery offered alms, and a delegation of each tribe attended the dinner. The intendancy sent alms to nine of the most important monasteries in order to have them say prayers and to entertain their communities. For forty-nine days the lamas of the lamasery of the deceased living Buddha were not allowed to ride a horse or to leave the monastery.

FUNERAL OF THE SHAMANS

Shamans are always buried in their own fields, in Chinese coffins. The shaman is dressed in his best ceremonial costume, gown, long flowery coat, and the crown of the Wu-tao-shen on his head. His drum, sword, dagger, whip, and staff are put into the coffin and buried with him. Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic signs are pasted on the coffin.

The shamans come from all over the country to perform their rites, along with all the apprentices who studied their art with the deceased. On the first day his courtyard is cleaned, paper flags are hung, and Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic designs are pasted on the doors. At night, in a group, they recite Chinese texts for a long time, using a written book of their own; they beat drums and dance around the coffin, which has been placed in the courtyard. On the second day five tables are superimposed one above the other the chief shaman, in full attire, climbs on the uppermost table and dances on it, in time with the beating of the drums. He swings two paper flags held in his hands, while the other shamans perform the most wild evolutions around the coffin. At night hundreds of lamps are lit in the courtyard and the shamans beat drums, dance, and recite texts.

In the early morning of the third day the coffin is carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA “HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS”

Several times in the present study there has been noted the stereotype formula, “Heaven and all the spirits,” used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying “*Tiengere uluon purgan*” meaning “Heaven and all the spirits,” and even “*Sge Tiengere uluon purgan*” that is “Great Heaven and all the spirits.”

Because “Heaven” is always invoked in conjunction with “all the spirits,” it seems obvious that Heaven is considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material Sky.⁵⁸⁵

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or purgan.⁵⁸⁶ The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer “Purgan” when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that “*uluon purgan*” means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

Because in the formula “*Tiengere*,” often “*Sge Tien-gere*,” “Heaven,” “Great Heaven” are always used first, it is obvious that the “spirit of Heaven” seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, “Heaven.” Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, “All the spirits,” and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air first, for “Heaven,” and then, consecutively, three ladles to each of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, “*Uluon purgan*.”

⁵⁸⁵ Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Bd. X in *Anthropos*, 48: 328, 195, notes: “Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. ... I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God.” He adds: “No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries,” its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was “Deus” or “God.” Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* 48: 623, 1953, notes: “Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungsnamen Gott wurde. ... Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen nicht vor.” (The word *Purgan*, it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan*.)

⁵⁸⁶ Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, *The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir*, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 17: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the “spirit of Heaven,” or “Great Heaven” is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910-1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the “spirit of Heaven” may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the “spirit of Heaven” is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the “spirit of Heaven” alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the “spirit of Heaven” is omnipotent?⁵⁸⁷

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: “Of course the spirits are everywhere.” Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, “Heaven and all the spirits” as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu T’u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: “Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature.” Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke “Old Father Heaven” and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Surndoo, having had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, “No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it.”

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the “spirit of Heaven”; that finally “Heaven,” the “Great Heaven,” occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the “spirit of Heaven” among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can “Heaven,” which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and

⁵⁸⁷ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217.

“Heaven and all the spirits” are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and so much for “Heaven and all the spirits.” Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium?

Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle.

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word “Heaven” in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: “Heaven knows it,” “Heaven sees all things,” “It is impossible to cheat Heaven,” “Heaven punishes him,” “Heaven rejects him,” “Heaven does not bless him,” “Heaven determines destiny,” “It was decided by Heaven”; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called “born by Heaven.”

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, “Om Mani, Om Mani”; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, “Om Mani, Om Mani”; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, “Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!” The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward “Heaven” but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help.

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the “practical” Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and

invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is “never performed for Heaven.”

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for “Old Father Heaven” alone, the stereotyped “all the spirits” being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to “Heaven and all the spirits,” and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still persists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad “harvest” of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains; and this is also true among the Mongols⁵⁸⁸ and the Buriats.⁵⁸⁹ If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the “spirit of Heaven” is honored in conjunction with “all the spirits” by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, “Heaven and all the spirits” (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year’s eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group “Heaven and all the spirits.”

In every family, on New Year’s eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big

⁵⁸⁸ See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 10: 90.

⁵⁸⁹ Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 240.

Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of “Heaven and all the spirits” is implored. At marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for “Heaven and all the spirits” in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.⁵⁹⁰

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the “spirit of Heaven” receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for “all the spirits.”

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of “Heaven” and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, “Heaven and all the spirits,” is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, “all the spirits” were honored in the open air temples being built only for souls of the deceased.⁵⁹¹ Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for “Heaven.” In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to “Heaven and all the spirits.” At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The least starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for “Heaven and all the spirits”—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of “Heaven”!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not to “Heaven and all the spirits,” but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T’u-ssu and the clan.

At the triennial visit of the T’u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled.

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven and. enjoy happiness together with the great “spirit of Heaven,” in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the “great Heaven”; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Monguors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and vague “spirit of Heaven,” who is without departments of activities, having no

⁵⁹⁰ L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T’ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

⁵⁹¹ Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The “great Heaven” is not the so-called “Hochgott,” but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: “In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm.”⁵⁹² “Although Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods.”⁵⁹³ In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688-333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.⁵⁹⁴ It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats.

In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.⁵⁹⁵

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity.

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the “spirit of Heaven,” it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the “spirit of Heaven.”

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol⁵⁹⁶ tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, recognized “Heaven” as enjoying a position of prominence among the gods and

⁵⁹² Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 698.

⁵⁹⁴ Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

⁵⁹⁵ Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

⁵⁹⁶ René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire phase*, 1-3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term “Turk” used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term “Mongols” as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C. to second century A.D.), and T’opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch’i-tan (who occupied North China 907-1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks

spirits they worshipped. Did this recognition, however, entail an intensive cult of “Heaven” among these Altaic tribes, or was this prominence only one of purely honorary dimension, as among the Monguors? A substantial answer to this question seems to be the synthesis encountered in the study by W. Schmidt concerning the subject among the Turkic Mongol tribes. In an account from the “oldest available texts,” he concludes his study about the Hiungnu (the oldest Turkic group) by saying, “We are still uncertain whether the being called ‘Heaven’ is, in the strict sense of the word, the ‘Highest Being’; and finally, the position and relation of this being toward the other higher beings are not explained.”⁵⁹⁷

Concerning the problem of the offerings he remarks, “The position of the other higher beings is more prominent than that of the being called ‘Heaven’.”⁵⁹⁸ In the texts, the formula, “Heaven and deities” is used by the old Turks, and beside it there is also the formula, “Ancestors, Heaven and Earth, Spirits and Deities,” and several times “Heaven” alone.⁵⁹⁹ According to these texts, the religious notions of the old Hiungnu seem to have been at least as confused as those of the Monguors of today.

The conclusion of W. Schmidt about the religious notions concerning “Heaven” among the T’u-kiue (A.D. 551-800), another Turkic group, is that the texts fail to make clear that the being called “Heaven” by the T’u-kiue is the “highest being” in the strict sense of the word, but their content seems to hint at the fact that such a notion existed in their minds.⁶⁰⁰ His conclusions

dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.), T’opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination in North China with the Hsienpi, while the Juan-Juan Mongols succeeded in settling in the Gobi region. During the sixth century the “Turks” dominated in Mongolia and west Turkestan; and in the eighth century the Uigur (Turks) and in the ninth the Kirgiz (Turks). From 924 on, Mongol and Turkic tribes struggled for the domination of Mongolia until the thirteenth century, when the Mongols triumphed under Chingis Khan. During all these centuries the conquerors agglomerated, collecting into their groups the defeated tribes. The empires of the steppe were composites. Pastoralism and nomadism more than identity of language held the tribes together. Hence the confusion and amalgamation in the field of religion, cult, and customs. (While the distinction between proto Turkic-tribes is often based on a few controversial linguistic data, authors do not always agree upon the classification of some tribes into one or another of the two groups; for instance the Hsienpi and Ch’i-tan. Among the She-wei a tribe called Meng-wu (seventh-ninth century) is noted, which would be the first mention of the name of the Mongols.)

⁵⁹⁷ Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9: 20. “So dass wir auch noch in Ungewissen bleiben, ob das Himmels-wesen ein voiles Höchstes Wesen ist. Schliesslich bleibt auch sein Erhalten zu den übrigen höheren Wesen ungeklärt.”

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19. “Das Opfer ist etwas reichlicher bezeugt, und hier treten auch die übrigen höheren Wesen mehr in den Vordergrund, sogar stärker als das Himmelswesen.”

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13. “Dass der Grosskhan das Opfer darbrachte ‘seinen Ahnen, dem Himmel und der Erde, den Geistern und Göttern’ ... ! Er opferte den Himmel und den Göttern! B. 10: “das var vom Himmel verfügt ... der Himmel hat dich geschickt. ... Der Himmel erzürnte sich ... wenn der Himmel nicht seine Pläne mit dem Hiung nu hatte. ...”

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 39, “So fehlet also noch viel, dass das Himmelswesen der T’u-kiue Religion als ein wirkliches und volles Höchstes Wesen erscheine, aber die für uns jetzt nur schwach ansetzenden spärlichen Linien seiner Charakterisierung scheinen in ihrer Verlängerung all auf ein solches Wesen hinaus zu laufen.”

relating to the religious notions concerning “Heaven” among the Uigurs (745) who overthrew the T’u-kiue realm and the majority of whom were converted to Manicheism, are: “Since we have only a few fragmentary facts about their old religion it is impossible to get a clear idea about it.”⁶⁰¹ This interesting study by Schmidt affords all the data available concerning the cult of “Heaven” among the old Turkic groups, which seems to have been as confused in former times as today among the Monguors.

It would be interesting to read the syntheses of Schmidt concerning the corresponding cult among the proto-Mongols. However, only a study concerning the Altai Tatars is provided, based on data collected by Russian ethnologists since the latter half of the eighteenth century, which reflects very confused notions existing at that time.⁶⁰²

However, in the *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)* Wittfogel and Feng provide the most instructive material concerning the tribal religion of the Ch’i-tan, tribes belonging to the Mongol stock, living just before the time of Chingis (1162-1227).

Their pantheon includes gods of Heaven, Earth, and Sun, of the *Mu-yeh* and of the Black Mountains, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, the gods of war and of metal, personified deities, supernatural powers thought to be immanent in trees, mountains, etc., an endless legion of souls of the dead, spirits of the two tribal ancestors appealed to at the temple seats; the souls of the general populace, which were protected by the gods of the Black Mountain. No explicit descriptions are encountered of the thereafter, but the funeral offers seem to imply a life after death with definite pastoral and military features. Heaven and Earth were usually appealed to together. Friendly supernatural powers had to ward off the danger of the evil ones.⁶⁰³

Solemn announcements were made to Heaven, Earth and the Sun, sometimes with the aid of fire, or from the top of a mountain. Twice a year the two tribal ancestors were officially honored by sacrifices of horses or oxen. Sacrifices of horses, oxen, sheep or geese were performed to win the favor of the gods, and on the tenth month were enacted for the spirits of all the dead.⁶⁰⁴

Tribal priests or shamans exercised political and religious power, non-official Wu had become guardians of a subsidiary religion.⁶⁰⁵

IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the beginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang-chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang-chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T’opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.⁶⁰⁶ The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 40, “Bei dieser verwirrten Geschichte seines stark gemischten Volkes, das dann so bald schon eine ganz andere Religion annahm, wird es verständlich, dass wir von ihrer alten Religion nur spärliche und fragmentarische Nachrichten besitzen aus denen man unmöglich ein irgendwie klares Gesamtbild gewinnen kann.”

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 9: 71.

⁶⁰³ K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, reprint from the *Review of Religion*, May, 1948: 351.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 358.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁶⁰⁶ James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T’oung Pao* 30: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1433.

the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907-1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.⁶⁰⁷

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.⁶⁰⁸ Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."⁶⁰⁹ During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.⁶¹⁰

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate Nestorianism affected the imperial family of the founder of the new Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to alliances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Guyuk, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts occupied important administrative posts in the new nation. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Monke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to

⁶⁰⁷ Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291-296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

⁶⁰⁸ K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

⁶⁰⁹ B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar a XI^{me} siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

⁶¹⁰ Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.⁶¹¹ Franke writes about the “Rabies Buddhica” of the Mongol emperors.⁶¹²

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the “Everlasting Blue Sky” favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . “The ‘Sky’ has ordered me to govern all the peoples,” Chingis said. . . . The White Banner was inhabited by the “guardian genius” of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the “Everlasting Blue Sky” had so ordained.⁶¹³

In the same way “Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688-330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories.”⁶¹⁴ In ancient China “Heaven” was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor’s mandate.⁶¹⁵

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. The need to know the will of “Everlasting Blue Sky” and of “the guardian spirits” was a constant stimulus for communing with “shamans,” sorcerers, and diviners.⁶¹⁶ “He believed Kokchu could ascend the ‘Sky’ and had powerful protectors among the genii.”⁶¹⁷ “He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state’s chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized.”⁶¹⁸ “He was fond of Ye-lü Ch’ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer.”⁶¹⁹ “Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people.”⁶²⁰ “He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the ‘Everlasting Sky’ and the ‘guardian spirits’ and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition.”⁶²¹

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,⁶²² notes:

⁶¹¹ K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63-65. Henri Cordier, *Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale*, *T’oung Pao* 18: 56-57, 197. P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d’Asie Centrale et d’Extrême Orient* *T’oung Pao* 15: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et Papauté*, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 23: 4 seq., 1922-1923; 24: 46, 1924; 28: 169, 193-4, 199, 1931-1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

⁶¹² Franke, *op. cit.*, 4: 522.

⁶¹³ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁶¹⁴ Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

⁶¹⁵ H. G. Creel, *Confucius the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

⁶¹⁶ Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁶²² *Anthropos* 48: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 10: 1952.

According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46-47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Möngke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as “the creator of the sky and earth” attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.⁶²³

We have to take into consideration also the fact that many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that “Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols.”⁶²⁴

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,⁶²⁵ that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: “The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth.”⁶²⁶

René Grousset notes that: “When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the ‘Sulde,’ the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside.”⁶²⁷ At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.⁶²⁸ No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.⁶²⁹

⁶²³ Nicolaus Pallisen, *Die alte Religion des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden*, 1949.

⁶²⁴ P. Pelliot, *Chrétieins d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient*, *op. cit.*, 643.

⁶²⁵ A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

⁶²⁶ Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

⁶²⁷ Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase*, *op. cit.*, 159.

⁶²⁸ A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; *Ordosica*; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétieins médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute details concerning Hsining he records: "The population of the country consists chiefly of idolaters and some Saracens, but there are some Christians also."⁶³⁰ Because Marco Polo always noted very accurately the Nestorian churches he encountered on his way through Central Asia, and because he did not mention the existence of any Nestorian church in Hsining, it may be supposed that this Nestorian community must have been small, and probably consisted of some occasional traders.

Another fact led me to investigate the topic of Nestorianism. According to Pelliot, tribes of Öngüts (Shat'o) inhabited the Tenduc region, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. Some of these Öngüts migrated into south Kansu, in the region of Lin tao. They were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125-1235) and transplanted into mid-Manchuria at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were Nestorians. An apparition in a dream of the Chin emperor T'ai tsung (1125-1161) having been explained by means of images honored by these Öngüts, they were liberated and located in Ch'ing chou, north of the Yellow River.⁶³¹

According to Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I: 26, the Öngüts had moved there in the twelfth century from northern Mongolia. Rashid ed-Din explains that the Öngüts, being in the service of the Chin, had been appointed as wardens of the Great Wall.

The problem is, the region of Lin T'ao being contiguous with that of Hsining,⁶³² whether there was intermingling between the Shat'o of Lin T'ao and those of Hsining, and whether the Hsining Shat'o as a consequence, ever professed Nestorianism.

The second Shat'o dynasty, that of the Hou Chin, (936-947), was conquered by the Liao dynasty (907-1125) in 947, and its imperial family (175 persons), banished into Huang lung, north of Mukden (Manchuria). However its harem, eunuchs, and servants entered the service of the Liao emperor.⁶³³ Then the emperor decided to enroll in his army the defeated Hou Chin troops, and to use them as wardens of the southern marches of his enlarged empire. Their families were to be moved into north Shansi as hostages, and the troops were to be granted furlough from the marches every year to visit Shansi.⁶³⁴

It seems doubtful whether these provisions were ever carried out. Ho kien, an Uigur, loyal and devoted servant of both Shat'o dynasties, governor of the Tsin, Chieh, and Ch'eng chou regions, and of the marches of southeast Kansu (contiguous to Lin T'ao), in 947, immediately after the defeat of his emperor, offered the places and the region he governed to the Lord of the Kingdom of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and pledged his allegiance to him.⁶³⁵ War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947-950.

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend

⁶³⁰ Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo* 1: 274.

⁶³¹ P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême Orient* 630; Henri Cordier, *Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale* *op. cit.*, 56.

⁶³² Franke, *op. cit.* 5: 113.

⁶³³ *Ibid.* 4: 55.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.* 4: 57, 58.

⁶³⁵ *Idem.* 4: 68.

of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907-1125) but by the Kin (1125-1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923-947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280-1368).

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.⁶³⁶

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence.

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, accordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth.

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.)

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed.

⁶³⁶ Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308-309.

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists.

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the “spirit of Heaven,” and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.⁶³⁷

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to administer their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units, governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part 1: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without

⁶³⁷ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.*

cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors recanted their origin. They still know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, impoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese became more intensive through commercial relations. The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu institution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were not Chinese and which held them close together. First of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan⁶³⁸ and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.⁶³⁹ Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the

⁶³⁸ Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68-69, 1940.

⁶³⁹ A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.

formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency."⁶⁴⁰ Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.

⁶⁴¹ All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan. Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations.

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are descendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu⁶⁴² established in the region south of Nienpei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who died during the year entered in the family register, and to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together.

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed.

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the villages in promoting the religious rites against the scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses.

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed

⁶⁴⁰ W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 9: 13.

⁶⁴¹ L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part 1: 48.

⁶⁴² Schram, *op. cit.*, 32.

by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group.

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days proceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large part, based on religion and exercised in religious matters.

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation.

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by the emperors toward Lamaism.

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively,

it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in such Utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368-1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet, Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members of the committee. They were showered with honorific titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not interfere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the

seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li fang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavior was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Buddhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family and the honors, titles, and privileges granted to the religious chiefs, one could easily suppose that the entire population must have become fervent Lamaists, and that an all-pervading energy radiating from Lamaism must have animated the entire social, family, and clan system. It is easy to suppose that Lamaism, controlling all the levers of power and wealth, and ruling over its own subjects, must have penetrated all the relations of life and colored all the institutions, producing uniformity in religious thinking, improving customs, and eliminating all kinds of unorthodox doctrines.

However, this is thinking in terms of what Christianity performed in the Middle Ages when the corporations, the guilds, the feudal system, the monarchy, the social habits of the people, their studies, even their amusements all stemmed from the same ecclesiastical teaching, when the church was the very heart of Christianity. The present study reveals that Lamaism was far from being the center of the religious life in the Monguor society, and that it did not succeed in eliminating shamanism. Even the coloring of the old religious rites, performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families, though tinged with Lamaism, did not succeed in making the Monguors live in a genuine Lamaist atmosphere.

The most baffling fact, after so many centuries, is that the temple of the community in all the Monguor villages is not dedicated to a Lamaist deity, but to Taoist or shamanist deities. In many villages a Lamaist temple was built next to the community temple, but it was never the center of the official religious activities of the villagers. More astonishing is the fact that the religious activities conducted in the village temple on behalf of the community are never performed by lamas, but by shamans or by the chiefs of the villages.

The most important rite of the year is celebrated in the spring in the village temple, in order that the harvest will be blessed. It is attended by the entire community and is performed by "shamans" who invite Taoist and shamanist spirits, *with the exclusion of Lamaist deities*, to preside over the rite and to extend their protection over the harvest.

The elaborate rites devised to obtain protection against the terrible scourge of hailstorms are performed by shamans. The Lamaist rite of the procession with the 108 sacred books is merely added as an extra precaution.

The most important rite celebrated with devotion by each family for its guardian spirit is performed by shamans, because most of these spirits are Taoist or shamanist.

Lamaism not only met with dismal failure in its struggle for the eviction of these all-important shamanist rites, but it never succeeded in impressing a Lamaist interpretation on the old rites performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families.

The thanksgiving rites for the harvest, performed in the village temple by the chief of the village, and by each family chief on the roof of his home, are not enacted with gratitude to Buddha. The presence of the shamans in the village temple on this occasion, does not seem to be related to the ceremony, as already explained. Nor did the lamas take over the rite of the sacred animals, so important to the Monguors. This rite is still performed by the chiefs of the villages, or the chiefs of families, who consecrate their herds to the protector spirits of their villages or of their families. Buddha is not substituted as protector of the herds.

The daily morning Wei-sang, an offering and invocation to "Heaven and all the spirits" performed by all the family chiefs, has never been changed into an offering and an invocation to Buddha, although some Om Manis are added, especially at times of trouble in the family.

After the cult of the Obo has been performed by the chiefs of the villages, some lamas chant texts in honor of the "Obo Spirits." Lamas do not interfere with the cult of the fire or the cult of the hearth god; neither do they pray for the blessings of Buddha upon marriages, nor have they endeavored to make the Monguors change the famous formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," into a formula invoking Buddha.

However, when troubles occur which disturb and frighten the families, the Monguors indiscriminately have recourse to lamas, shamans, or Kurtains, inviting those deemed to be the most potent in subduing evil spirits, or in propitiating the infuriated good spirits.

The only field reserved entirely for the activities of the lamas is that of the incineration of people who died peacefully. Shamans take care of the abodes of the wicked souls.

It is clear, therefore, that an all-pervading energy did not radiate from Lamaism to animate the entire social and family life. The cult of Lamaist deities, mixed with that of good and evil spirits, did not create an atmosphere in which Lamaism could produce uniformity in religious thinking and penetrate all the relations of life. If we add the fact that no churches existed where the Monguors could pray in groups and receive religious instruction, it is no wonder that the impact of Lamaism was not intensive.

However, the impact of the daily relations of the Monguors with their lama sons, uncles and relatives, the fast rites, is not to be overlooked, for it accounts for the fact that general Lamaist notions about the Buddhist heavens and their eighteen hells, the paradise of the benevolent Buddha, the terrible judgment of the acts of everybody after death, reincarnation, the sense of responsibility, did penetrate to a certain extent into Monguor society. The endless repetition of the Om Mani formula by lamas and their affirmation that salvation is only possible by recourse to the benevolent Buddha, who is always ready to forgive, to help, and to save anybody, account for the fantastic use of the Om Mani in the daily life of the Monguors, living in a world of fear and apprehension of evil spirits. The emotional factor inherent in Lamaism, stimulating the gratifying hope of salvation in the presence of Buddha in his paradise, is not deemed by them to be incompatible with the performance of shamanist rites and with the worshipping of shamanist and Taoist spirits. The various reincarnations of outstanding and minor Living Buddhas within the

Monguor clans and the families of the clan chiefs, explain the fact that Lamaist deities have been chosen as guardian deities of the clans, and that a temple had been built for them in the mansion of the clan chief. However, this did not bother the clan chiefs in worshipping the clan ancestors, with a display of pomp and magnificence, with all their subjects.

In conclusion it must be said that Lamaism has not succeeded either in uprooting the shamanist and Taoist rites practiced by the Monguors or in penetrating all the relations of life, but that by adding its new rites to the existing ones it did succeed in stimulating the element of religiousness among the Monguors, in laying stress upon new notions of responsibility, heaven and hell, in giving better moral guidance to the acts of daily life, and finally, in giving some meaning to life, which shamanism had never done. Lamaism did not attain its goal of transforming the Monguor society as did Christianity in the societies of the Middle Ages. More could hardly have been expected from Lamaism debased as it was by Tantrism, whose chiefs in Huang-chung themselves indulged in shamanist practices when they felt the pressure of an emergency.

•••

PART III: RECORDS OF THE MONGUOR CLANS HISTORY OF THE MONGUORS IN HUANGCHUNG AND THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU FAMILY

PREFACE

This third and last part of the study about the Monguors primarily intends to present the history of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, based on the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu.

In order to make the history understandable, it has had to be put in the historical framework of the Huangchung country in which it evolved during five centuries.

In Ming times it is mostly the history of inroads into the country by Tibetans and Mongols; during Ch'ing times it is the history of the revolts of Mongols, Tibetans and Mohammedans, which several times ruined the country. Revolts and invasions were fought by Chinese troops unequal to coping with the situation, aided by the Monguor troops.

Part III is the history of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans⁶⁴³ called not only to defend their own country in combination with the Chinese army, but also to participate with the Chinese armies in wars in the provinces of Liaotung, Shensi, Shansi, Szechwan, and Yunnan, in Mongolia proper, and in the Tunhuang regions in Turkistan.

The hardships the Monguors endured during these five centuries were terrific, but their faithfulness toward the empire stood as strong as a rock, and is nowhere equally encountered among tribes which had submitted and pledged allegiance to the empire. However, this is overlooked in the official history. The number of Monguor soldiers who died in the wars is not known, but it is known that in each of the Monguor clans one or more of the chiefs died on one or another field of battle. The glorious military achievements of the Monguors are many.

The history of these five centuries is also the history of the development of the country and its thorough Sinisization. The Monguors who had once controlled much of this country saw Chinese officials gradually take into their hands its civil and military administration, trying to relegate them to their own poor country. The Monguors felt that they were barbarians, but they admired the Chinese civilization and aspired to share its benefits. These five centuries are the time of the Sinisization of the Monguors, which started with their chiefs, as among all the nomads. The boys of the t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects.

⁶⁴³ A t'u-ssu was the "local chief" of a clan who had been appointed to his office by the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans were quasi-feudal frontier dependants. When the Ming dynasty invested a Monguor clan chief with the title of T'u-ssu he became a Chinese official while continuing to be also the chief of his clan. The institution of t'u-ssu was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. See Louis M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier*. 1. Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 45-52, 1954 (hereafter referred to as *Monguors I*).

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands of Uighurs with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung.

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration composed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to three Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these three works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsing chih* (New annals of Hsining prefecture) in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these “new” Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.
2. *Kansu hsing t’ung chih* (New collected annals of Kansu) in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsuan-t’ung period (1909-1911). The edition is called “new” because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.
3. *Wu liang k’ao chih* (Annals of the prefecture of Liangchow), printed in 1749, including the Annals of the subprefecture of P’ing fan.

L.M.J.S.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

Owen and Eleanor Lattimore

As the main significance of Father Schram’s work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch’uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accuracy by the use of ordinary letters and without diacritical marks, as in the name Monguor itself. Monguor, Mongol, and Manchu names are therefore written in this straightforward way when they can be readily identified. There is however a special problem when names in these languages have come down through a Chinese phonetic transcription. The sounds of Chinese match those of Mongol and Manchu very badly, and it is therefore frequently difficult to restore the original. In such cases we have simply written out the name in its Chinese form, using the Wade system, with hyphens between the syllables. As an example of the choices that have to be made on an *ad hoc* basis, take the name (or title) that is usually written Jenghis or Genghis. A closer rendering of the Mongol sound and spelling is Chinggis. In Chinese this becomes Ch’eng-chi-ssu.

Titles, ranks, and names of offices are here rendered in the same rule of thumb way.

I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

The Mongols, commanded by General Subudei, invaded the region of Huangchung in 1227 and invested the city of Hsining, which they conquered (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8a and *Annals* of Kansu 46: 20a).

In order to understand conditions in Huangchung at the time of the Mongol conquest it is necessary to take notice of the peculiar geographical conditions of the country, and to bear in mind the circumstances which had caused the presence in Huangchung in 1227 of the remnants of so

many T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes, of many thousands of Uighurs and of many Shat'o tribes. The social organization of this heterogeneous population and the ways in which it behaved will explain the policy adopted by the Mongol dynasty, followed by the Ming dynasty (1368), continued during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) and even during more than ten years under the Republic (1911).

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

The Province of Kansu is divided geographically into three parts: West Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, separated from one another by the range of the Southern Mountains (Nan Shan) and the Yellow River, both running in a northeasterly direction. The Nan Shan range separates West Kansu from Huangchung, and the Yellow River separates Huangchung from East Kansu.

West Kansu, a long narrow strip, a corridor situated between the bases of the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert, is of primary importance because through that country runs the old transcontinental silk trade road, already opened in the second century B.C.⁶⁴⁴ and because this road was the only one which secured communication between the Chinese capital and its western colonies. Until 1882 Turkistan was a part of Kansu Province. Military colonies had been established along this long corridor between 140 and 86 B.C. in order to protect the communications against the turbulent Turkish barbarians of the Gobi and the savage Tibetans. Passes running through the Nan Shan secured communications between West Kansu and Huangchung.

In A.D. 872 Kanchow, one of the oldest colonies situated in the corridor, became the seat of the Uighur Khanate⁶⁴⁵. Uighur princes ruled in Kanchow until 1028. At that time their realm was conquered by the Hsihsia. The Mongols occupied the country in 1227.⁶⁴⁶

East Kansu is separated from Huangchung on the west by the Yellow River, on the east it is bounded by the province of Shensi, and on the south by the province of Szechwan. During the period of the Han Dynasties, 202 B.C. until A.D. 220, Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes roamed with their

⁶⁴⁴ Louis M. J. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. II. Their religious life*, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1): 9, 1957 (hereafter referred to as *Monguors II*).

⁶⁴⁵ James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours a l'epoque des Cinq Dynasties*, *Bibliothèque de L'institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* 10: 14, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955. Uighurs (called Huei-hou, Hue-ho) of Hunnic origin belong to the group of the Tolos tribes (p. 1). Their empire in Mongolia, which lasted from 745 until 840, controlled the region from Manchuria to the Altai and the territory of the Karluk in the T'ien Shan; its capital (Karabalgason) was situated on the Orkhon River. At the time of the destruction of their empire at the hands of the Khirgiz, a group of Uighurs fled into the region situated between Ku Ch'a and Besbalik in Turkistan (p. 18). It offered its offices to the Chinese army (Kuei-yi-chun) of General Chang Yi-ch'ao, garrisoned in the prefecture of Sha Chou. It fought the Tibetans in combination with the Chinese (p. 13), and in 872 these Uighurs, allies of the Chinese, settled in Kanchow. Others settled in Shi Chou (Karakhadjo), and so the northern part of Turkistan had become an Uighur country (pp. 14, 15, 16). The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762-763. They were the educators of the Turco-Mongol peoples from the ninth to the thirteenth century (p. 6).

⁶⁴⁶ Edw. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 5: 215, 1904. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* 2: 493, 501, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

herds in the northern part of Tibet and Kokonor, in large parts of Shensi Province and East Kansu, and on the borders of Szechwan, Hupei, and Shansi Provinces.⁶⁴⁷

East Kansu had always been a region of momentous military importance, on account of its proximity to the city of Sian, situated in Shensi Province, which many times had been the capital of the empire, and on account of the impending threat of invasions on the part of the Tang-hsiang (Tibetan) tribes, whose cradle was situated in Sung P'an in North Szechwan, along the southern boundary of Shensi, where practically no boundaries were defined. The forays of Tibetans used to pass through East Kansu. Today, a city still exists called Ti Tao, which means "the way of the barbarians," and is a reminder of these fateful days.⁶⁴⁸ It was in order to cope with this crucial problem that so many Chinese military colonies had been established in East Kansu during the T'ang dynasty, the Wu Tai (or Five Dynasties), and the Sung and Ming dynasties, and that intermittently new colonies and fortresses had to be built in order to stem the invasions and revolts of Tang-hsiang, T'u-fan, Hsi Hsia, and Mongols.⁶⁴⁹ The Mongols at the time of their conquest of China had a lot of trouble in East Kansu and West Shensi, subduing the Tibetan and Uighur tribes which during the previous dynasties had submitted to China but whose loyalty and dependence always remained questionable.

Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ningshia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'uping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ningshia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

⁶⁴⁷ Wolfram Eberhard, *Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas*, 67, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

⁶⁴⁸ See the remarkable study of Owen Lattimore, *The frontier in history*, X Congresso internazionale di Science Storiche, Roma, 4: 11, Settembre 1955. Relazioni 1: 106, Firenze, 1955.

⁶⁴⁹ Franke, *op. cit.* 3: 22, 1937. *Annals of Kansu* 45: 12. In 1096 more than fifty forts and colonies had been built against the Hsi Hsia in one year.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE T'ANG PERIOD

In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished.

The Tang dynasty (620-906) had been unable to cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.⁶⁵⁰ Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.⁶⁵¹ The text of the last treaty, chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhatsa.⁶⁵² In Huangchung, in the village of Topa 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals of Hsining* 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals of Hsining* 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.⁶⁵³

The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lu Shan (756-764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960-1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.⁶⁵⁴ Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals of Kansu* 45: 53a).

In Kokonor T'u-fan hordes attacked the T'u-yu-hun in 634, and drove them out of the country in 672. The T'u-yu-hun, nomad tribes of Sien-pi origin, had been settled in Kokonor since A.D.

⁶⁵⁰ Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

⁶⁵¹ Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

⁶⁵² Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei, Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821-822. *T'oung Pao* 64: I sq., 1956.

⁶⁵³ Frank, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin École Française d'Extrême Orient* 64: 228, Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia, *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin, 154.

⁶⁵⁴ Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

280 and, facing extermination after decades of savage wars with the T'u-fan, succeeded in being transplanted by the Chinese in 672 into the region of Ling Wu (Ningshia) in Ming-sha hsien.⁶⁵⁵

Huangchung (Hsining region) was already invaded by T'u-fan in 629. The T'uan administered several crushing defeats to the Chinese troops on the Kokonor borders, in Huangchung and in East Kansu. After the resounding victory of the T'u-fan in 678, the Tang-hsiang tribes settled previously in East Kansu, despairing of the aid and protection of the emperor, submitted to the T'u-fan, and with them fought the Chinese troops, devastating the country. These disastrous events continued indefinitely. The emperor having fled from his capital in 756 on account of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang of East Kansu combined, captured in 763 the capital of the empire, burned the palaces, and looted the city and the neighboring country. The whole of Kansu was lost. The Tsan-p'u of Lhasa appointed his T'u-fan officials and military commanders in Huangchung and East Kansu.⁶⁵⁶ The rebellion of the Chinese governors against the emperor had started in 783 and lasted until 787. In 783 the thread of destruction hanging like a Damocles sword over the dynasty, the emperor concluded the negotiation of a treaty with the Tsan-p'u, already initiated in 780. The T'u-fan would help the emperor out of his difficulty and be rewarded with four more prefectures situated southeast of P'ing-liang in East Kansu. The T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang had helped recover the lost capital in 784, but the Chinese refused to give up the four prefectures. The enraged Tibetans furiously invaded the Wei Valley, occupied Yen and Hsia Chou in Shensi and the whole region inside the Yellow River bend, looting and laying waste the countryside. Adding to the frustration of the Chinese, Tibetan armies administered the most crushing defeat to them in Turkistan in 791. Except for Turfan, Turkistan was lost to the Chinese. In 822 there followed the humiliating treaty by which China renounced its rights over Turkistan, over the whole of Kansu and some parts of Shensi. However, forays by savage Tibetan tribes did not cease.⁶⁵⁷

In 842 the Tsan-p'u Ta-mo died without issue, whereupon bitter feuds and sharp cleavages appeared among the T'u-fan governors and military commanders in East Kansu, Huangchung, and Tibet. The doom of the Tibetan nation was sealed, and the time seemed propitious to the Chinese for the recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. But already in 842, Lun K'ung-jo, a T'u-fan military commander, proclaimed himself supreme chief of all the tribes settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. However, in Hsining there was a T'u-fan governor, Chang-pe-pe, appointed by the former Tsan-p'u. The two groups fought until 850. Changpe-pe, betrayed by some of his commanders, was forced to flee across Kanchow to Turkistan with 2,000 men of his group, pursued by Lun K'ung-jo and his 5,000 soldiers to Kua Chou. Before his flight, Chang-pe-pe had entrusted the defense of the city of Hsining to his faithful commander T'o-pa-huai-kuang. Lun K'ung-jo, hearing that the city of Hsining was occupied by T'o-pa-huai-kuang, hurried back and in a rage savagely laid waste the whole of Huangchung and eight cities and districts in East Kansu. After his brutal behavior his troops refused to follow him. He settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung

⁶⁵⁵ Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 397. Schram, *Monguors I*: 19. *Annals of Kansu* 45: 55a. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. École Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 223.

⁶⁵⁶ The Tsan-p'u was the representative of the T'u-fan hierarchy; he presided over the tribes who had pledged allegiance or had been subdued; he was the arbiter of the frequently conflicting interests arising among them. The stronger the repute of the Tsanp'u the richer the pillages to be expected, and the stronger were the bonds which tied the nation together.

⁶⁵⁷ *Annals of Kansu* 45: 51, 62. Ch'u T'ang Shu, 146: 3-5. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 398, 399, 438, 439, 466, 469, 480, 484. *Annals of Hsining* 30: 25-30.

with the last 200 of his followers. He was beheaded in 866 by the T'u-fan commander of Hsining, T'o-pa-huai-kuang, who sent his head to the emperor. During these troubles Chinese troops had recovered nearly the whole of East Kansu and accepted the submission of the Tibetans of East. Kansu (*Annals of Kansu* 45: 65a, 66b. *Annals of Hsining* 30: 30, 30a, 31a).

The *Annals of Kansu* record (45: 66b) that in 851 the independent Chinese commander Chang I-ch'ao received the appointment of military commander of the Chinese Kuei-i troops garrisoned in Sha Chou. Formerly he had occupied on his own account ten cities, and had sent his brother to offer them to the emperor. The *Annals of Hsining* (30: 30, 31a) record that Chang I-ch'ao pacified Hsining and Kuo Chou in 851 and in that way East Kansu and Huangchung were completely recovered after ninety years (763-852).⁶⁵⁸ The *Annals of Hsining* (30: 30, 31a) also note that the Uighur commander Pukukun of Besbalik occupied the fateful city of Hsining in 866 and both *Annals* finally note: "at these times China was beset with many problems and its orders were not obeyed by the Kuei-i troops." The *Annals of Kansu* add: "in 872 the Uighurs captured Kanchow and many more districts." The history of Huangchung and Turkistan is very confused for this period.

The point of ruin and disintegration was reached among the Tibetan tribes, in East Kansu and Huangchung, after ten years of bloody fights between Lun K'ung-jo and Chang-pe-pe. The havoc savagely wrought among the tribes, tearing asunder their own tribes, transferring allegiance from one chief to another, and systematically devastating the country in which they lived, explains a fact unique in history. The slaves possessed by the tribes (victims of wars apportioned to the chiefs) being without lords or depending on proprietors who could no longer control them or afford to nourish them, were able to abandon their chiefs and to establish a tribe of their own, called in history the Slave Tribe, "Hun-pu" or "Wu-mu." The slaves submitted in a group to the emperor in 862; they were settled in several districts of Kansu and even of Tunhuang, where they engaged in farming. A group of them was settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung (*Annals of Kansu* 45: 66b. *Annals of Hsining* 30: 30, 31a).⁶⁵⁹

However, China was not able to pay much attention to East Kansu and Huangchung during the next twenty-five years (852-875). In 875 the terrible revolution of Huang Ch'ao started which lasted for nine years, followed by the disastrous armed competitions among the Chinese generals, and the end of the effete Tang dynasty in 906.

Then five insignificant dynasties, called Wu Tai, or the Five Dynasties, succeeded one another, accompanied by ruthless wars and destruction (907-960).⁶⁶⁰

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE WU TAI (FIVE DYNASTIES) PERIOD, 907-960

Three important facts have to be recorded concerning Huangchung during the Five Dynasties (907-960). First, the presence in Huangchung in 939, in the country situated between Kanchow and Hsining, of Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes belonging to the group of the founders of the petty Shat'o Hu Tang dynasty (923-936), attested in *Wu-tai shih-chi* (74: 10b, 11a). At what time or in what circumstances these tribes had settled in that part of Huangchung is not known (*Monguors*, 1: 30). However, the powerful Monguor clan of the Li t'u-ssu originated later from among the Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes of that country.

⁶⁵⁸ Hamilton, *op. cit.* 10: 13-16, 94-95, 128-129.

⁶⁵⁹ Stein, *op. cit.* 44: 228.

⁶⁶⁰ Hamilton, *op. cit.* 108, 128-129.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE SHAT'O NATION AND HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The second fact is the disintegration of the Shat'o nation. In 947 K'ai-p'ing fu the capital of the Shat'o Hu-tsin dynasty was taken by the Ch'i-tan. The Shat'o emperor and his family were deported to Huang Lung in northern Manchuria. The Ch'i-tan emperor, for fear of the revolting governor of Szechwan Province, had decided to garrison the numerous defeated Shat'o troops on the frontiers of Szechwan, and to send their wives and children into north Shansi as security for the fidelity of their husbands, promising to relieve them every year for a visit to their families.

Ho Chien, of Uighur origin, governor of the three districts of Chin, Chieh, and Ch'eng Chou in East Kansu, faithful retainer of the Shat'o dynasty, distrusting these promises and enraged on account of the ruthless behavior of the Ch'i-tan, refused to surrender his troops to them and to defend their frontiers. He offered his troops and the districts he controlled to the governor of Szechwan. During these fateful times of wars and slaughter, the petty Hu Han (947-950) and Hu Chu (951-960) dynasties had succeeded successively to the Hu Chin dynasty of the Shat'o, and in 955 the governor of Szechwan and the troops of Ho Chien were defeated by Emperor Shi Tsung of the Hu Chu dynasty.

Now was the propitious time for the Shat'o troops to vanish with their families in Kansu among the Tibetans, for east, north, and northwest China were troubled by wars. Kansu, during the time of the ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923-947) had constituted an integral part of their empire, and the Shat'o officials were cognizant of the chiefs of the Tibetan tribes living in East Kansu and Huangchung. The poor and destitute Shat'o having no way to move, many individuals and minor and major groups among them must have been happy to enlist and to disappear among the Tibetan tribes, acknowledging the authority of the chieftains and accepting the name of their tribe. They must have preferred to flee to the most remote mountainous southern part of East Kansu. Incidentally, it is noted among the 520 tribes of the powerful Tibetan chief, the later t'u-ssu Yang settled in the remote T'ao Chou, a tribe called the Shat'o tribe (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 64). A group of Ongutt Shat'o had fled to remote Lin T'ao, the region of the Tibetans. "They were Nestorians, they were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125-1235) and settled in Manchuria in the beginning of the twelfth century."⁶⁶¹

Many groups among them fled to Huangchung and settled in the region between Kanchow and Hsining, joining the Shat'o who were living there in 939 (Monguors I) for at the time the Monguors conquered Hsining the entire region 60 li north and northwest of Hsining was inhabited by Shat'o.

That in 947 the Shat'o easily dispersed among the Tibetans, acknowledging their chiefs as their own, is quite normal, for their national pride must have been at very low ebb. Their petty first dynasty (923-936) had been controlled by three emperors of three different families and by a fourth whose mother only was known. The second dynasty (936-946) had been controlled by a Shat'o commander who had usurped the imperial power. The protracted wars had exhausted the discontented tribes, who did not know for whom they were fighting. The family of the founding ancestor of the nation had been obliterated and its doom sealed.⁶⁶²

FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal,

⁶⁶¹ P. Pelliot, *Chrètiens d'Asie centrale and d'Extreme Orient, T'oung Pao*, 15 (5): 630, 1914.

⁶⁶² Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 42, 55, 58, 68, 1948.

a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.⁶⁶³ However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960-1280

The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875-1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.⁶⁶⁴ Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another, because in 1008 Wen-pu-ku.⁶⁶⁵ chief of the important T'u-fan tribe of Mao-ch'uan (the actual subprefecture Nien-pe), went to court to surrender leading forty-five other T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes of Hoshi.⁶⁶⁶ However, perspicacious T'u-fan leaders should long since have considered a wrong policy the reliance upon the protection of the Sung dynasty, which had to contend with serious troubles from inside and to fight the empire of the Liao barbarians in north China and at the same time to repel the invasions of the turbulent Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi. Therefore some of them must have considered that the genuine solution of the problem would be not to rely upon China, but upon themselves, rebuilding a T'u-fan Kingdom and welding the tribes in a unit under the chieftainship of a descendant of the founder of the kingdom.

Ho-lang-yeh-hsien, T'u-fan chief of Ho Chou tribes in East Kansu, was by accident or design in Kao Ch'ang in 1008 as the guest of the T'u-fan tribes of the petty Mo-yu kingdom. There he met a handsome and intelligent boy of twelve years of age, called Chiossulo, a genuine offspring

⁶⁶³ George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism by Buston Rin-po-che*, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

⁶⁶⁴ Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

⁶⁶⁵ Stein, *op. cit.*, 232.

⁶⁶⁶ *Sung Shih* 492: 8, 9, 10.

of the imperial Tsan-p'u family of Lhasa.⁶⁶⁷ He invited the boy to Ho Chou. The lama Li Li-tsun, chief of the important tribe of Tsung K'o⁶⁶⁸ and Wen-pu-ku the powerful chief of the tribe of Mao Ch'uan made an agreement with Ho Chou, and succeeded in moving the boy to Kuo Chou in Huangchung, acknowledging him as their chief. Confidence revived among the federated tribes in Huangchung and Ho Chou. Chiossulo was moved into the city of Tsung K'o and Li Lama appointed as minister. As cohesion among the tribes increased, the old predatory instinct was revived. In 1015 the lama, puffed up with pride, went plundering with the T'u-fan of Niku (region of the actual Lanchow) but was defeated by the Chinese general Ts'ao Wei in San-tu-ku and in the region of Hsi Liang. After these disastrous expeditions Chiossulo dismissed his minister, abhorred, by the tribes. He left Tsung K'o, moved to Mao-ch'uan, and appointed Wen-pu-ku his minister.

In 1016 Chiossulo deputed chiefs of his tribes to convey to the court excuses for the inroads made by Li Lama, presenting his submission and a gift of 583 horses. At the same time, on account of the persistent inroads of Hsi Hsia on the Huangchung borders and in East Kansu, the deputation proposed to the emperor that he fight Hsi Hsia in combination with the 60,000 troops Chiossulo commanded. The proposition was hotly debated among the ministers. The emperor, afraid of the revival of a new and terrible Tsan-p'u power, and distrusting the inconstancy and predatoriness of the barbarians, refused the offer. Thereupon the embittered Chiossulo invaded Fu Ch'iang in South Kansu with his troops of Huangchung and Ho Chou, but suffered a striking defeat at the hand of General Ts'ao Wei (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 6b). The commander of the troops of Ho Chou abandoned Chiossulo and submitted to the emperor, enfeebling the position of Chiossulo. In 1028 Hsi Hsia, invading West Kansu, liquidated the kingdom of the Uighurs in Kanchow and so the threat of invasion became more imminent.

Chiossulo and his minister submitted to the emperor in 1032 and were bestowed with titles. However, the Minister Wen Pu Ku revolted against Chiossulo, who killed him and later moved to Hsining. Chiossulo having troubles in his own backyard, Li Yuan-hao, King of Hsi Hsia, seized the opportunity to invade Hsining in 1035, but Chiossulo administered a tremendous defeat. This victory rendered him the master of all of Huangchung.

Li Yuen-hao conquered the districts of Su, Kua, and Sha Chou in West Kansu, commanding the trade roads to Central Asia, in 1036, and started moving T'u-fan and Uighur tribes into his kingdom of Hsi Hsia. Then many T'u-fan tribes, among them the tribes of Niku and several ten thousands of Uighurs preferred to flee to Chiossulo, pledge allegiance to him and settle in Huangchung. The scant population of Huangchung increased to the point where Chiossulo became the ruler of 600,000 subjects and Hsining started flourishing. The Uighurs, reputed traders, used to travel between Central Asia, China, and the Liao empire, and were familiar with the roads running

⁶⁶⁷ "The T'u-fan dynasty founded in the 7th century by Sron-btsan sgam-po consisted of tribes, not always on good terms with one another, welded into temporary unity. When king Lang-dharma started the persecution of Buddhism in 842 and was murdered the same year, the dynasty fell, never to rise again, and its military power vanished. However, the royal family was not wiped out with the end of the dynasty. Indeed Lang-dharma's descendants succeeded in founding some new petty kingdoms in the farthest regions of Tibet (Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 3, Roma, 1949). The Mo-yu kingdom in Kao-ch'ang must have been a kingdom of the same pattern (*Sung Shih* 492: 2b).

⁶⁶⁸ Tsung K'o is the region situated southwest of P'ing-jung-i which is located 80 li east of Hsining.

from Hsining through Kokonor and the passes in the Nan Shan leading to Kao Ch'ang⁶⁶⁹ and Central Asia. "The traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to Hsining." Hsining thrived with trade; wealth and riches poured into the country and at the same time agriculture developed.⁶⁷⁰

SEVERAL TEN THOUSANDS OF UIGHURS FLED TO HUANGCHUNG

Now the emperor was in a hurry to send an official to congratulate Chiossulo for his resounding victory over the Hsi Hsia, bringing him the titles of military governor of East Kansu and supreme chief of Mao-ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,⁶⁷¹ because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 8a; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 2a). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,⁶⁷² the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in

⁶⁶⁹ Kao Ch'ang is also called Turfan, Hsi Chou. In that region must have been the kingdom of Mo-yu where Chiossulo was born.

⁶⁷⁰ *Sung Shih*, 492: 8, 10, 11, 13. *Sung Shih* 251: 13. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 6, 7, 8. *Annals* of Hsining 30B: 1, 2, 3; 33A-B.

⁶⁷¹ Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266, 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

⁶⁷² Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-lueh* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, 15: 12 a-b.

which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15: 2b), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,⁶⁷³ the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 2a-b, 3a, 33a).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the t'u-ssu" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

⁶⁷³ Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13a) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.⁶⁷⁴ and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Kara-khanids,⁶⁷⁵ of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,⁶⁷⁶ and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038-1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in 1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang.

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country.

In Part II (8-14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta-fo-ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280-1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

⁶⁷⁴ Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.

⁶⁷⁵ Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.

⁶⁷⁶ *Sung Shih* 490: 7b. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762-763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94-97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones."

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,⁶⁷⁷ reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910-1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19a) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3a-b). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

⁶⁷⁷ Wolfram Eberhard. *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan tribe, T'u-fan mixed with Tang-hsiang, controlled by Wenpuku; and another important tribe controlled by the lama Li Li-tsung settled in the region of Tsung K'o. A third group is also noted, the group of the Slaves (Wu-mu) who settled in Kuo Chou, 150 li south of Nienpei, in 862.

To be sure, more insignificant tribes must have settled in Huangchung, but their names and the areas occupied are not recorded. Next to the Tibetan groups is recorded the Shat'o chu-hsieh tribe⁶⁷⁸ living in a region 100 li south of Kanchow in 939, stretching from the Nan Shan to Hsining (Monguors I: 13b) and encompassing the region of the Tat'ung River. Many Shat'o, after the collapse of their dynasty in 955, had joined this group. These Shat'o were the southern neighbors of the Uighurs of Kanchow for two hundred years, who were a mixture of many tribes blended and fused into the compound that founded the Khanate of Kanchow in 872. Its predatoriness is attested in the history of Turkistan and Kansu.⁶⁷⁹ Shat'o and Uighurs, according to the circumstances, had lived congenially together in former times, had combined their forces to fight a common enemy, but had fought against each other every time divergences of interest had arisen. What the relations had been between the Hsining Shat'o and the Kanchow Uighurs in 1036 is not known. The leading tribe among the Kanchow Uighurs was the Lung tribe.⁶⁸⁰

In what areas of Huangchung and east Kansu were these Uighurs and Tibetans settled by Chiossulo in 1036?

Scanning chapter 19 of the *Annals* of Hsining, dealing with the tribes settled in Huangchung in Ming times (1368) (three hundred years after their surrender to Chiossulo) one is amazed to read names of such tribes as Lung-pu, Lung-pen, Lung-wang, and To-lung. One thinks unwillingly that these names might point to tribes which had constituted the important Lung tribe of Kanchow, which might have divided into smaller tribes after the surrender to Chiossulo in 1036. One is surprised to read also that in 1071 the most powerful among the tribes depending on Hsining was the Lung-k'o tribe noted also as the Yu-lung-k'o tribe.⁶⁸¹ In the Lung k'o tribe there were numerous chiefs. The tribe was wealthy and opulent. It was settled in East Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan Tochi tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu,

⁶⁷⁸ Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 89, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

⁶⁷⁹ Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128-129.

⁶⁸⁰ *Wu-tai-shih* 74: 4a. Stein, *op. cit.*, 256. The Lung is a branch of the Uighurs of Kanchow whose customs differ little from those of the other Uighurs. The Lung came from Karashar (Yen-ch'i). Lung was the name of the clan chiefs of Karashar. They had settled in Kansu and Yi Chou (region of Hami). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128.

⁶⁸¹ Biography of General Wang Ch'ao in *Sung Shih* 87: 20 a-b. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 10b. *Annals* of Hsining 31: 3a, and the important study of Enoki Kazuo, entitled *Osho no kika Keiryaku ni tsuite* (on the Hsi-ho ching-lueh of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, 1, Tokyo, (Meng-ku hsueh pao) 1: 88-167.

numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 a-b). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh⁶⁸² tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12a, 15a). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20a) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 1-53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280-1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Tatung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907-951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan

⁶⁸² *Anthropos* 52: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: *Über die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.*

disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction.

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chio-ssulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 8a).

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the regime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the debacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives.

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals of*

Kansu 42: 27a). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 villages of natives, inhabited by 440 families (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29b). This means that the natives of Hu T'u-ssu were no longer organized in tribes as were the subjects of the first Ma T'u-ssu. Still, in the same Ming Chou T'u-ssu Chao Tang-chih-kuan-pu controlled three tribes of Tibetans and eight villages of natives, who later became Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 30a). Also in the same Ming Chou region, another t'u-ssu, Chao Cho-ssu-shieh, a chief of nomad Tibetans controlled 43 tribes of Tibetans and 48 tribes of natives. His subjects joined the revolt of the Yellow Tibetans (Uighurs),⁶⁸³ their neighbors, during the Yung Cheng period (1723-1724). The t'u-ssu lost his office and his subjects were forced into the framework of the Chinese administration and became thoroughly Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 31a). This important text proves definitely the presence of groups of still autonomous Yellow Tibetan (Uighur) tribes controlled by their own chiefs, in whose revolt the forty-eight native tribes joined. It may be supposed that they also were Uighurs still organized in tribes but controlled by the t'u-ssu. In Ti Tao along the same T'ao River the Mongol T'u-ssu Chao T'o-t'ieh-mu-erh controls three tribes of Tibetans and fifteen tribes of natives. In Choni region situated on the same river, between T'ao Chou and Ming Chou, the well-known T'u-ssu Yang controls 520 tribes called Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32 a-b). Among these tribes one is called Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 640) and several are called Black Tibetans (Uighurs) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 67a). Also is noted a revolt of Black Tibetan tribes in 1712 in which the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu joined. The t'u-ssu helped subdue the revolt and titles were granted to thirty-seven tribes of these Black Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32a). There are only recorded the most important t'u-ssu. Finally two important groups of Yellow and Black Tibetan tribes (Uighurs) are recorded in that remote mountainous region, which during the

⁶⁸³ *T'oung Pao* 14, 1: 149, 1913, records "the Yogur tribes in Kansu are separated in two groups, whose languages are entirely different. The Saro Yogurs (Yellow Tibetans) are Turks, the Shera Yogurs (Black Tibetans) are Mongols. This note is written according to articles of G. F. Mannerheim: A visit to the Saro Yogurs (*Journal de la Société Fino Ougrienne* 28: 2, 1911, and to the article of S. E. Maloff: Restes de Chamanisme chez les Yogurs Jaunes (Saro Yogurs) en Russe, extract de la revue *Jivaia Starina*, 61-74, 1912. Concerning these two groups, the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 87a, 88, 89, record: 15 Hsi-la-ku-erh tribes called Huang-fan (Yellow Tibetans, Saro Yogurs) live in the southern mountains (Nan Shan), five in the district of Kanchow, eight in that of Suchow and two in that of Kao T'ai, and also seven T'ang-wu-t'e tribes called Hofan (Black Tibetans, Shera Yogurs). The proper name of the Yellow group is Tan-chih, Formerly it inhabited the commandery of Han-tung (Sha-chou) and is of Mongol origin. It was looted by T'ulufan and moved by Governor Wang Chih into the southern mountains of Kanchow in 1518; it is usually called the Yellow Mongol group. The sources of the Ho River are 100 li southwest of Kanchow. (The sources of the Ho River are far from the regions of the T'ao River, Ming Chou, Ling T'ao.) The west side of the river is entirely inhabited by Yellow Tibetans, the east side by Black Tibetans, also called people of the northern way. The Black Tibetans called T'ang-wu-t'e originated from the Hsi-ch'iang (Western Tibetans) of the Han time (200 B.C.-A.D. 200). In 1696 they were forced to follow Galdan. After the defeat of Galdan, those among them who were engaged in farming, surrendered. In 1698 they received hereditary titles, with official documents and seals, on which were written and engraved Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese characters. Six tribes inhabit Kanchow territory, one inhabits Kao T'ai. These notes, excerpted from the *Annals* of Kansu, deal only with tribes living in the Kanchow territory and in the Suchow area, not with those of Ming Chou.

Manchu dynasty still lived independently, controlled by their own chiefs, and to which joined the Yellow and Black Tibetans who had submitted to local chieftains.

The Black Tibetans (Uighurs) living in the T'ao Chou district, depending on the Yang T'u-ssu of Choni, revolted during eleven years from 1868 to 1879.

Since 1822, the rebels of the old White Nenuphar groups, incessantly changing the name of their groups and moving from Szechwan Province, had invaded East Kansu and wrought tremendous havoc among the people of all of East Kansu for more than fifty years. The Tibetan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted at the same time. All the revolts were directed against the hated Manchu dynasty, a dynasty of barbarian origin which ruled China

In 1868 the revolt of the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu had been more or less quelled. It broke out in full swing in 1879 again. According to the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 70a, a Black Tibetan, subject of the Yang t'u-ssu, called Cho yang-jen-chieh, living in the Kua-tse-ku, was a shaman by profession. In 1879, during the devastating earthquake of the fifth moon, his wife gave birth to a boy, whom he insidiously had called to be a Living Buddha. The baby was brought to the monastery and the lamas with the shaman, intending to make money, spread the news. During the feast prepared to honor the Living Buddha, attended by a huge crowd making offerings, the shaman, a piece of red cotton rolled on his head and a sword in his girdle, performed the shamanistic rites. Enraptured in a wild trance, he disclosed what his spirit had just imparted to him: the Living Buddha was chosen, the spirit said, to become the emperor of China. All the Black Tibetans of the four tribes were enrolled in the army of the Buddha, weapons were prepared, and the Uighurs attacked the villages of Ah Ho T'an and Yung P'ing and others. At that time the revolt of the White Nenuphar, called by the Chinese the "Hairy brigands," was still raging in East Kansu. Troops soon arrived. The Black Tibetans were beaten and pursued.

The Governor General Tso Tsung-t'ang sent more troops, ordering them to capture the chiefs of the revolt. The shaman, the Living Buddha, and twenty other men were captured and killed, and T'ao Chou district was at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans.

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97:

37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa*, the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.⁶⁸⁴

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huangchung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huangchung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712-1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280-1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, tending and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals* of Hsining, 31b, 33a. *Sung Shih* 492: 14a-b). In 1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the

⁶⁸⁴ Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78-99, 1940-1941.

appointment in 1068, granted to the new chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals of Hsining*, 31b, 33b. *Annals of Kansu* 46: 11b. *Sung Shih* 492: 16b).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Hochou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 10, 12. *Annals of Hsining* 31B: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* 492: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals of Hsining* 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were

taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 1, 14; *Annals of Hsining* 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036-1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086-1131).

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tang-hsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes started making a living, tilling the soil, tending their few animals, and hoping for a better future. These were the circumstances of the country and of the population which the Mongols encountered in Huangchung in 1227.

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE YUAN DYNASTY

General Subudei conquered Huangchung and occupied Hsining peacefully in the third moon of 1227 (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 20a-; *Annals of Hsining* 31B: 8b).

The choice of a new emperor after the death of Chingis Khan (1227) caused a lull in the military operations. The Mongols, according to the time-honored pattern prevailing among nomads, never overcame this hurdle without trouble and rivalry among the princes, and several times the dynasty would be on the brink of collapse at that fateful time.

Ogodei, third son of Chingis, having been appointed by him as his successor, became emperor in 1229, and from the first days of his reign he vigorously resumed the war with the Chin empire in East Kansu and middle China, and conquered the cities of East Kansu and Shensi occupied by the Chin. The laborious conquest of the Chin was achieved in 1234 and in 1235 Ogodei started with the conquest of the Chinese empire, while in the meantime Mongol armies were fighting in Korea, in Central Asia, and Persia. The turbulent Mongols, still eager for more and more conquests, did not spend much time on the organization of the conquered countries, and Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai, their wise minister, had to remind them again and again that empires could be conquered, but not governed, on horseback.⁶⁸⁵

Again a lull was created in the military operations, this time by the death of Ogodei, December, 1241, for trouble arose in the imperial family regarding the succession to the throne. Ogodei had chosen as his successor his grandson Shiremon, son of his third son Ku-ch'u who had died in 1236. The widow of Ogodei, Toragana, taking the regency from 1242 until 1246, preferred to see elected her oldest son, Guyuk, despite the opposition of the family. Unfortunately, Emperor Guyuk died in 1248. This time, descendants of the first and fourth sons of Chingis in 1251 elected Mongka, oldest son of Tului, the fourth son of Chingis. Peace was seriously disturbed. Malcontents of the second and third branches were killed, among them the widow of Guyuk,

⁶⁸⁵ René Grousset, *Histoire de L'extrême Orient*, 431, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

Chiremon,⁶⁸⁶ and seeds of discord and hatred were planted forever in the imperial family. In 1251 until his death in 1259, Mongka resumed vigorously the conquest of China, which had slackened since the death of Ogodei in 1241. Then his brothers, Kubilai and Arik-boga, were both elected emperors in 1260 by their respective factions, Kubilai in China, Arik-boga in Mongolia. War started among these two brothers and the descendants of all the sons of Chingis, and even the offspring of the brothers of Chingis participated in the struggle. Kaidu, son of the fifth son of Ogodei, was the leader of the endless revolt; he conquered Central Asia and at the death of Kubilai in 1294 he was still in possession of both Turkistan and the part of Mongolia west of the Khanghai Mountains. After the death of Kaidu in 1301, his son continued the revolt during the reign of the grandson of Kubilai, until 1309. During these times of disorganization and hatred in the imperial family, several princes transferred their allegiance many times from one to another of the leading chiefs of the revolt, even brothers taking sides in opposite camps.

No wonder that very little was done relating to the organization of the conquered countries. During their reigns Ogodei (1229-1241), Guyuk (1246-1248), and Mongka (1251-1259) eagerly engaged in more and more conquest. Fortunately Kubilai, more cognizant of Chinese civilization than his predecessors, reigned thirty-four years (1260-1294). However, during all this time he had to face disastrous revolts against him inside the imperial family and at the same time lead the conquest of China, Japan, Indo-China, etc. Consequently, the first notes concerning Hsining and the united Kansu are encountered during the reign of Kubilai.

Yuan Shih 60: 27*b* records that from the beginning of the Yuan Hsining had been the assigned appanage of Chang Chi,⁶⁸⁷ imperial son-in-law.

In 1275, Chang Chi and two other commanders were ordered to send their Mongol troops to Ao-lu-ch'ih,⁶⁸⁸ the seventh son of Kubilai, Prince of Hsi P'ing,⁶⁸⁹ who was engaged in a war with the T'u-fan. The country where the trouble occurred is not indicated (*Yuan Shih* 8: 20*b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 114: 7*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 32*B*: 80). Chang Chi received a seal in 1282 (*Yuan Shih* 12: 2*b*) and money for his troops in 1283 (*Yuan Shih* 12:13*b*).

Sixty years after Huangchung had been conquered by Subudei (1227) the civil and military organization of the country was started. We do not know who cared for Huangchung before that time. Only *Hsin Yuan Shih* 48: 5*a* records that for the first time, in 1269, after forty years, in Ho-chou (East Kansu) a bureau for the pacification of the T'u-fan (T'u-fan hsuan-wei-sse) had been established, and it may be presumed that Ho Chou kept an eye on Huangchung from that time on. However, Ao-lu-ch'ih controlled the Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 3*a*). Finally in 1286 Hsining

⁶⁸⁶ Grousset, *op. cit.*, 441.

⁶⁸⁷ Louis Hambis, *Monographies du T'oung Pao* 3: 108. *Yuan Shih* 1: 160-162, Brill, Leiden, 1954. He was the great-grandson of Ch'i-ku of the Konggirat, who had married Tumalun, daughter of Chingis and Bortai. Chang Chi married the Princess Mangkotai.

⁶⁸⁸ Hambis, *Monographies du T'oung Pao Supplément*, 38: ch. 107 du Yuen shih, 114.

⁶⁸⁹ The title of Prince of Hsi P'ing, and all similar titles, does not imply that the region of Hsi P'ing was appanaged to the prince, nor that he resided in Hsi P'ing. Hsi P'ing is Ling Wu near Ningshia, and not Hsining. Chao Pao-chi, ruler of Hsi Hsia, having conquered Ling Wu in 1002, changed the name of Ling Wu into that of Hsi P'ing and established his capital there. In 1013 his successor Chao Te-ming was appointed by the Chin emperor, Prince of Hsi P'ing, and in 1016 the Sung emperor Chen Tsung conferred upon him the same title. Hence the origin of the title. At the time the Mongols had conquered Hsi Hsia (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 5*b*, 6*a*), they granted the title of the conquered city to their own commanders.

was created a district (chou) depending on the military commandery (Tsung-kuan-fu) of the circuit (Lu) of I-chi-nai, situated 500 li northeast of Suchow in the Gobi. Regular civil and military officials were appointed (*Annals of Hsining* 22: 5a) and the institution of the granaries established, from which we can infer that land taxes were imposed (*Annals of Hsining* 31B, 8b; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 48: 240). In 1287 Chang Chi received the title of Prince of Ning P'u, prince of the second degree, with the duty of military commander and governor of Huangchung and with the order to garrison the country (*Annals of Hsining* 32B: 8b; *Yuan Shih* 14: 13b, 27, 60; *Ming Shih* 330: 1b). This seems to indicate that Chang Chi, before that time, had not resided in his appanage and had not administered it, although he had been entitled to receive some revenues from it. He had been a simple commander of his own troops, always available to be sent by his superiors where emergencies arose. It was in that way that his troops had fought under the command of Ao-lu-ch'ih in 1275, that in 1288 he was ordered, in combination with other commanders, to fight Kaidu, who attacked the frontiers of Kansu (*Yuan Shih* 15: 1b) and that in 1289 he helped to quell the revolt of Shiliemen (*Yuan Shih* 15:140). The date of the death of Chang Chi is not recorded. It is only noted that his wife received a title in 1317 and a gift in silver and cash (*Yuan Shih* 26: 2b, 30, 26).⁶⁹⁰

The fact that in 1286 the granary offices were established and land taxes imposed proves that in Huangchung land was tilled. Consequently, the country must have recovered more or less from the tremendous devastation wrought by the disastrous wars, which had lasted for forty-five years preceding the conquest of Huangchung by the Chin (1131) and during their peaceful occupation of the country, which lasted for a century (1131-1227). The depleted tribes of T'u-fan, Uighurs, and Shat'o, having lost most of their herds, would have been forced to concentrate on farming in order to earn a living, and to indulge in some trade and manufacture according to the circumstances. It may be supposed that, since the time of the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols (1227), troops, accompanied by their families as was the rule, occupied the country and practiced agriculture as did previous Chinese colonists, for no granaries existed before 1286, and no officials to provide for the subsistence of the soldiers. Moreover, it is a fact of common knowledge that Kubilai ordered the Mongol troops to farm and to defend the country at the same time.⁶⁹¹ This is borne out also by the fact that at the time the Ming dynasty (1368) started establishing Chinese colonies in Huangchung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 55; *Annals of Hsining* 24: 14b, and *Monguors* I: 30, 33), the conquered Mongol troops had to leave the irrigated country around the cities and were relegated to side valleys. The memory of this fateful decision, made by the Ming, was still fresh among the Monguors in 1910, and their tradition went so far as to claim their ancestors as the initial diggers of the irrigation canals and the inaugurators of agriculture in the country.

We get the confirmation of this fact from the celebrated Marco Polo, who with his father Nicolo and his uncle Matteo, went to Hsining in 1274, on his way from Venice to Peking. He writes, "the population of this country consists chiefly of idolaters (Shamanists, lamaists) but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians Nestorians) ... the inhabitants employ themselves in trade and manufacturing. They have grain in abundance."⁶⁹²

Probably Marco Polo made this statement because the Mongol troops and the Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o farmed in Huangchung. This text proves also that probably during the century

⁶⁹⁰ Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 160-162.

⁶⁹¹ Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 562.

⁶⁹² *The travels of Marco Polo*, translated and edited by W. Marsden, reedited by Thomas Right, 135-138, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent, London, 1950.

of peace preceding the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols, some Mohammedans and Nestorians from Turkistan had returned to Hsining, which they had known since the time of Chiossulo (1038), to engage in trade.

However, because the note of Marco Polo dates from 1274, we have to consider that during the campaigns of Chingis Khan in Turkistan, which had started in 1209, the Mongols had come in close contact with Mohammedans and Uighurs.⁶⁹³ The influence exerted at court by the Mohammedan Yalavach is well known. It was so striking that Empress Toragana had to remove and demote him at the time he tried to impede the succession of Guyuk to Ogodei, planned by the empress.⁶⁹⁴

According to H. F. Schurmann, in the early years of the Mongolian rule in North China a great number of Central Asiatic merchants had moved into China and organized in the corporation known as "Ortaq." Ortaq means "partner" or companion. These merchants were financial "partners" of members of the imperial family and nobility, from whom they received sizable amounts of silver as loans. This capital they used to expand their trade activities. In addition, many of them functioned as tax farmers who collected revenues and taxes from the appanages of their benefactors. The financial administration of the appanages prior to the year 1260 was in the hands of the feudatories and not in the hands of the imperial government. After 1260 the situation changed radically; the newly established central government by Kubilai took over the financial administration of all parts of the realm. The revenues of the feudatories from their appanages were collected by officials of the central government and then turned over to the feudatories.⁶⁹⁵

Consequently, Mohammedans must have lived in Hsining since 1260, caring for the control of the appanage of Chang Chi, and it is quite possible that other Mohammedans and Uighur Nestorians would have moved to Huangchung to indulge in trade during the Mongol period, even long before 1260. Later it will be noted that during the Mongol period Mohammedan Salars and the clan of the later Yeh T'u-ssu moved into Huangchung.

In the *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8b, is still noted the appointment in 1303 of the Prince of Hsining, Ch'u Pei,⁶⁹⁶ as commander of all the troops of Kansu. However, no movement of troops is noted.

Also it is recorded in 1324 that Ch'u Pei rescued from famine the troops of the Prince of Hsi-p'ing (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8b). Ao-lu-ch'ih, Prince of Hsi-p'ing, had died soon after 1303 in Ningshia, his son Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia had inherited the title of his father, and later in 1337 the grandson Kuan-pu-pa. Thus Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia received help from Hsining and his troops were garrisoned in Lan, Kuan, and Lingwu.⁶⁹⁷

The *Annals* of Hsining note that in 1329 to Sulaiman⁶⁹⁸ was granted the title of Prince of Hsining (and not of Hsip'ing), and that in 1332 on account of his military achievements, the emperor created four appointments of "preceptor of the prince." A seal was cast and bestowed upon the prince by the emperor. However, Sulaiman never lived in Hsining.

⁶⁹³ Grousset, *op. cit.*, 483.

⁶⁹⁴ Franke, *op. cit.*, 4: 276, 306.

⁶⁹⁵ H. F. Schurmann, reviewing Herbert Franke's *Geld und Wirtschaft in China der Mongolenherrschaft*, in *H.J.O.A.S.*, Vol. 15, June 25.

⁶⁹⁶ *Yuan Shih* 21: 6a; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 113 and 107: 92, 8.

⁶⁹⁷ *Hsin Yuan Shih* 114: 7b, 8a, b; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 141-143.

⁶⁹⁸ *Yuan Shih* 36: 4b; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 9a; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 103.

Two names of pacifiers of T'u-fan are also mentioned in the *Annals* of Hsining 22: 3b, Chin-ch'a-t'ai⁶⁹⁹ and Cho-chi-ssu-pan.

In Kuei Te, south of Hsining, on the bank of the Yellow River, a fortress had been built and a garrison established by the troops of Huangchung during the period Chih-yuan (between 1335 and 1340), in order to prevent inroads in Huangchung by T'u-fan or Tang-hsiang from East Kansu. Terrible famines, started in 1337, desolated East Kansu for years, and T'u-fan plundered East Kansu, pillaging more than two hundred cities and villages (*Annals* of Hsining 9: 11b; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 21b). Another important fortress was built 140 li west of the city of Yung Nan, northwest of Hsining, called the triangle city (San-chiao-ch'eng) and a strong garrison established. It controlled the routes leading from Kokonor to Suchow, Kanchow and Liangchow, I-chi-nai and Ch'ih-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 18a-b) and prevented inroads of T'u-fan and attacks of Mongols during the terrible revolt of Kaidu against Kubilai.

In both *Annals* nothing is noted relating to lamas traveling through Huangchung troubling the people, as is noted concerning lamas traveling through East Kansu on their way from Lhasa to Peking. Maybe the lamas knew that the country was too poor and entirely devastated and so they preferred to travel through East Kansu.

These are the poor records collected in the *Annals* of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, concerning the history of Huangchung during the period of the Yuan. No records are available, as is the case for the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, relating to the distribution and amount of land, salt, and mill taxes, or relating to the exchange of tea against horses, bureaus for which were established in East Kansu, in T'ao Chou and Kung-ch'ang (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 36). No records are available concerning the size of the population, the number of tribes living in the country, or the economic situation, or even the building of a single school or of Confucian or Taoist temples. There is only noted the existence of the Buddhist temple Ta-fo-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 1b) built by the ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan during the Yuan period (Monguors II: 14). However, in the *Annals* it is carefully recorded that the Ming started with the erection of schools, the building of cities and hotels for the officials (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 4b, 6a, 10a), and so we may conclude that during the last years of the Sung dynasty and the ravaging wars waged by tribes for forty-five years, enraged against the Chinese, taking and retaking and destroying cities, etc., few public institutions and buildings would have been left in the cities, and that nothing would have been done by the Yuan for the reconstruction of the country. The Mongol troops engaged in agriculture guarded the thinly populated country. That the country was thinly populated is borne out by the fact that the Ming rewarded lamas for alluring Tibetans to settle in the country (Monguors II: 16, 17), and also by the fact that two cities, situated south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who

⁶⁹⁹ Chin Ch'a-t'ai was the second son of Kochkar, great-grand-son of Barchug, idukut (chief) of an Uighur tribe, which pledged allegiance to Chingis Khan in 1209 in Turkistan. The tribe remained faithful to the Mongol dynasty. Chin Ch'a-t'ai in 1318, refused the titles of Idukut and of prince of Kao Ch'ang, granted to his nephew T'ieh-mu-erh-pu-huo, who asked the emperor to bestow them upon his uncle (Hambis, *op. cit.* 8: 132, note 3; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 116: 7b).

Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1372 in memory of Prince Hindu, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 12 (142): 1 sq., June, 1949.

controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol national things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANG-CHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295-1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333-1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the allegiance of one rebelling chief after another, and proceeded with his army for the conquest of the northern provinces of the empire. The emperor fled from the capital in 1368 toward Ying ch'ang, northwest of Jehol, and Su Ta, general of Chou Yuan-chang, occupied Peking in September, 1368. Chou Yuan-chang was proclaimed Emperor of the Ming dynasty. He established his capital in Nanking and adopted "Hung-wu" as the designation of his reign.⁷⁰⁰ The last Mongol army, commanded by K'uo K'uo Timur, was defeated by General Su Ta and the province of Shansi was conquered. K'uo K'uo Timur fled to Kansu hoping to mobilize a new army, but Su Ta sent officials all over the country announcing the end of the Yuan dynasty and the accession of the Ming dynasty, and requesting submission (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 9a).

SURRENDER OF MONGOL PRINCES AND OFFICIALS

According to the family chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien-ch'eng (the country contiguous with Huangchung), T'o Huan, Prince of Anting, descendant of the fifth generation of Kolgan, sixth son of Chingis Khan, had arrived in Kansu, with a small retinue, on his way back from Peking. T'o Huan discharged the prominent office of P'ing-chang Cheng-shih. He had

⁷⁰⁰ Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 549-550. Grousset, *op. cit.*, 495-496.

defended the capital with the imperial guard against the Ming troops, but had failed to accompany the fleeing imperial family. He had assisted in Peking at the lamentable collapse of the Yuan dynasty and the piteous flight of the imperial family. He understood the uselessness of any further resistance against the victorious armies of the Ming. Having received in 1369 the invitation of the Ming emperor, conveyed by General Teng Yu, to come and see him, he went to call on the emperor, and surrendered, complying with the proposition of his reappointment as chief of his tribes in the territory he had occupied at the time of the Yüan. He controlled 3,245 families, totaling 21,686 persons. T'o Huan knew very well that the transfer of allegiance to new lords entailed the duty to fight in their behalf. Consequently in the third moon of 1370, the chronicles of the Lu clan note his participation in the resounding victory of General Su Ta over K'uo K'uo Timur.⁷⁰¹

The surrender of such a notorious Mongol prince, living in Kansu, an eyewitness of the collapse of the dynasty, must have deeply impressed the other Kansu princes and officials, who had also received the same invitation to surrender. In the same year another Monguor prince of Huangchung, member of the imperial family, Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, surrendered. He had been appointed by the Yuan emperor guardian of the region 90 li south of Hsining, had discharged the office of myriarch with golden badge and purple tassel, was official of the Li-wen-so of the province of Kansu and enjoyed the title of duke. His subjects numbered 800 families organized in four tribes, scattered in many villages in the region south of Hsining, noted for the forays of savage and predatory Tibetans (Monguors I: 53; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 9a; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 35). He was the first among the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung who surrendered.

In 1370, on the third moon, K'uo K'uo Timur attacked with a new army the Ming troops in the Lanchow region, but suffered a crushing defeat at Shen-erh-ku, at the hand of Su Ta. Here 1,800 princes and officials were taken prisoner and 80,000 soldiers died on the field of battle (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 22b). General Li Wen-chung, moving from Peking in pursuit of the Yuan emperor, reached in the fifth moon of the same year, the imperial family in Yin-ch'ang, where the last emperor of the Yuan had died a month before. He took prisoner the grandson of the emperor, the empresses, and princesses, etc. Only the heir apparent to the throne escaped toward Karakorum.

Su Ta seized the opportunity of his victory to send all over the country, Hsiu Yung-te, secretary general of the administrative organ of Shensi province, again inviting the officials to submit, while he continued the conquest of the cities and regions situated in the southeast of Kansu. Here the Yuan had established Hsuan-wei-sse (pacification commanderies) and many myriarchies and chyliarchies, with Mongol incumbents endowed with hereditary titles, commanding a thousand or ten thousand soldiers with their families. The administrative center of the country was Ho Chou (*Yuan Shih* 60: 10a,b; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 48: 8-11).

The invitation to submission reached fruition, for in the sixth moon the Tibetan Suo-nan-pu, who had filled during the Yuan the important office of pacification commander and controlled forty-eight Tibetan tribes, arrived at the headquarters of General Teng Yu, offering the emblems and documents of his office, received from the Yuan. Later the name Ho was granted to him and

⁷⁰¹ The problems of the origin and history of the Lu clan are discussed in the chapters dealing with the translation of the family chronicle of the clan. The name Lu was bestowed upon the clan by Emperor Ch'eng Tsung (Yung-lo) after his campaign (1410) against A-lu-t'ai, in which the son of T'o Huan, Kung-pu-shih-t'ieh, was killed. The Lu clan was a genuine Monoguor clan and the close neighbor of the Monguor clans of Huangchung, speaking the same language and called Monguor by the Monguor clans of Huangchung. Its history was closely connected with that of the Huangchung Monguors. Therefore, it is included in the study.

the office of assistant commander of the commanderies of Ho Chou and Wei Chou. Together with the powerful Suo-nan-pu the Tibetan tribes living in the districts of Chi Ch'eng, T'ao Chou, and Min Chou, and the eighteen tribes of Chieh and Wen Chou surrendered.

In the same sixth moon, the Prince of Wu Ching, Bu Ma La, pacifier of the western regions, descendant of Ao-lu-ch'ih, the seventh son of Kubulai, following in the wake of the Lu and Ch'i princes, surrendered with all the Tibetan tribes subject to him.⁷⁰²

In the eighth moon, after receiving the invitation conveyed by the "interpreter introducer" Kung-k'o So-nan, the prince of Kao Ch'ang, Huo Chang, and the prince of Ch'i, Sang Ko, and Dorjibal, surrendered with their subjects.⁷⁰³

In 1371, on the third moon, another conquered Mongol prince, T'o-li-pe-lai, was sent to the still unconquered Mongol officials in Kansu with summons to transfer their allegiance to the new Ming dynasty. The repeated sending of messengers with summons for peaceful surrender, and the ceaseless surrender of Mongol princes and officials in Kansu, point to the presence of the tremendous number of Mongols living in that province at that time, mixed with Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, and at the number of officials who still seemed to "wait and see."

GENERAL SURRENDER OF THE MONGUOR OFFICIALS IN HUANGCHUNG

The Monguor officials in Huangchung still waited, despite the two summonses they had received in 1369 and 1370. To be sure an atmosphere of dark apprehension and portent must have hung over Huangchung after the flight of the imperial family, the capture of the capital, the creation of the new dynasty, the crushing defeats of the armies of K'uo K'uo Temur and the daily surrender of Mongol princes and officials east and west in their neighborhood. They must have realized that no peg remained on which to hang a last shred of hope for the restoration of their crumbled dynasty, and that a return toward Mongolia boded hopeless ills. In many councils there must have been discussed on the one hand all those fateful circumstances, and the presence at their very door of the victorious armies of Su Ta. On the other hand they must have appreciatively considered the fact of the reappointment in their former offices of the conquered officials. Then unexpectedly, in the third moon in 1371, was delivered the last summons to surrender, by the Mongol Prince T'o-li-pe-lai. This time the decision was readily taken; the officials would submit and remain the guardians of the country in behalf of the new emperor.

On the fifth moon the Mongol, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who controlled twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols composed of 700 families settled near Nien-pe in Ta-tse-wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 9b). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 9; *Annals of*

⁷⁰² *Ming Shih*, 331, 1b; *Ming Hung-wu Shih-lu*, 53, 15.

⁷⁰³ Huo Chang is a descendant in the eighth generation of the Uighur chief Barchuk, who submitted to Chingis Khan in Turkistan in 1209. From Nanuril, his descendant of the fourth generation, who died in 1318, and was the first Prince of Kao-ch'ang, the list of successions is confusing. The same is true of Sangko and Dorjibal. Sangko is noted as Prince of Kao-Ch'ang and Dorjibal as Prince of Ch'i!

Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 7, 50, 132, 133; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 116: 5b, 7a, 9b; F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362*, 25 sq., H.J.A.S., Vol. 1949, N. 1-2.

Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.⁷⁰⁴ T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans⁷⁰⁵ in Huangchung (Monguors I:31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself whole-heartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei Chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year. Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371.

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."⁷⁰⁶ The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the

⁷⁰⁴ *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

⁷⁰⁵ I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

⁷⁰⁶ In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur,

Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend.

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 t'u-ssu are called t'u-min or t'u-jen in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors.

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 430). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42; 43B). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22,23).

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620-905. Anyway, the Salars

Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them t'u-jen, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280-1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.⁷⁰⁷ Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming.

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their own troops, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. The Ming must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38a, 46b) and the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 9a-b), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923-936) and Hu Chin (936-947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39a, 480). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

⁷⁰⁷ William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member.

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien⁷⁰⁸ records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.⁷⁰⁹

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nanko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nanko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875-1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire).

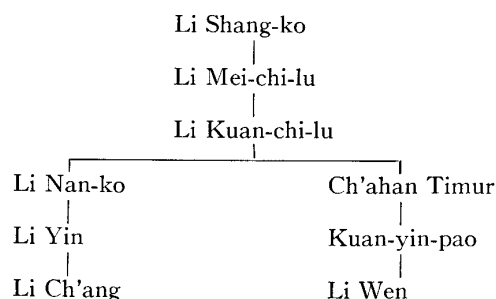
The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-kan 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the

⁷⁰⁸ Kan, *Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

⁷⁰⁹ Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the sub-prefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644-1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.⁷¹⁰

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.⁷¹¹ From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu.



HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical

⁷¹⁰ The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2b. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 47b).

⁷¹¹ *Annals* of Kansu 46: 3b, happened in 982.

chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh.

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire.

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ningshia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923-947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

Possibly the fact chiseled on the stele, stating that the Li clan had originated from the Topa Hsi Hsia tribe, induced Yueh Nai, who was not conversant with Chinese history, to find a solution combining two impossible data. However, how could the tradition of the origin of the clan have been obliterated to such an extent if stock were taken of the fact that the grandson of Li Nan-ko, Li Kung, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and later was promoted minister of the Shang-pao-ssu, certainly must have known all about the Shat'o and the Hsi Hsia history?

It is interesting to compare the two documents. Both stele and chronicle start with the same ancestor Li Shang-ko, his son Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Kuan-chi-lu, his great-grandson Li Nan-ko whose son was Li Yin and grandson Li Ch'ang.

However, on the stele the brother of Li Nan-ko, Ch'ahan Timur, and his son and grandson Li Wen, are not mentioned. It has to be kept in mind that the stele is erected in Hsiang T'ang, in the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so it is normal that the members of the Li Nan-ko branch only should be recorded on the stele in this cemetery. The Li Wen branch has its own cemetery situated ten li north of Hsining, with its own steles, etc. But it is normal that in the genealogical chronicle of the entire Li clan, composed by Yueh Nai in 1644, the Li Wen branch should be recorded next to that of Li Nan-ko.

Who was Li Shang-ko? On the stele he is noted as having been an official of the Prince of Ch'i, during the Yuan dynasty (1280-1367). His son Li Mei-chi-lu and his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu are recorded as having held the same office.

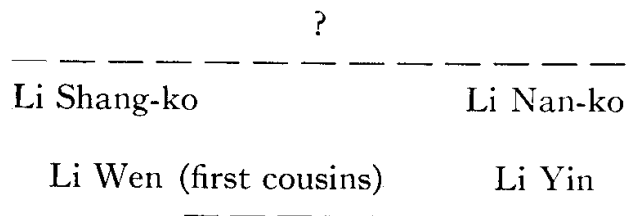
The Ch'i princes had been appanaged by the emperor in East Kansu in Feng-hsiang-fu. Among them was the Prince T'o-t'o-nu-erh Fu-ma⁷¹² who was the younger brother of Chang Chi to whom, at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, Huangchung had been assigned as appanage, and who in 1287 had been ordered by the emperor to reside in Huangchung. Chang Chi must have known the Li clan pretty well.

⁷¹² Hambis, *op. cit.*, 108, 49.

In the biography of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, in the *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11b, it is noted that in the Hsuan Te period (1426-1436), Li Wen held the office of Tu chih-huei chien-shih (secretary High Commandant) at the Hsin-tu-ssu in Shensi province. Does this not seem to point to an incumbency near the same Princes of Ch'i? However this seems impossible, because, in 1429 according to the same *Annals* (27: 11), Li Wen and all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung participated in the expedition in Nan Ting and Ch'u Hsien, conducted by Li Yin, and according to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 380) this expedition started in 1425.

However, according to the genealogical register of Yueh Nai, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu hu-chih (vice-chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining under the Yuan; he therefore lived in Huangchung and not in East Kansu in Feng-Hsiang Fu in the appanage of the Ch'i prince. It was also at that time that the Li clan parted in six branches. But the Li clan never parted in six branches because only two Li clans have existed in Huangchung and not six.

The *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38), according to "original" documents, record that Li Wen was the son of the first wife of Li Shang-ko and that the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2b, 10a), which printed that Li Yin was the uncle of Li Wen are to be amended. Li Wen and Li Yin were first cousins, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko were brothers. However, the *Annals* do not tell who was the father of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko.



During the Yuan dynasty, Li Wen discharged the office of Tu chih-huei t'ung-chih (Vice-chairman High Commandant) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38a) and then submitted to the Ming with the officials of Huangchung in a group in 1371. The *Annals* do not note at what time Li Shang-ko died. However the fact, that Li Wen went to submit as chief of the clan means that his father had died before 1371. Because he submitted to the Ming, he and not Li Shang-ko had been granted the office of t'u-ssu. He is considered the founding ancestor of the clan and with him starts the clan cemetery. In this clan cemetery his mound is the principal and highest one. When all the subjects of the clan come yearly to honor him and the later clan ancestors, offerings and libations are first made before his mound and then before the graves of the later ancestors. Li Shang-ko, his father, is not buried in the clan cemetery.

At what time did the Li clan part into two clans? It is certain that before the submission of Li Wen before 1371, the division of the paternal inheritance had long since been accomplished between the two brothers, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko (or between former clan chiefs), because both clans, in the Yuan dynasty, controlled definite territories, were ordered to guard definite passes and keep always ready a definite number of foot and horse (for all the t'u-ssu were in the Yuan times groups of Mongol soldiers or groups of surrendered tribes enrolled as defenders of the country). Because it is said that during the Ming and Ch'ing times they continued to occupy and defend the same territories and passes, it would seem that before the Li Nan-ko and Li Shang-ko time the division of the clan must have been achieved.

Anyway the problem of the exact time at which the partition of the clans had been achieved is not an easy one to solve, and also the problem concerning Li Wen himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically

fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years!

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46b), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10a. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself.

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2b) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son.

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2a) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (*Monguors* I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8a). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (*Monguors* I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan.

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17a; 27: 10-11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46b, 470).

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times.

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368-1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history.

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty.

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel ling chieftain, Ho Chang-tsa (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 9-10).

The commandery of Hsining was created in 1372 (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 9*b*). This means that Chinese officials arrived accompanied by some troops to organize the country along the Chinese pattern and to enlist the t'u-ssu in their service.

The Ch'i t'u-ssu, Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, who had surrendered in 1368, was sent in 1372 to the country of the salt lake in Kokonor, where the tribal chief I-lin-chen-pen had revolted. He defeated the turbulent chief and pacified and controlled the country. He induced the Mongol chief Ch'i-chih-sun to surrender (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 2*b*; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 350).

The heir apparent of the Yuan, Ai-ya-shih-li-ta-la, escaping from Ying Ch'ang in 1370, had arrived at Karakorum and been proclaimed emperor. During 1371 he mustered all available troops in order to recover his lost empire. In 1372 the Ming emperor, informed about the military preparations of the Mongols, dispatched three armies, with the order to deal a decisive blow to the Mongol forces in the very heart of their domain. Troops of three t'u-ssu from Huangchung joined the second army commanded by General Feng Sheng: the troops of the Lu t'u-ssu from Lien Ch'eng, and of the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and the T'u-ssu Wang Nam-mu-ko, both from Hsining. This army administered a crushing defeat in Liangchow to the forces of the Mongol commander Shih-la-han, and in Yung Ch'ang in Ma Hu Shan, to those of T'o-erh-chih-pa, who had revolted after his surrender and from whom 300 soldiers and 400 horses were captured. Then the troops delivered a severe defeat to the Mongol commander Pu-hua and captured 8,000 families. They went to I-chi-nai-lu (in the Gobi) where they defeated the Mongol Prince Pao Tsang and pursued fleeing Mongols until Kua and Sha Chou. The t'u-ssu troops returned to Huangchung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40*b*-44*b*; Ming Shih, Biography Fu Yu-te 129: 8; Pokotilov, 7-8).⁷¹³

The expedition of General Feng Sheng in 1372, with his enlisted t'u-ssu troops, was the first attempt by the Ming to conquer the region of the corridor stretching from Liang and Kan Chou to

⁷¹³ D. Pokotilov, *The history of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming from 1368-1634*, translated from the Russian by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China University, 1947.

Turkistan. The corridor, bordered on the north by the Gobi desert, the homeland of the nomads, was exposed to recurrent invasions of Mongols from the desert waste, and during three centuries the t'u-ssu of Huangchung would be ordered to repel their forays.

In 1373 the Mongol Prince Pu-yen-pu-hua, endowed with the title of Prince of Ning by the Mongol emperors, had been appointed by them administrator of the region of An-ting (Turkistan). In 1370 he had received from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 23b; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 9b).

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 9b).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40b).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liang-chow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40b).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals of Hsining* 25: 15b; *Annals of Kansu* 57: 2a). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 9a; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 25b), who also devastated the Koko-nor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for 120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.⁷¹⁴

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals of Hsining* 17: 3b).

⁷¹⁴ Huang Ming su-i k'ao. Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals of Kansu*?: 42a-b, 40a, 48b).

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 10b).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.⁷¹⁵

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 9b; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 44b).

⁷¹⁵ Pokotilov *op. cit.*, 10-11.

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1b), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender.

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7b).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10a).

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8b).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5b).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals of Hsining* 16: 4a). The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals of Hsining* 16: 4a).

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 16: 5b).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG

According to the *Annals of Hsining* 25: 1a; 9: 15b, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watchtowers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper-administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nienpei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals of Hsining* 14: 16a). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals of Hsining* 23: 5b), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14a, records without noting a date that on account of the small population and the extent of the uncultivated land, the Monguors had been ordered to abandon the cultivated land around the cities and fortresses, which would be assigned to artisans and traders and soldiers, and to move to the uncultivated areas they controlled during the Yuan time.

This important note hints at the purpose of the Ming to found Chinese colonies, and suggests that the soldiers had to till the soil and provide for their subsistence. This is the time honored policy of China, practiced since 118 B.C. by Ho Ch'u-ping in Hsining.

Necessarily more civil and military officials had arrived and new administrative organs had to be created, since the establishment in 1378 of the exchange bureau of tea against horses. More troops, traders, and artisans had flooded into the city, and in 1380 more Tibetan tribes had

surrendered. Houses and shops had to be built, caravansaries for Tibetans, arsenals and barracks. Taxes had to be collected, disturbances prevented, justice dispensed, and the city defended. It was plain that Hsining had been chosen to become the pivot of the civil and military administration of entire Huangchung.

In 1387 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, after his return from the expedition in Liaotung, induced the rebel chiliarch A-pu-ti to surrender, and T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-ch'i again induced the Tibetan I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 10*b*) and the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun to surrender. However, he must not have succeeded in his efforts with Ch'i Chih-hsun because the turbulent Mongol, in 1392, participated in the troubles in Han Tun (Tunhuang) (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 25*b*).

In 1388 at the time the army of the Mongol Emperor T'o-ku ssu had been defeated by the Ming, 200,000 of his soldiers had surrendered and only 40,000 had fled in various directions with the emperor, whose power was completely discredited in the eyes of his officers. He was strangled by one of them in 1388.⁷¹⁶

In 1391 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was sent to the commandery of Kanchow and was soon called back to Hsining to fight the Tibetan A-li-ta-ah-su. T'u-ssu Kan was ordered to join the expedition of General Sung Sheng at Ha mu li (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 2*b*; 42: 50*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh died in 1392. He had accumulated thirteen merits during his lifetime and died discharging his office. His son Tuan Chou succeeded his father in 1396 (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 10*b*; 27: 9*b*; 24: 7*b*; 27: 9*b*; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 35*b*).

In 1392, T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to follow General Lan Yu, pursuing the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun, who at that time was in the region of Han Tun (Tunhuang). On the arrival of Lan Yu most of his tribes fled and were pursued as far as the region of Kokonor. Many were captured with a large number of their cattle.

FIRST LAMASERY BUILT BY EMPEROR—CREATION OF BOARD OF LAMAS

The lama San la of Hsining wrote a letter to the tribes of Han Tun to induce them to surrender and some tribes did so. The *Annals of Hsining* 15: 120, note the surrender of the tribes, the tribute of horses offered by them, the appointment of Lama San la as chief of the surrendered tribes, the building of a lamasery south of Nien Pei, the name of Ch'u T'an bestowed upon the lamasery by the emperor, the first creation of the Board of Lamas in Hsining, and the appointment of San la as its director (Monguors II: 16-17). The example set by the emperor encouraged many lamas to act in the way of San la, attracting tribes to move into Huangchung, etc. So nan chi li ssu, the chief of the Han Tun tribes which did not follow the exhortations of San la, surrendered later, in 1397, and their chief was appointed Chih huei ch'ien shih in Han Tun. In the *Annals of Hsining* 15: 1*b*, is noted an inscription "appeased Tibetans" bestowed by the emperor upon the temple Ta-fu-ssu, built in Hsining During the Yuan by the ancestors of the Shat'o Li Nan-ko (Monguors II: 14), and there is recorded the building of the temple Kung-t'ung ssu in the city (*Annals of Hsining* 15: 2*a*). At the end of the same year T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Lan Yu against the rebel Mongol Yueh Lu Timur in Chien Ch'ang in Szechwan province. The rebel was captured and killed (*Annals of Kansu* 42; 42*a*; 46: 25*b*).

⁷¹⁶ Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 13.

DEATH OF EMPEROR T'AI TSUNG (HUNG-WU), 1398

T'ai Tsung, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, died in 1398.

Since 1371, the date of the submission of the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the circumstances of the country had changed entirely, the economy had developed, the population had increased, and the influence of lamaism had extended, thanks to the granting of titles and domains to lamas and the founding of peculiar institutions for those among them who induced tribes to submit and to move into the country (Monguors II: 16-18). However, the most important increase of the population was caused by the moving into Huangchung of 7,200 families of Chinese soldiers, numbering 15,854 persons, during the Hung Wu period, to start the first military colonies (*Annals of Hsining* 16: 15a). The civil and military administration of the country had progressively been organized and the conquest of Huangchung stabilized. During the Hung Wu period the Monguor t'u-ssu had proved their faithfulness to the Ming dynasty. They had promoted the stabilization of the country and fought for the empire in the farflung provinces of Liaotung, Yunnan, Szechwan, and Turkistan, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh had discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403-1424

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.⁷¹⁷ He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380-1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 13a; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 44b).

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36b). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu-shih-chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liangchow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 12b). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

⁷¹⁷ In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368-1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between the eastern and western (Oirat and Kalmuk) Mongols would become especially desperate and obstinate, and Yung Lo would have to launch five campaigns personally into barren Mongolia, and die in that fateful country at the time that the troops from his fifth campaign were on their way back to Peking. During these times of alarming confusion and disorganization in Mongolia, the Monguors of Huangchung had to participate in the expeditions, defend their own country, and die on the fields of battle.⁷¹⁸

The strangled Mongol Emperor T'o-ku-ssu was succeeded by Elbek, who was murdered in 1399 by Ugetch'i, chief of Kirghiz tribes, who tried to establish his hegemony over the Mongol tribes. He was defeated by A-lu-t'ai, chief of the Asods⁷¹⁹ and Ma-ha-mu, chief of the Oirats. In 1403, the eastern Mongols proclaimed as emperor Pen-chia-shih-li, son of Elbek, who was joined by A-lu-t'ai.

In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'eng under the command of General Chang Fu, was ordered to fight groups of eastern Mongols, subjects of Pen-chia-shih-li, who came from the Gobi desert into the country of Kan and Liangchow (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 37a). T'u-ssu Chao joined the same expedition and fought in Yung Ch'ang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b); Ch'eng and T'u-ssu Na fought the same groups in Cheng Fan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 45a; 42: 39b). T'u-ssu Wang was sent to I-chi-nai and Pu-yen-mu, north of Kan and Liangchow, to induce Pa tu Timur to surrender (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 41a). In the same first year of his reign, Yung Lo, in order to stabilize the conquest of Huangchung, organized military colonies, apportioned land to the colonists, and provided them with grain and oxen and farm implements (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 2a).

In 1404 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu chih chieh, was ordered to garrison Cheng Fan and Mao Mu Ch'eng.

In 1409 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, was sent to I-chi-nai to care for and organize the surrendered Mongol tribes.

In 1410 Pen-chia-shih-li had offended the Chinese emperor by not caring for his subjects invading the frontiers of Liang and Kanchow. He killed the ambassador who conveyed the protest of the emperor. The emperor retaliated forthwith, granting titles to the Oirat chiefs, the foes of Pen-chia-shih-li. A conflict broke out between the two groups, and to Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai was administered a severe blow at the hand of the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. The emperor took advantage of their reverse and equipped an expedition against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor of the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-

⁷¹⁸ Chinese and Mongol sources are very confusing relating to the history of these times. Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, Wolfgang Franke, Yung Lo's Mongolei-Feldzuge, *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3: 1-54, Peking, Deutschland Institut, 1914. Louis Hambis, *La Haute Asie*, 58-104, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Henry Serruys, Notes on a few Mongolian rulers of the 15th century, *Jour. Orient. Soc.* 76 (2): 82-89, 1956.

⁷¹⁹ Asod-Alains: originating in the Caucasus, their faithful troops had been enlisted in the imperial guard and had followed the defeated Mongols fleeing toward Mongolia.

t'ai.⁷²⁰ The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'u-ssu A (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49b), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51a), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35a), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 50b), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a-b), Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51b), Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35a), Chi (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 42a), Hsin (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 53b), Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 41a), and Na (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 39b). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,⁷²¹ of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liang-chow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shi-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese, and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age old imperial policy to sow strife among the tribes, making them destroy each other. Yung Lo was as frightened of a Mongol power under the leadership of an offspring of the old Chingis Khan family as of one under the leadership of a rising new and tremendous Oirat group. He decided to launch a campaign against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu.

On April 6, 1414, the emperor himself led the campaign and administered a blow to Ma-ha-mu who escaped in the desert. The emperor was back in Peking on August 15. The Monguor troops of Huangchung had again been called to participate in the expedition. In the following years Alufai administered a defeat to the weakened Ma-ha-mu, who died in 1416. Then the emperor recognized the succession of Togon to his father Ma-ha-mu, as chief of the Oirats, and bestowed upon him the title of his father. The flames of hatred of A-lu-t'ai were fanned again against the Oirats and China. In the meantime A-lu-t'ai had secured the help of the Urianghai tribes living on the northern borders of China, which had transferred their allegiance from China to him. He had considered himself strong enough to antagonize China openly.

On April 12, 1422, the emperor started on a third campaign in Mongolia, this time against A-lu-t'ai, and called the Monguor troops. On the arrival of the strong Chinese army, A-lu-t'ai

⁷²⁰ Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

⁷²¹ A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* 107: 122, 7.

escaped in the desert waste, and the frustrated emperor vented his rage upon the unfaithful Urianghai tribes. The Monguors fought on the borders of the Wu-lang River in Liao-tung and in the Toyen district under command of T'u-ssu Li Yin. T'u-ssu Lu, having captured the Mongol chief Alahan on the Han t'an River, was rewarded with titles, silver, and silk clothes (family chronicle).

In 1423 the emperor resolved to finish definitely with A-lu-t'ai and started personally with a fourth expedition, calling the Huangchung troops. T'u-ssu Lu, on his way to the north, passed through the country of Ho-lan-shan and encountered the Mongol Prince Chung T'ung and troops of Yeh-hsien, which he captured. Just at the time the expedition was on the move, the Oirat chief Togon administered a blow to A-lu-t'ai, who escaped in the Gobi. The emperor understood that the expedition was doomed. He returned to Peking on December 9.

In 1424 A-lu-t'ai, despite the defeats he had suffered, was still strong enough to plunder the borders of the empire. The frustrated and enraged emperor decided to equip and lead a fifth expedition. All available troops were mustered and the expedition moved the, second of May. A-lu-t'ai again vanished in the desert. The Mongols proved once more not to be easy game. The despondent emperor died on his way back to Peking, in Yu-mu-ch'uan, on August 18.⁷²²

In 1423 a Tibetan lama, Chang ta lama, was living in Hsining, appointed by Emperor Yung Lo as a translator of Tibetan texts. His morals were dissolute. he appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 10a).

During the Yung Lo period (1403-1425) the military colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals of Hsining* 25: 15a). During the same period four more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yunghsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals of Kansu* 30: 45b, 46a). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture.

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 28a), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 29b), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49b), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 12b), Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 41a), Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b), Chi (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 42b), Yeh (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52a), Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52b; *Annals of Hsining* 28: 13a). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-

⁷²² Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28-32; *op. cit.*, 5-12.

chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault.

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time the emperor, with delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47a; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11a).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45a-b; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6a-b) :

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war ... all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ningshia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47a; *Annals of Hsining* 27: 11a).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo (1424), the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats was achieved. It would reach the summit of its power again under the son of Togon, Esen, who was assassinated in 1455. Then the hegemony would be recovered by the eastern Mongols in 1470, after internal troubles had arisen among the Oirat tribes themselves.

After the death of A-lu-t'ai in 1434 his tribes separated: one group under the leadership of the Khan At'ai settled in I-chi-nai (500 li north of Kanchow), and one group, controlled by T'o-erh-chih-pa, settled in Yeh-k'o-lin-sha-erh-t'an, west of Liangchow. These groups would be the scourge of the countries of northwest Kansu for many years to come. A-lu-t'ai had already made forays in Liangchow in 1428. T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36b) and Chi (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 42a) had been ordered to fight his turbulent tribes in I-pu-la-shan. In 1433, on account of the insecurity in the country, the commandery of Hsining had been reorganized in Chun-ming chih-huei-shih, six *so* had been established and the villages grouped in four li.

In 1435 T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51a), Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 41b), Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b), and Lu had been ordered to join the expedition of Commander Wang Kui against the tribes of At'ai and T'o-erh-chih-pa in Chengfan, Tsing-shih-shan, and Ho-shan. In 1436 a new expedition was launched against the same Mongol tribes, in which T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51b), Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51b), and Wang participated (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 41b). Then the tribes of At'ai invaded the country of Chuang-lang (P'ing-fan) but were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu, who pursued them to I-pu-la-shan.

In 1437 the same turbulent Mongol groups invaded Liangchow and Chuang-lang again, they were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu and Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b) in Tu-pei-ku and Mi-ho-ch'uan and 1,000 of their horses were captured. In 1438 the same brigands suffered a severe blow in Wei-yun, Pei-ya-wu, and I-pu-la-shan, at the hands of T'u-ssu Lu and Ch'eng (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36b).

The Monguors during these times were the faithful defenders not only of northwest Kansu but also of the most western Chinese frontiers, in the commanderies of Han Tung, Ch'u Shien, An Ting, and Ah Tuan. After the successful expedition of Li Yin in 1426, in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, the petty tribes living in this area sustained themselves by pillage and robbery.

In 1429 the Governor of Hsining, Shih Chao, was ordered to prepare an expedition against the Chu-shien and Anting tribes whose chiefs still intercepted and plundered envoys bringing tribute to court. T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51a), Li Wen (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 11b; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 38a), Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 41b), and Ch'i Hsien (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 45a) joined the expedition. The fleeing tribes were pursued, severely beaten and 340 of their brigands captured. The army returned with booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 26b, 27a).

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 12a; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 38a).

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 13a) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 45a; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 12b), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 13a; 19: 7b). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36b).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436-50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, Commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals of Hsining* 25: 16a).

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450-1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol

groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liangchow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-fung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.⁷²³

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yen-an and Swei-te (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 28a; *Annals of Hsining* 27: 11b).

⁷²³ H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450-1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital besieged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pillar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-t'ung were promoted. However, Li Wen was bypassed. Deeming that he had provided the judges with the most important data, he could not stand being ignored and waited for an opportunity to avenge himself on the promoted officials. Consequently he did not fight in 1460, giving them the opportunity to show their gratefulness and abilities to the emperor. Later in Yen-an and in Sui-te he succeeded in fighting the Mongols and was promoted to *tutu T'ung chih*. During the period Ch'eng hua (1465-1488) he was sent to Hami with Commander Liu Wen. The expedition was unsuccessful. He died during the first years of the Hung-chih period (1488-1506) and was rehabilitated with the title of Duke of Kao Yang in the first years of the Cheng-te period (1506-1521) (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38a; *Annals of Hsining* 27: 12a). In 1468, during the time Li Wen was participating in the unsuccessful expedition in Hami, his young son Li Yung had been promoted to centurion and thereafter Chih-huei ch'ien-shih (*Annals of Hsining* 24: 8b). This seems to suggest that after the punishment of Li Wen, the emperor must have been informed about the way in which he had acted, and have forgotten about it.

In a former chapter have been related the promotion of T'u-ssu Li Yin, as Duke of Huei Ning, his dishonorable behavior, his punishment, his death soon after 1437, and the promotion of his son Li Ch'ang in 1457. For twenty years the clan had been discredited on account of the behavior of Li Yin. But in 1457 Li Wen, the cousin of Li Yin, went to Peking with his army to congratulate Emperor Yin Tsung on being enthroned for the second time. The delighted emperor promoted him twice and Li Wen may have seized this opportunity to recommend Li Ch'ang, the son of his cousin Li Yin, and to remind the emperor of the merits of his grandfather Li Nan-ko, who had induced the t'u-ssu of Huangchung to surrender in 1371. Li Wen and Li Yin were the sons of the brothers of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko. The emperor at that time was in high spirits, enjoying the jubilations of the entire population of the capital. Moreover ascensions to the throne were customarily accompanied by a general amnesty and this seems to explain why the son of Li Yin, just at that time (1457), started receiving distinguished promotions one after another, and after his

death in 1493 an imperial funeral oration. In that way the honor of the entire clan was redeemed in Huangchung, and Li Ch'ang erected the spirit way stele for his father Li Yin in 1475.

HEGEMONY OF THE WESTERN MONGOLS

After the death of Esen in 1455, whose empire reached from Lake Balkash to the Great Wall of China, conflicts arose among the eastern and western Mongols and among the eastern groups themselves. The Ta-t'an (Tatars) Po-lai and Mao-li-hai tried to control the eastern Mongols, who grew more and more independent. They secured the help of the Urianghai tribes whose chief was Tolohan. They appointed their Khan (Hsiao-wang-tze) and incessantly made inroads on the borders of the empire, seizing rich booty. Po-lai killed Hsiao-wang-tze and Mao-li-hai killed Po-lai. The Ordos Mongols appointed the Khan Mantulu who defeated Tolohan and Mao-li-hai. The latter died on the battlefield and dissension continued unabated. In 1470 the widow of Mantulu secured the proclamation of Dayan as sovereign of the Mongols and controlled the tribes herself. Dayan, a boy seven years of age, was the only descendant of the house of Kubilai. He married in 1481 and was proclaimed Khan of the Great Yuan (1470-1543). He united and laboriously grouped the tribes in right and left wings and divided and appanaged them among his sons. The eastern Mongols seemed united, but each time at the death of the father, the appanage was divided among the sons and so the power of the appanages and tribes diminished after each division, and sons and cousins were torn with inner conflicts. At the time of the Manchu dynasty (1644) the tribes had become an easy prey for the new rulers of China.

In 1450 the eastern Mongols under the leadership of the chieftain Ah-lo-ch'u had started settling in Ordos and in 1457 were firmly established there.⁷²⁴ From Ordos they could more easily make inroads into Huangchung, Shansi, Shensi, etc. Desperate times were to be expected for Huangchung. However, the Monguor t'u-ssu and their subjects stood faithful and loyal as a rock, defending the dynasty for two more centuries.

The strong Tibetan Pa Sha tribe of Huangchung, which lived in tents between the Tatung River and the city of Tatung, had surrendered in 1380, and whose chief had been killed by Ch'i Hsien during his raid in 1448, started a raid in 1457 on a large scale, just at the time the Ta-fan Po-lai, chief of the western Mongols, invaded the frontiers of Ningshia (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 28a). They raided the countries of Liangchow, Yung Ch'ang and Chuang Lang, and on their way home devastated and plundered the country of Huangchung, killing Chinese officials and capturing a huge number of cattle of the surrendered Tibetan tribes. Finally the Chinese troops from the commanderies of Kansu arrived, and administered a crushing defeat, killing 7,700 Pa Sha brigands (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 7a-b; 31: 12b). The Lu t'u-ssu had defended Chuang Lang and the other t'u-ssu had defended their own villages.

In 1461 Po-lai with an army of more than 10,000 Mongols arrived at Chuang Lang and made forays in Liangchow. The Chinese army was defeated, but more troops arrived and beat Po-lai who sent envoys suing for peace. Every year he sent tribute, but continued his raids. T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 28a), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49b), and t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48a) had fought with the Chinese army.

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 12a; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 28a).

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 28b).

⁷²⁴ Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 72.

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 29a).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals of Kansu* 31: 12b).

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yen-an and Sui-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Kulang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52a), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49b), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription "*During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal.*"

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stele in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 520), Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48b), attacked and conquered Hami.

In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the t'u-ssu in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals of Hsining* 22: 5b; 23: 4a-b) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the northern valley, and Ku Shan and San Ch'uan second captains. In the city of Hsining there were appointed a secretary commandant, a high commandant, seven assistant commandants, seven secretary commandants (among them are noted many t'u-ssu) a director of education, and a secretary. In Nienpei was appointed a Chiliarch with seven under-chiliarchs, nine centurions, twenty-nine second centurions. In Hsining a general director was appointed in each of the departments: for graneries, feed for horses, taxes, and exchange bureaus, in each of the seven relays. These regulations seem to suggest that Huangchung was no more a depopulated and uninteresting country. However, the appointment of the overwhelming number of military officials seems to suggest that the authority did not deem the peace prospects to be very bright, and that more troubles had to be expected.

In 1484 the Ordos Mongols made a raid in Yung Ch'ang. T'u-ssu Lu defended the country and was besieged in the city for several days. He made sallies one after another and succeeded in escaping. More raids were made in Liangchow and P'ing Liang in 1497 and in Kanchow in 1498 by Hsiao Wang-tze. T'u-ssu Lu, T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35), and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38) helped the Chinese commander administer a severe blow to the raider.

T'u-ssu Lu participated in an expedition in 1499 against the eighteen tribes (Uighur Shat'o) of Chieh Chou in south Kansu, and sent prisoners to the capital. In the same year T'u-ssu Ch'i

(*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35*b*) and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38) participated in the expedition against Ordos brigands in Pei-ta-ch'uan (Ling Chou).

T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to chase the Mongols who obstructed the communications along the route leading from Yung-ch'ang to Kanchow and Suchow. Ch'i T'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35), back from the expedition in Pei-ta-ch'uan in 1499, was ordered to accompany the Governor Yin Ch'ing, investing in Hami the Prince Chung Shun, Shenpa, as chief of the country (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 120; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 35). In 1500 the turbulent Hsiao Wang-tze settled in Ordos, from where he continued his forays. In 1504 he raided Shuei-ts'ao-ku and Hung-ch'eng-tze and was repelled.

In 1507 Mongol brigands, passing through Ming-shuei-ku in the P'ing-liang region, were defeated by General Wu Ch'i and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42:35; 42:44).

RUIN OF HUANGCHUNG

The year 1507 was fateful in the history of Huangchung and all of Kansu. It marked the ruin of the whole country for a century. Until that time Huangchung and Kansu had suffered only from intermittent, transient, but disastrous raids from incursive Mongols whose aim did not reach beyond plunder. Dayan, the ambitious young Hsiao Wang-tze, who was laboriously striving for the unification and the subjection of the tribes under his leadership, had appointed one of his sons commander of tribes. He was killed by his subjects. The rebelling chief I-pu-la, apprehensive of the vengeance of Dayan, seceded and fled with his tribes to Liangchow. He asked the commander of Liangchow to allot a territory to him and promised to live in peace with the empire. The petition was refused. The Mongols, incensed by the refusal, for ten days wreaked their vengeance, devastating and laying waste the country. On their way westward they plundered the tribes of the Prince of Anting and stole his seals and diplomas. They reached Kokonor in 1509 and occupied the territory (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 13*a-b*; *Annals of Kansu* 46:31*a*).

Kokonor at that time was the country of the Tibetans. The behavior of the savage Mongols was unusually ruthless. On their arrival they murdered Tibetans, reduced the young folk to the level of slaves, stole their wives and cattle. Cowed by their truculent manner, some Tibetan tribes fled to Tibet, some to East Kansu and Huangchung. The destitution of the fleeing tribes was tragic. On their way they plundered the country and Kansu was upset. But some tribes returned to Kokonor and submitted to the invaders. Being conversant with Kansu, they accompanied and led the Mongol forays and plundered in combination with them. The Tibetan tribes submitted to China and East Kansu and Huangchung were plundered. Despairing of the help of China, their ingrained predatory nature soon asserted itself and they revolted and went plundering on their own account. Every time Mongol tribes in Mongolia had a score to settle with Dayan, they seceded and fled to Kokonor adding strength to the Kokonor group.

Huangchung and East Kansu, which during the previous centuries had been laid waste and destroyed so many times, had to pass again through the ordeals of war and destruction at the hands of Mongols and rebel Tibetans for a whole century, and to have their economic life disrupted and shattered.

In 1510 T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38*a*), Chao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48*a*), Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40*b*), Ah (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40*b*), and t'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35*a*) under command of the Lieutenant Colonel of Chuang-lang administered a blow at Hsiao Wang-tze in Huei-huei-mu and captured a considerable number of his oxen and horses. Hsiao Wang-tze pursued the seceding tribe of I-pu-la. Having met defeat at Huei-huei-mu, he was pursued to Yen-an and beaten again in Shih-p'eng-ku, P'o shan-ku and T'ung-ssu-p'u.

In 1511 the Kokonor brigand I-pu-la made a raid in Yung-ch'ang and Cheng-fan, but suffered a defeat. Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52*b*), Ah (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49*b*), Yeh t'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52*b*) participated in the punitive expedition. From now on recurrent raids of Kokonor brigands will be recorded incessantly. The hardships doled out by the Monguors and t'u-ssu during a century will be tremendous.

In the fifth moon the Kokonor brigands invaded the northern valley of Hsining and were repelled. All the t'u-ssu of Hsining under command of Wang Yung helped in the action. The son of T'u-ssu Li died on the field of battle (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38*a*), in Ta-la-tu-ch'uan. T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 45), Chi (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 22) and Kan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 50*b*) pursued the retreating raiders and slaughtered many among them in Hung-yang t'an.

In 1514 Tibetan tribes from around Kokonor, in combination with Mongol brigands, invaded the southern valleys of Hsining and Nienpei. All the t'u-ssu of Hsining helped Commander Chin Mao repel the invaders. However, they were severely beaten, and T'u-ssu Ch'eng died in the battle of Pien-tu-ling (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36*b*).

The situation drifted to a critical point and then finally a Chinese army of 10,000 men was equipped to chase the brigands from Kokonor. The brigands, informed about the serious military preparations, left Kokonor, passed the Yellow River at Ho Chou, plundered and slaughtered savagely the subject Tibetan tribes, in the commanderies of T'ao and Ming Chou, and invaded Sung P'an and Mao Chou in Szechwan Province. When they were informed that the Chinese army had left Kokonor, they returned to Kokonor.

At that time the Hsiao Wang-tze invited I-pu-la etc., to return to their original country. Complying with the invitation, he moved his tribes to the north, but soon news was broken about the intention of Hsiao Wang-tze to kill him. He returned to Kokonor (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 130*b*).

In 1515 Tibetan tribes living in the mountains between Liangchow and P'ing-fan had plundered envoys from Turkistan bringing tribute to the emperor. T'u-ssu Lu was sent to punish them. He killed many of them in Sha-chin-ku and Ho-shih-ku.

The next year a group of Ordos brigands invaded and devastated Ku-yuen and P'ing-liang. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40*b*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 39*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu were ordered to help in the punitive expedition.

In 1517 many Tibetan tribes who suffered on account of the brigands felt their old predatory instinct reviving. The conditions in Huangchung grew worse every day. The chief of the Lung-pu and Wu-ssu-pa-erh tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 13*a-b*), controlling 2,000 families, nomadizing on a territory 200 li wide between Hsining and Kokonor, revolted. The Chinese Chiliarch Li Wen quelled the revolt. Then the tribes revolted on a large scale, defeated and killed the Chili-arch. Finally the lama of the Ta-ming temple succeeded in inducing them to surrender (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 31; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 14*a*).

In the same year the Ko-tsa Tibetan tribe which had surrendered in 1380, whose chief controlled 400 families and nomadized southwest of Ku Shan along the northern borders of the Yellow River, plundered the lamasery of Hung-hua. Captains Kao Hsien and Yang Yu with T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 4; 31: 14) pursued and defeated the rebels in the mountains of Pa-yen-jung (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 31*a*).

In 1520-1521 T'u-ssu Lu twice repelled Ordos brigands invading Ku Yuan and Chuang Lang.

The very first *Annals of Hsining* composed by the scholar Chang Chih were printed in 1520 (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 15*a*).

The Chinese army revolted in Kanchow in 1522. The Tibetan tribes in Huangchung seized the opportunity to plunder the country (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 14a). Governor Cheng Yang could not control the situation. At the same time 20,000 Ordos brigands invaded Ku Yuan, P'ing Liang, Chin Chou, killed the military officials Yang Hung and Liu Tuan, terribly devastated the country and killed and captured more than 10,000 people (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 31b).

In 1525 Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chief, had a score to settle with Dayan. In order to avoid his vengeance he joined the I-pu-la group. On his way to Kokonor he plundered the country. He was defeated by Yang Chung aided by T'u-ssu Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38a), Chi (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 42a) and T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 32b). The next year T'u-ssu Lu was impeached by the officials of Cheng-fan and Hsining. He was removed from office (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 14a-b; 27: 15).

After the officials had lost control over Huangchung in 1522 they convened to discuss these disastrous circumstances and find a solution. There was complete absence of direction and the officials were at logger-heads with one another. One group among them stubbornly defended the policy of Tuan Ying who, seventeen centuries earlier, had exterminated the Tibetans in order to pacify the country. At present, they said, the conditions are favorable, the Kokonor brigands control only two or three thousand Mongol horse and foot; from the moment the troops are moved the Tibetan tribes will abandon them. The other group obstinately advocated the policy of Chao Ch'ung-kuo who also, seventeen centuries before, won over the Tibetan tribes, granting titles to the chiefs, opening markets, etc. They said, "Because their army at present is in poor shape and money is lacking, this policy is the only one possible." The third group was as stubborn as the other two: Tuan Ying had exterminated the Tibetans and won only a barren worthless country, void of people. Chao Ch'ung-kuo had fooled himself, and after a couple of years the country had been out of control. Both generals had applied their policy to the utmost and failed. The right way is a middle way, the way of wise moderation; whoever is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals of Hsining* 20:10b, 11a). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace.

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals of Hsining* 35: 9b, 10a).

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and

Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ningshia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40), Na (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong.

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San-ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals of Kansu* 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered.

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the fortress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration inside the village.

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38), Wang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 45), and Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 15b; 20: 120). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals of Hsining* 20: 12b). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu.

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining.

REVOLT OF TIBETAN TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Really desperate times were still in store for the population of Huangchung, for a half-century to come. This time the troubles were caused by the Tibetan tribes from Huangchung itself. After the restless Pa sha tribes had been defeated in 1516 by the Chinese army, some of their sub-tribes were exterminated or disintegrated. The chief of the Tsan-tsa tribe, one of the sub-tribes of Pa sha, succeeded in gathering some tribes under his leadership and in controlling 1,500 families. Other tribes living in the northwest of Hsining joined the group. Among them was the strong Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribe. They besieged the city of Nienpei in 1550 and laid waste the country. Commander T'ang Yung beat the brigands. However, the brigands, using the time-honored ruse of a feigned retreat, killed the commander in an ambushade.

In 1551 all the tribes northeast of Hsining plundered the Hung-nai valley. They administered to the Chinese army a crushing defeat; three officers and two thousand soldiers died on the field of battle. T'u-ssu Ch'i, Li, Hsin, and Wang participated in the battle (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 15, 16; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 34).

The next year small groups of Kokonor brigands made raids in Yen-mei-ch'uan, north of Hsining, but were chased away (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 16).

In 1553 Tsan-tsa tribes with those of Erh-chia-ting again plundered the villages north of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 16; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 34).

In 1554 Kokonor brigands plundered Sa-t'ang valley and were beaten. They fled toward the southern valleys of Hsining, where they plundered for five days. On the arrival of the army they fled to the western valley of Hsining, but were put to flight (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 34; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 16).

Tsan-tsa and Erh-chia-ting tribes in 1557 again raided the valleys south of Nienpei and plundered the lamasery of Ch'u-t'an-sse. Pursued by the army they plundered the valleys situated north of the Hsining River. More Tibetan tribes had joined the group, the Hung-mao, the La-tsa, the Ko-tsa, etc. The depredation in the country was wicked and ruthless. The t'u-ssu had to defend their own fortresses and villages. In the meantime Altan, the brother of Jinong besieged the city of Kanchow calling all the Mongol brigands of the country, and went with his new army to Peking, plundering on the way the villages and cities of Shan-tan, Yung-ch'ang and Liangchow (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 16; 19: 7a; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 34, 35) in Kansu.

The raids of Kokonor brigands and Tibetans raged unchecked during 1558 in all of Huangchung. The situation was out of control, the plight was desperate. T'u-ssu Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47), and Yeh (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country.

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, no more troops should have been sent to Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605-1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy,

the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during the reign of Chia Ching (1522-1567). In 1532 Hsiao Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ningshia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him. The Obedient and Righteous Prince!

These circumstances explain why the brigands in Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army.

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot.

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals of Hsining* 20: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 35a). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 35a). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals of Hsining* 13: 9, 10).

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals of Hsining* 23: 5).

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds) meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence.

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They

aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals of Hsining* 25: 19b). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals of Kansu* 46:35b).

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created “the Obedient and Righteous Prince”! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch’ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T’uman. T’uman refused boldly.⁷²⁵ Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T’uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,⁷²⁶ but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t’ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch’ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 17b).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 17b). The *Annals of Hsining* record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and

⁷²⁵ Pokotilov, 129.

⁷²⁶ Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals of Hsining* 20: 13, 14).⁷²⁷

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals of Hsining* 25; 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in an ambushade (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 15*b*; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 35*b*).

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals of Hsining* 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals of Hsining* 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals of Hsining* 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu*. T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

⁷²⁷ René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhotu the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals of Hsining* 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided San-ch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals of Hsining* 31:18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangko-tsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with 4,000 horses. They besieged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 19; 33; 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the performance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals of Hsining* 25: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 36).

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 1590 was completely out of control. The country was entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated, had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic.

A note in the *Annals of Hsining* (33: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, president of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 18*b*; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 36).

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 18*b*; 25: 20*a-b*; 33: 16*b*). Among the surrendered

tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 7a), the La-pu-erh tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 70), the Lung-pu tribes led by their lama Sonanchintso (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 3a-b), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 4b), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 19: 5b).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mongols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 36b; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 18b).

The energetic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals of Hsining* 25: 20a-b).

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 19a). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambushes, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 37b; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 19a).

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals of Hsining* 33: 23a-b). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials.

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-fang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops

were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals of Hsining* 33: 29b, 30a). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 19b; 25: 23b; 35: 24).

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals of Hsining* 33: 20a).

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 20a).

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and capturing thirty horses (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 20a). The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to a salt lake deeper into Kokonor.

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 20; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 38a).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 20a; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was repelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 380). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 38b). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that

Sung Shan belonged to China proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 3b).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ningshia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 38b).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (*Monguors* II: 27, sq.).

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 39).

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace," The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals of Hsining* 10: 46; 27: 28).

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription:

“Served the country, manifested loyalty.” The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals of Hsining* 10: 4b; 27: 21a-b; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 450-6).

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of the Khoshot tribes (Oirats) went to Kokonor with his armies. He conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam and East Tibet, defeated the enemies of the Dalai Lama, occupied Lhasa and proclaimed in 1642 the Dalai Lama Nag-dbang bLo-bzang temporal and spiritual sovereign of Central Tibet.⁷²⁸

From 1597 until 1642 no events are recorded in either *Annals* concerning Huangchung. The country enjoyed a relative peace, while its borderlands still suffered raids from the same Mongols.

THE MONGUORS AND THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY

Desperate times were still in store for the Monguors and their t'u-ssu, and tremendous sacrifices were still requested from them to save the tottering dynasty, but the Monguors with their t'u-ssu stood loyal as a rock to the end.

The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621-1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.⁷²⁹

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe famine desolated the region of Yen-an and Sui-te (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan.

During 1628-1640 the revolution raged unchecked. The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu.

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss the situation, the official Hu Lien-ch'i, the t'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang from Lien-ch'eng, the t'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu from Nienpei (descendant of Li Nan-ko, founder of the clan), and others, including Wang Chung, chief of the strong Tibetan tribe of Cheng Chung. They decided to defend the country, chose Hu Lien-ch'i their own lieutenant colonel, drank blood, and swore to die for the dynasty (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 1).

⁷²⁸ Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

⁷²⁹ Erich Hauer, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

In the spring of 1642 the Tibetan tribes of Hsining revolted. The military commander Ma Kuang quelled the revolt, killing more than 700 rebels. Then he accepted the submission of 38 tribes (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 20*b*; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 42*a*).

In the autumn Li Tze-ch'eng sent to Huangchung and North Kansu his commander Huo Chin, with a strong army. He attacked the city of Hsining. The Hsining troops administered a crushing blow and he went to North Kansu to conquer the cities of Suchow, Kanchow, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, and Liangchow. Suchow was taken, devastated and 4,700 people and troops were killed (*Annals of Kansu* 56: 38*b*), then the other cities surrendered one after another without fighting (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 20*b*; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 43*b*).

In the autumn of 1643 Huo Chin returned from Kanchow to avenge the previous defeat suffered in Hsining. He went along with Hsi Ta-tung. He was conversant with the dissensions existing among the subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu clan, part of whom considered the resistance useless, after more than half of China was lost at the hands of the brigands. One of the influential members of the clan, Lu Wen-lin, had sown strife in the clan and even led an army of brigands to occupy Chuang-lang. However, the stubborn T'u-ssu Lu fought back nine attacks of the army of Huo Chin in Hsi-Ta-tung. Both armies suffered many losses, and finally the t'u-ssu retreated with his outnumbered troops into his fortified city of Lien-ch'eng. The city was taken and the t'u-ssu tied in front of the gate of the city. He refused obstinately to surrender, swore and insulted the brigands. He was put to the sword with many of his soldiers. His son, a young boy, and his daughter were abducted. This happened in February, 1644 (*Lu Chronicles*, *Annals of Hsining* 28: 15, 16).

In 1644 Huo Chin went with his army to conquer Hsining, and met the Hsining army. The defenders of Hsining, conversant with the strength of the enemy army and in order to check the advance of the enemy, had used Tibetans set in ambush on the way the brigands had to pass, stretching ropes and digging holes in the ground. The enemy horse was unaware of the traps laid for them and rushed furiously on the Hsining army which was waiting behind the ambushes in a resolute array. More than a thousand brigands were killed, among them their commander Huo Chin.

The brigand vice-commander, Hsin Wei-chung, mustered the troops and went immediately to attack Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and delivered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 1*a-b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 2*a*) were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty.

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him

straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 19a).

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48a). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 2a-b; 31: 21; *Annals of Kansu* 46: 44b). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had perished with his wife and 120 members of his family the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 15b).

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.⁷³⁰

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

⁷³⁰ Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming.

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644-1911)

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history.

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces.

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 21a). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals of Hsining* 26: 2b) and Chang Chi-yao with troops (*Annals of Hsining* 26: 6b) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung.

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36b).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled

dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors.

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.⁷³¹

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals of Hsining* 26: 1*a-b*; 34: 1*b*, 2*b*).

General Meng Ch'iao-fang seems to have trusted the faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung and therefore decided to stabilize his position first in Hsining before attacking Kanchow, Liangchow, etc., notwithstanding that in Hsining a strong Mohammedan colony existed. Therefore, in 1645 he sent two Commanders to Hsining, and at the end of 1646 he sent another commander with troops, Ma Ju-shin, probably foreseeing imminent troubles.

In 1647 the rebels of Kanchow aimed to join the already revolting Mohammedan groups in East Kansu. Dissension seems to have existed among the Mohammedan colonies of Hsining and those of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Anyway the rebel Mohammedans, Chinese, and Tibetans united, led by the two Mohammedan chiefs Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, and marched their troops first towards Hsining in order to compel the Mohammedan colony and the whole region of Huangchung to follow in their wake. On the borders of the Tatung River, north of Hsining, a ruthless battle was fought by the Manchu commanders of Hsining, supported by all the Huangchung troops of the t'u-ssu and a resounding victory was obtained (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 21*a*). The Hsining Mohammedans refused to mix in the revolt, maybe for fear of the overwhelming Manchu and Monguor forces guarding the country. Anyway, the victory secured a temporary peace in the country of Huangchung.

In 1648, after this victory, Meng Ch'iao-fang started attacking the cities of North Kansu. The cities of Liangchow and Yung Ch'ang surrendered, but Major Ma Hu-ya resisted in Kanchow. The city was carried by storm, the commander, eighteen officials, and eighty others were killed. The resistance of the rebels of Suchow was more serious. The city suffered tremendously, the commander and many people were killed (*Annals of Hsining* 26: 1, 3). T'u-ssu Li fought in Kanchow and Suchow with 500 soldiers (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47*a*), helped by Hsin (*Annals of*

⁷³¹ E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

Kansu 42: 54), Na (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40a), and Ch'i t'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a-b). Meng Ch'iao-fang, informed that the rebels (*Annals of Kansu* 56: 40a) had proposed to move to East Kansu after the defeat on the Tatung River, had appointed t'u-ssu to guard the passes and the roads leading to East Kansu. T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 35b) fought the rebels in Chin Pien I, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ta-hsun (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36b) in Ta Tsing, T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36) and T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 59b) fought them in Wu Chao Lin. T'u-ssu Kan with three hundred of his soldiers guarded the ferry on the Yellow River. However, the rebels managed to reach East Kansu and succeeded in capturing within a few months the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao, and Kuei Te, and besieged the city of Kung Ch'ang.

In 1649 Meng Ch'iao-fang led his army and all the troops of the t'u-ssu to East Kansu, in order to recapture the cities lost at the hands of the revolting Ming commanders. He recovered all the cities, one after the other, Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao and Kuei Te, and saved the besieged city of Kung Ch'ang. The brother of T'u-ssu Lu was killed in the fight at Ho-ya-lung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 60). In a little more than three years Meng Ch'iao-fang had recovered one hundred and more cities and fortified villages (*Annals of Hsining* 26: 1, 2). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 2) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 3) fought at Kuei Te. After these arduous campaigns the Monguor troops were released, and could start repairing the tremendous havoc wrought by the Mongol brigands of Kokonor and Sung Shan I, and by the rebel Tibetans, during the last 150 years of the Ming regime. In the meantime the Manchu armies conquered more provinces in the empire and still had intermittent revolts to quell in the very south of East Kansu and on the Szechwan borders.

In 1660 a revolt is recorded of the Mohammedan Ta Erh-han, a member of the Yeh t'u-ssu, who induced Tibetans of Kokonor to help plunder the valley of Milaku, the region situated on the northern borders of the Yellow River south of Nienpei. The guard of the Milaku region had been entrusted to the Yeh t'u-ssu since the Yuan and Ming times. The faithful T'u-ssu Yeh killed the rebel and nine of his men, and captured two others whom he delivered to Hsining. The invaders fled to Kokonor. The Yeh t'u-ssu was a clan of Mohammedans from Turkistan which was settled in Milaku in Yuan times (Monguors I: 32; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 52b). Later, at the time of the revolt of Wu San-kuei in 1673, a group of the Yeh clan started following the rebels. The faithful t'u-ssu again succeeded in quelling the revolt, killing many of them. He was promoted to secretary commander as a reward for his faithfulness (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 52b).

In 1665 Huai Erh-lai, a Tibetan from Kokonor, with his two brothers and their tribes, looted the country along the trade road between Kanchow and Liangchow. Wang Chin-pao, the commander of Hsining, repulsed the brigands (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 46a). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47b) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46b) helped him.

The tremendous rebellion of Wu San-kuei, the first benefactor of the Ch'ing dynasty, who had put the Manchus in possession of the empire started at the end of the year 1673. The revolt spread through eleven of the eighteen provinces of the empire, and required eight years for its suppression. East Kansu was soon lost to the Manchus and the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'aochow, Lin T'ao, Kung Ch'ang, etc. were taken by the rebels. The bridge of Lanchow, which secured the communication between East and West Kansu, was broken up. In that way no armies along West Kansu could come to the rescue of East Kansu. However, General Wang Chin-pao of Hsining rushed to Lanchow with his army and all the Monguor troops under command of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 3; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 46b). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large

group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47a-b). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46b). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47b), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the siege and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers besieging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops.

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked, Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 50a-b). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 51).

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals of Kansu* 56: 45b). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 21b).

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had followed them dared not return to Kanchow, for fear of severe punishments. They liked better to settle in the region of Pe-ta, situated 120 li north of Hsining, outside the jurisdiction of the prefecture, and belonging to the Mongols. They tilled the soil and built houses. More people had joined their group which already numbered 10,000 families in 1693. They brought the regulatory *t'ien pa* (land) taxes to the Mongols. T'u-ssu Li, having investigated the circumstances with other commanders, reported that the Pe-ta region had become a favorite thoroughfare along which Mongols and Tibetans traveled, spying on Huangchung. The group of settlers conversant with the Chinese regions where they constantly traveled also supplied them with information. Lamas traveled the whole year long on their way to Tibet without regulatory passes, etc. The t'u-ssu proposed to compel the entire group of settlers to return to their original countries, for the offense of having revolted had long since been forgiven, and to forbid the bringing of the *t'ien pa* taxes to the Mongol princes, according to the regulations issued by the Manchu emperor in 1658. He proposed to forbid lamas to travel to Tibet through the Pe-ta region, but to travel with passports secured on fixed passes. If serious measures were not taken, sooner or later troubles would arise, all the more since Tibet is for the moment seriously troubled and Galdan is disturbing the empire. Nobody knows what would be in store in the future. If the Mongol princes and settlers would not

comply with the regulations, the army should be used to compel them to obey (*Annals of Hsining* 34: 5a).

T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai, brother of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pe-chai, having graduated from the military academy and in 1673 fought the rebel Wu San-kuei in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, had been promoted to second captain in Wei Yuan Pu. He had also fought rebels in Chin Chou and Li Hsien in East Kansu, had been promoted to major and transferred with his troops to Chang Chia Ku north of Peking in Chihli Province, to participate in the war the emperor was waging against the Jungar (Oirat) chief Galdan. After the death of the Oirat chief Yeh Hsien, who had captured the Ming emperor and proclaimed himself emperor of all the Mongols and had been killed in 1455, the Oirats had divided into four groups. Galdan, chief of the Choros group and the Jungar tribes, dreamed of building a new Jungar empire and expelling the Manchus from China.

Galdan, having already conquered Kashgaria, Turfan and Hami, and been ruling over Central Asia, had still to win the four Khalkha groups in order to control the united Mongol race. In 1688 he invaded their territory. The Khalkhas fled to Tumet and asked the emperor for protection. In 1690 Galdan had struck a severe blow at Kalgan. In 1696 the emperor, himself leading one of his three armies, went to meet Galdan in the Kerulen region. T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country.

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ningshia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with a funeral oration.⁷³²

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Peitse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals of Kansu* 64: 52a; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 22a).

This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.⁷³³ Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang

⁷³² *Annals of Hsining* 28: 4a. *Annals of Kansu* 42: 45b. Rene Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

⁷³³ Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59-70, Roma, La Libreria della Stato., 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680-1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680-1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzung. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Kho-shot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680-1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.⁷³⁴

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le*, *Pei-tse*, *Kung*, *T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16b).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture. More troops had arrived in Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21a).

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huangchung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs

⁷³⁴ Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris. Picard. 1912.

rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation, the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710.

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dispositions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hualin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57a). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u-kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh-ku-lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial

distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeche was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.⁷³⁵

Revolt of 1723-1724

After the successful enthronement of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1720, it seems that a period of peace was to be expected. However Huangchung had to go through a new tremendous ordeal of destruction, ruin, and ruthless murder, caused by the revolt of the Kho-shot Prince of Kokonor, bLo-bzang tan-chin, a grandson of Ku Shih Khan.

All the princes of Kokonor had participated in the Lhasa expedition in 1720 and had seen their wishes fulfilled by the enthronement of their beloved Dalai Lama. On account of the troubles in Lhasa which had lasted for so many years, related to the enthronements and the depositions of Dalai Lamas and the interference of the Chinese emperor in Tibetan affairs, the princes must have shared for a long time the grudge and the hatred of the lamas and the Tibetans against the Chinese empire.

Back in Kokonor the ambitious Prince bLo-bzang tan-chin had started dreaming about the unification under his command of all the Kokonor tribes, and at the rebuilding of the nation of his ancestor Ku Shih Khan. He enticed the Kokonor princes and the chiefs at a convention in Ch'a ban t'o lo hai to swear to renounce the titles previously granted to them by the emperor. He started calling himself Dalai hun t'aichi in order to induce them to follow his example. It was an act of rebellion against the empire. However two princes Ch'a han tan-chin and Ah-erh-te-mi refused to follow his injunctions; they compelled their troops to abandon him. A fight was about to start between them but, deeming their forces too inferior to those of bLo bzang, Ch'a han tan-chin, first sent his wife and 140 of his people to the pass of Lao Ya Kuan outside the great wall of the city of Ho Chou. Ch'ang Chou vice-president of the administrative organ of Hsining invited him to move his people into the city of Ho Chou, and ordered him to leave the defense of the pass to his troops. bLo bzang prepared to cross the Yellow River to fight. This happened in the eighth moon of 1723 (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 52a-b).

But Nien Keng-yao, Governor General of Szechwan and Shensi provinces, and Yueh Chung-ch'i, Commander in chief of the troops of Szechwan, had already arrived from Szechwan Province with their troops to quell the revolt. The Chinese had long since had first-hand information concerning the unrest brewing in Ko-konor. They knew that Ch'a-han nomenhan, appointed by Lhasa as chief of the lamasery of Kumbum, had pledged allegiance to bLo-bzang, that princes of Koko-nor in combination with all the Tibetan tribes of Koko-nor depending upon bLo-bzang, and

⁷³⁵ Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchi emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynastie, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911 René Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

those of Hsining, subjects of the monasteries, and others were ready to revolt with the lamas of Huangchung.

In the tenth moon the revolt burst forth like a pent-up stream; 200,000 rebels invaded Hsining, stealing cattle, burning villages, and fighting with the troops. The situation was very serious, because the revolt spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the monastery of Erh-ku-lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control.

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshaled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of resistance. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34-37). The three biggest monasteries in the country were burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages of the subjects of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. The whole country was a ruin.

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the T'ieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.⁷³⁶

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34-37; II: 25, 26).

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt in the eastern countries. In 1724 he had participated in the destruction of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and the defeat of the savage lamas and their subjects. With General Yueh Chung-ch'i he fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46a) and escorted the food transport for the troops, which was incessantly attacked by the rebels in the mountains.

T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng in 1723, with 300 of his troops, guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains, and defeated several groups of Tibetans. In 1724 he administered several blows to the Tibetans in the Cho Tze Shan region, who attacked the food transport escort (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 470). The Chiliarch Li Hung-tsung, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng, and Li Wen-p'eng, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng, fought the rebels in the southern valleys of Hsining, in 1723 in the eleventh moon, and died in action with 14 of their Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 18b).

T'u-ssu Chao in 1724 fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42:49a).

T'u-ssu Kan Kuo-cheng guarded the ferry on the Yellow River in 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 510).

T'u-ssu Yeh Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains in 1723 and fought the Tibetans in Pa P'an Shan and in Cho Tze Shan. He escorted the food transport as far as T'ien T'ang Ssu along impassable trails. He helped in the destruction of the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53).

In 1723 T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in Shih Ta Shan and fought in Cho Tze Shan and at the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 530).

The participation of T'u-ssu Lu Hua-lin in the Lhasa expedition has been noted.

T'u-ssu Lu Chan, in 1723, guarded the Lao Ya Hsia with T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan. In 1724 he fought with his nephew Lu Wei-fan in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58b).

⁷³⁶ *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52-58; 42: 24a. *Annals* of Hsining 16a-b. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Ta-yung quelled the revolt of Tibetans in the Hsun Hua region in 1723. In 1724 he followed General Yueh Chung-ch'i in the expedition to Cho Tze Shan, participated in the destruction of the Monastery of Simi, and fought the Tibetan tribe Hsieh Erh Ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 28*b*).

The revolt, quelled with draconian severity in less than a year, had been the ruin of Huangchung. Not a single valley in the country was encountered through which the troops did not pass, fighting or pursuing the enemy. The number of villages destroyed and burned, and the number of stolen cattle were countless. The number of Tibetans, Mongols and lamas killed rates terribly high. The war was one of the bloodiest. All who made a stand were killed. All the provisions and properties of the people had disappeared. All the lamaseries were destroyed or burned down. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless, the destitution of the people tragic. Huangchung, which during the previous centuries had so many times suffered from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723-1724.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723-1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723-1724.

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724).

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.⁷³⁷

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers.

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in

⁷³⁷ The charge seems to have been based on slander. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 3: 366-465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. *Histoire Generale de la Chine*, De Mailla. II: 373-408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

the country, etc. The viceroy favored a prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February II, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July I, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.⁷³⁸

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject.

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 1713 to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723-1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huangchung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country--rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* 18: 294-298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* 24, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa "an acquaintance of mine." East of Lake Kokonor, on the west side of the Yellow River, is a prince who "wants to become a Christian." West of where the great wall protrudes around Chengfan (Liangchow) is a Christian outpost conducted by the governor of Yurig-ning-p'u. Here "I preached at the tents of the Mongols." Today there are Christians there. North of this settlement is a prince of 20,000 families. In the extreme north sits a Mongol prince whose wife is the daughter of the Emperor of China. He rules over 40,000 families. (This text points to the Prince of Alashan.)

The Khan, bKrasis Batur, second son of Gushri, the Khoshot, who conquered Kokonor and Tibet (1635) died in 1714. The Queen Mother of the successor accompanied the bier. The cremated bones of the Khan were carried for burial to the tomb of the Mongol kings situated on the borders of his kingdom between Chuang Lang

⁷³⁸ *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 2: 366-465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* 11: 373-408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

and Hsining⁷³⁹ in steep mountains. I have sent an Armenian and one of my catechists to present the Queen Mother with a handkerchief and a snuff box filled with European tobacco. She has sent one of her major domos to thank me and to hear about the holy law.

Maoletti awaited the return of the Queen in the Church of the Armenians in Topa.

Maoletti worked for about fifteen years in Shensi, Kansu and Ili (Turkistan) and mentions nine places with churches or oratories (three of them with two) and fifteen or sixteen other Christian communities, some larger, some consisting of only a handful of converts; some of the congregations had been founded by the Jesuits, others by zealous laymen, but the bulk of the achievement was doubtless due to the pioneering effort of Maoletti. One may speculate that to some extent the ground had been prepared for the work of the Catholic missionaries by the Nestorians who were strong in these regions. (*Monum. Serica*, 298-303.)

In Hsining, which at that time was an emporium of China with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, seven or eight adults had been baptized in 1706 by the Jesuit, Father Dehergne. The city had been visited several times in 1708-1709 by the Jesuits Jartoux and Regis, preparing the map of Kansu and Tibet on the order of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In 1713 Maoletti bought a small church in Hsining which he dedicated to St. Gregory, the Armenian, and entrusted to the care of a fervent Armenian Catholic living in Topa. Later, the community having developed, Hsining had two churches, one of Our Lady of Angels for the men, and the other for the women. Later both had come under litigation [probably after the accusation by General Nien Keng-yao of the sons of Surniana].

At that time Topa, 60 li north of Hsining, was a stronghold, subject to a Mongol prince who was tributary to the Mongol Khan. Topa was the trading place of the foreigners, Mongols, Tibetans, Lamas, Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians, and Muscovites. Fifteen different languages were spoken here. In this Babylon is an oratory or small church built by Armenians at my insistence.

Cheng-hai-p'u, with a garrison of one thousand soldiers, a village near Topa, and at the great Gate of the Foreigners, had a very large church, which had a literate merchant as head of the congregation of the Chinese as well as the neighboring Tibetans.

Two days east of Hsining, at the junction of the Hsining and Tatung Rivers, in Chang Ch'uan Ku, was a Catholic community. These seem to have been the four communities existing in the region of Hsining in 1715.

In most of the important cities in the northern part of Kansu Catholic communities existed in 1716, with churches or oratories. Lanchow had two churches since 1699, depending on the Tung fang of Peking (Dehergne p. 287). Kanchow had its church since 1660. In Suchow was a group of worshippers of the Cross. Maoletti, before 1713, during his stay in Liangchow, founded fifteen communities (two churches in Liangchow and one in Yung Ning P'u).

In the eastern part of Kansu, in many of the important cities, Christian communities were also encountered, with or without churches, in 1716.

Dehergne, p. 282, notes that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missions flourished in Shensi and numbered 12,000 Christians. In 1683 Christians were in twenty-three cities of the province.

In the five prefectures of Shensi there were Christians in 1700. In 1699 there were five residences of fathers and sixteen Jesuit churches (Dehergne, p. 275).

⁷³⁹ Between Chuang Lang and Hsining are the tombs of the Li and the Lu t'ussu in Siant'ang and Lien ch'eng, but I suppose no connections exist between these three cemeteries and both t'ussu and Khoshots.

In Turkestan in 1708, there were some Christians in Ili and Hami (Dehergne, p. 287, No. 89). During the Ch'ien Lung period, 1776-1796, many Catholics were relegated to Ili for the sake of religion (Dehergne, p. 287, 288) and also to Hsi Tatung, four days distant from Hsining (Dehergne, 289, 293).

This is a sketch of the conjectures in Shensi, Shansi, Huangchung, and Kansu concerning the mission work around 1700, according to the report of Maoletti and Dehergne.

HUANGCHUNG REORGANIZED

Nien Keng-yao, the pacification of the country having come to a successful close, presented to the throne a memorandum in thirteen articles, on the methods of pacifying the Mongols, Tibetans, and the lamas. The first article was radical. All the revolts originated on account of the too extensive power of the chiefs. The Tibetan tribes, depending upon the authority of the Supreme Khoshot Chief, have to be withdrawn from him and organized in independent units, living in their own territories allotted by the emperor, ruled by their own chiefs appointed by and responsible only to the Chinese administration. The Khoshot and other Mongol tribes, who at present depend upon the authority of one single supreme chief, have to be divided into single independent units. Titles have to be granted to each of the chieftains, and territories have to be allotted to them by the Chinese administration. Each tribal chief is to be responsible for the administration of his tribe under the supervision of the Chinese authority. The entire administrative physiognomy of Kokonor changed at once, and Kokonor was annexed to the empire.

The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvées, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34,49).

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire.

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Koko-nor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals of Hsining I: 21b*).

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but

settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese, one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liangchow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals of Hsining* 22: 15a-b).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor,

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and soldiers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and informed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far as Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642-1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723-1724 (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 21b).

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor.

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from

the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723-1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvées, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, “and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished” (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*).

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 130).

During the years 1733-1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 250).

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch’u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended.

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T’u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch’eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t’u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 710).

Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles of 1723-1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and graneries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t’u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly.

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended ominous events.

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan (Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T’ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t’u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong*. The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t’u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong*, are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t’u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun

Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 43b). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans.

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn. Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.⁷⁴⁰

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from An-ting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the Wahhabites, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomentor of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt?

⁷⁴⁰ Henri Masse, *L'Islam*, 208-209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wearing the double peacock feather (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new religion, inhabited Pa Yen jung situated south of Nienpei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a-b).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 480). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lanchow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 43b).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 44a).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard the city of Lanchow (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57a) and T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 58).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a-b).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 48a). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 490). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 43b). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 43b).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.⁷⁴¹

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.⁷⁴²

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 570). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 43b). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 440). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River.

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 59-61). Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.⁷⁴³

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46a-b).

TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots.

⁷⁴¹ Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals of Kansu* 47: 1-3. J. J. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311-327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Reserches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

⁷⁴² J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

⁷⁴³ J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363, sq.

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals of Kansu* 46: 62a-b).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire.

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57a). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin.

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860-1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals of Kansu* 47: 4 sq.

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted.

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans.

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 460). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 490).

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ningshia, led by Ma Hua-lung⁷⁴⁴ took the important city of Ningshia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57b).

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hwei*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua sse*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population.

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages.

⁷⁴⁴ The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ningshia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 49a). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 51a). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 53b). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866-1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869-1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ningshia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

The Mohammedan population of Ningshia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ningshia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi.

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ningshia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 57b).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ningshia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation.

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860-1873, a relatively few number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc.) was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895-1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860-1873) many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years, the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country.

This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Cli'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals of Kansu* 47: 63*b*, 640). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung, Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals of Kansu* 5: 49, 58*a-b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals of Kansu* 5: 42*a-b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country: Tatung and Pe-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals of Kansu* 47: 64).⁷⁴⁵

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895.

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

⁷⁴⁵ d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province.

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time.

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire; they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

On the other hand, the few demoralized Chinese troops, unable to cope with the situation, tried only to defend the few cities and strongholds, barricading themselves behind the walls, looking at the destruction wrought around them. Their forces were too feeble to pursue mighty bands of invaders. They were afraid to enter into the barren unknown Mongolian and Tibetan countries, exposed to ambushes of enemies, to lack of food and provisions, and to extermination. The defenders of the cities had little or no communications between them as the country was too extensive. They did not muster their scattered forces to fight in pitched battles and liked better to take it easy behind the fortified walls.

All the imperial orders issued to the officers during the Ming time, as will also be read in the second section of the Chronicles, enjoined them to obey their superior officers and not to act independently; to send messengers to keep contact with each other; to muster troops and fight in pitched battles; not to be lazy, sitting with a wait-and-see attitude behind fortified walls; and always with threats of severe punishment for high as well as for low officers, who did not comply with the orders.

Very seldom was a new strong army sent to save a critical situation. When this happened the invaders fled, but they returned after the departure of the troops.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that a lot of abuses must have existed among the troops garrisoned for long times in the frontier regions.

The imperial orders constantly enjoined the officers not to mix with the affairs of the civil administration, not to oppress the people, or impose taxes, exactions, etc. The people during the Ming dynasty suffered during two centuries from the inroads of barbarians, the oppression of the troops, and the maladministration of a dynasty becoming more and more effete.

In the Ch'ing dynasty the invasions of Mongols subsided a little until 1723, when bLo-bzang tan-chin launched his terrible revolt which might have caused the loss of Huangchung. Fortunately it was quelled with troops of Szechwan commanded by chiefs equal to the situation.

Then the revolts of the Mohammedans, more ruthless than those of the Mongols wrought terrible havoc, and a tremendous number of Chinese, as well as Mohammedans, lost their lives.

The Monguors had a hard time during these centuries, but remained faithful defenders of the empire.

II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chronicles of families are important historical documents, for they record trustworthy facts not included in the official histories.

In the present chronicle of the Lu clan are recorded the origin of the clan, its relations with the empire, the military art of the time, the civil and military administration, the laws of succession in the t'u-ssu family, the history of the inroads of barbarians and brigands in the country, etc.

I was happy to come into possession of these Chronicles in 1916, thanks to the kindness of General Ma K'o-ch'eng of Hsining. At that time rumors were persistently spread about the abolition of the t'u-ssu institution by the new Republic (1911). The widow of T'u-ssu Lu, a Mongol Khoshot lady, daughter of the Prince of Alashan, administered the tribe, keeping the seal, and caring for her young son. In order to ensure the succession of her son to the office of his father, she had traveled to Hsining to solicit the help of the powerful general by inviting him to be so kind as to become the boy's adoptive father, and at the same time offering him precious gifts. The general accepted the offer, and a few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to recognize the general as his father and to prostrate himself three times before him. Knowing this fact, I asked my friend the general to obtain the Chronicles for me, and so they came into my possession.

NATURE OF THE CHRONICLES

The Chronicles, written in Chinese, consist of two small xylographic volumes. The first one consists of two sections. The first section, only 2 pages, contains a preface and the lists of the genealogies of the chiefs of the tribe to the fifteenth generation. The second section, 52 pages, starts with a preface followed by the records concerning the imperial orders sent to the clan chiefs, the titles and promotions received by them, the inroads of barbarians and brigands into their country, and the wars in which they participated until 1850.

The second volume, 20 pages, the third section of the Chronicles, starts with a preface and presents the biographies of the fifteen t'u-ssu who successively controlled the clan until 1850.

Both volumes start with the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 and end in 1850 on the death of the fifteenth ancestor of the clan. To each of the two volumes are added two pages, written in Chinese with a pencil, relating facts from 1851 to 1896 and adding the biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth ancestors. The Chronicles of the Lu Clan given on page 74 seq. are a translation from the Chinese of the two xylographic volumes referred to above.

AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES AND THE TIME OF THEIR COMPOSITION

The preface of the first section of the first volume starts: (this is) "the genealogical register recomposed by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation fulfilling the hereditary office of commandant, with the possession of the seal, commanding the Monguor officers and the soldiers in the commandery of Chuang Lang."

Lu Chi-hsun succeeded his father in 1792, at the age of fifteen (Vol. I, section 2, 48) and died in 1850 (Vol. I, section 2, 52). Consequently the present genealogical register must have been recomposed between 1792 and 1850.

But an earlier Chronicle had been composed. Who was its author and at what time was it composed?

In the biography of the eighth ancestor, Lu Kuang-tsu, it is said that he returned to Lien Ch'eng in 1602, retiring on account of illness from the office he held in Nanking, that he composed in

Lien Ch'eng the Chronicle of the family, in three sections; he started with the imperial orders, then he continued with the biographies of the ancestors, the correspondence with the court, and then he added some things of interest, particularly about the family. He died in 1607 in his mansion of Lien Ch'eng (Vol. I, sect. 2, 42; Vol. II, sect. 3, 10). Consequently the first Chronicles were composed between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng, by Lu Kuang-tsu, and the second, by Lu Chi-hsun, were a continuation and perhaps a revision of the former ones.

In 1644 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, ancestor of the ninth generation and successor of Lu Kuang-tsu, was killed in Lien Ch'eng by brigands. Lien Ch'eng was destroyed, the palace burned down, and the wooden blocks used for the printing of the Chronicles disappeared in the flames (Vol. II, sect. 3, 52). After the recomposition of the Chronicles by Lu Chi-hsun wooden blocks must have been carved, if not during his lifetime, certainly during and before the end of the incumbency of his successor Ju Kao (1852-1893), because the biography of Ju Kao is not printed in the Chronicle, but is added, written in pencil, after 1850.

NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES

Who was Lu Kuang-tsu? He succeeded to the office of t'u-ssu after the death of his brother Lu Kuang-hsien, who died without issue. Before that time, having no hope of becoming t'u-ssu, he devoted himself passionately to the study of the Chinese classics and nurtured this passion through his later lifetime. People of an inferior civilization admire the higher civilizations and endeavor to assimilate them. Nomads who conquered China tried to become Chinese, and the process of sinisization was always started by the chiefs. In the t'u-ssu clans of Huangchung eminent scholars are noted. Lu Kuang-tsu was of Mongol origin and adored the Chinese civilization, becoming more Confucian than the Chinese scholars themselves. In the seven biographies composed by him, an abnormal stress is laid upon the examples of filial piety, faithfulness toward the empire, and the austerity and nobility of the ladies displayed in the family of his ancestors. The examples are noted with great care and love. He was enthusiastic about the cult of the ancestors, built an ancestral hall in 1602 in Lien Ch'eng according to the principles of the Chinese scholars and fixed the rites which should be observed in the hall at the sacrifices for the ancestors. He fervently promoted the cult of ancestors among the subjects.

No wonder that he composed a family Chronicle as a means to promote his ideal, hoping it would be read by the subjects and stimulate them to become more civilized according to the Chinese pattern. In his Chronicle nothing is noted concerning shamanism or lamaism, which were ardently practiced by the subjects. Reading the Chronicle it is useful to be conversant with the mentality of the author.

Who was Lu Chi-hsun, the author of the recomposed Chronicle? He also was a scholar, a thorough Confucianist, eager promoter and admirer of filial piety and faithfulness toward the emperor. In the biography of his father written by him, his mentality is displayed candidly and typically. He was not only a Confucianist, he was at the same time a fervent frequenter of high society. He made day and night trips to Peking to see the emperor and the splendor of the palaces. He made friendships with high officials, and was a lover of luxury, fine clothing, dinners, and songs. He had inherited these qualities from his father.

In the prefaces of the second and third sections of the Chronicles he develops the principles he recognized for their recomposition: to inform future generations about their ancestors, their glorious achievements and Confucianist virtues, in order that they might honor them and offer sacrifices to them according to the right principles; to check all the facts in order to provide

posterity with authentic and genuine data; and to help the future historians with data not noted in the official history, but worth being noted.

What was the religion of Lu Chi-hsun? Was he Confucianist as well as shamanist and lamaist? Anyway he must have believed in the Living Buddhahood of his second son who controlled the monastery of Tung Erh Ku Lung which belonged to the t'u-ssu of Lien Ch'eng, and was inhabited by 500 lamas. Two other monasteries also belonged to the t'u-ssu, the Si Erh Ku Lung with 200 lamas and the Pao Nan Sse (*Annals* of P'ing fan 250). In the city of Lien Ch'eng was a very renowned Buddhist temple belonging to the t'u-ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family.

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section I, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27a-b).

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2. and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

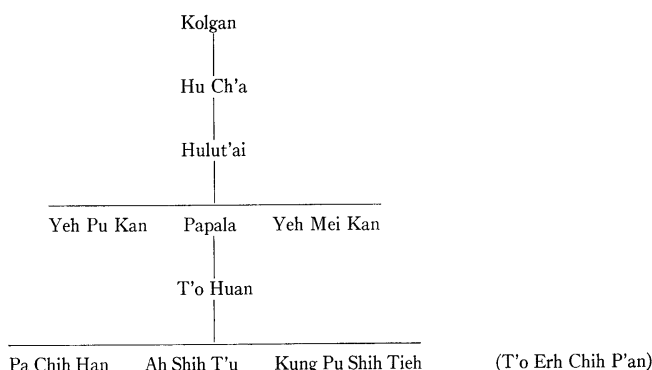
T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yüan time.

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his Chronicles between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung-pu-shih-tieh, his younger brother, as the ancestor of the second generation without noting that he had died in 1410 on the field of battle, accompanying the emperor on an expedition in Mongolia. The *Annals* note Shih Chia as the ancestor of the third generation without recording his name Hsien,

and without noting that he was given the name of Lu on account of the death of his father on the field of battle, but seem to suggest that he had been granted the name of Lu on account of his own merits. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh is the ancestor of the second generation and T'o Huan is the founding ancestor of the clan.

The *Annals* of Kansu 42: 55 start with Kung-pu-shih-tieh, a member of the imperial family who led his sons and tribes to submit in 1371, and received the title of Pei fu-chang from the emperor and was ordered to settle in Lien Ch'eng. He received the title of centurion and died in 1410 on the battlefield. However, the *Annals* record that his father was T'o Huan bearing the titles of P'ing-chang Cheng-shih and the dignity of Prince of Wu Ting. In the official *Annals* of the Yuan, Pen chi 24, 27, T'o Huan is not noted on the list of princes of Wu Ting but on those of the princes of An Ting. Not Kung-pu-shih-tieh but T'o Huan according to the Chronicles of the Lu clan, submitted with his sons and tribes, at the end of 1369 or beginning of 1370. T'o Huan fought with the Ming armies in 1370 and 1375 and died in 1376. He acted as chief of the submitted clan. Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded only in 1378 and could not have led the tribes to submit in 1371. In the *Annals* it is not noted either that Kung-pu-shih-tieh was the ancestor of the second generation nor the founding ancestor of the clan. In the Kansu *Annals* in the articles concerning the Monguor clan is never noted the number of the ancestors who succeeded each other. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan and the son of T'o Huan.

ANCESTORS OF T'O HUAN



KOLGAN

T'o Huan, Prince of An Ting, is a descendant of Chingis Khan (who died in 1227), by his sixth son Kolgan, according to the Chinese sources.⁷⁴⁶

Kolgan was the sixth son of Chingis, by his fourth wife Kulan, a Merkit beauty offered by the Merkit chief after Chingis had attacked and crushed the tribe.⁷⁴⁷ She bore a son Kolgan. He

⁷⁴⁶ For the study of the study of the descendants of Kolgan, we follow the Magisterial Study of Louis Hambis, *Le Chapitre CVIII du Yuan che* (64-70) avec notes supplementaires par Paul Pelliot. Supplement au Volume 38 du *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Brill, 1945. And also *Chapitre CVII du Yüan che* par L. Hambis. Monographies du *T'oung Pao*, 3, Tome I, Leiden, Brill, 1954. There the texts recorded in the social history of the Yuan (1369) concerning the ancestors are discussed relating to Meng wu erh shih chi by Tu Chi (1911), the Cho Keng Lu (1366), the two recent sources composed during the Republic, and the Mohammedan histories by Rashid-ed-Din and Khon-demir.

⁷⁴⁷ George Vernadski, *The Mongols and Russia*, 26, 1953.

participated in the conquest of Kipchack (Central Russia) with the Mongol princes of all the branches, under the command of Batu, and besieged the city of Ban (Riazan?) in the autumn of 1237. They stormed the city of Iga (?) where Kolgan was mortally wounded.⁷⁴⁸

K'o Chao-Ming in *Hsin Yuan Shih* 110, 8a, writes: Kulan was the favorite of Chingis, who loved her son Kolgan as much as those of the Empress Borte. Kolgan is recorded as the sixth among the sons of Chingis immediately after the five sons of Empress Borte (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6a). Chingis, in fixing the maintenance of his sons, fixed Kolgan's share nearly equal to those of the five sons of Borte (*Yuan Shih* 95, 5). However, nothing is recorded in the *Yuan Shih* relating to the appanage of Kolgan. Kolgan accompanied Chingis on the expedition in Central Asia and probably died in 1237.

HU CH'A

The son of Kolgan was Hu Ch'a, according to the unanimous testimony of all Chinese and Mohammedan sources.

On the panel recording the princes of Ho Chien, the name of Hu Ch'a is encountered (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6a). However, his name is not written on the list of the appanaged princes, but there the name of his son Hulut'ai is written. The date of his promotion as Prince of Ho Chien is not given either, but it is noted on the list of the sustenances and subjects allotted to the Prince of Ho Chien.

Hu Ch'a probably died in 1264.

HULUT'AI

All the Chinese sources unanimously call Hulut'ai the son of Hu Ch'a. Hulut'ai was Prince of Ho Chien, but the Mohammedan sources do not mention it. The history of the Yuan calls him "great prince" (107, 6b), and also Prince of Ho Chien and notes the date of his promotion (108, 4). Consequently, he was really Prince of Ho Chien, as his father Hu Ch'a had been. The name of Hulut'ai is written in Chinese in different ways and the same name is encountered among many offspring of the second son of Chingis, Chagatai (Hambis, note 60, 3).

When Kubilai was proclaimed emperor in 1260, his brother Arikboga opposed him, was proclaimed emperor also, and was followed by nearly all the princes of the East and the West. The revolt lasted for more than fifty years.

Hulut'ai received from Emperor Kubilai in 1265 the seal of Prince of Ho Chien and a gift of a thousand *tan* of grain for his destitute subjects, probably to keep him from mixing in the revolt. However, in 1277, at the time Haitu fought Kubilai, Hulut'ai, living among rebel princes, followed Haitu, but in the eighth month he left the rebels and clung again to the faction of Kubilai (*Yuan Shih* 9, 20b).

In the history of the Yuan neither the death nor the date of the death of Hulut'ai is noted, but he died before 1287.

THE SONS OF HULUT'AI

All the sources concerning the three first generations of the ancestors of T'o Huan, agree that Kolgan was the primordial ancestor, succeeded by his son Hu Ch'a, and grandson Hulut'ai, who was the son of Hu Ch'a. The confusion in the list of succession starts with the sons of Hulut'ai.

The oldest lists, corroborated by the Mohammedan lists and that of 1911, mention three sons: Yeh Pu Kan. Papala, and Yeh Mei Kan. The lists in both recent histories mention four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Pel Ta Han, and Yeh Mei Kan. The old lists note Papa to be the son of Yeh Pu Kan.

⁷⁴⁸ E. Bretschneider, *Médiéval Recherches* 1: 315, London, 1910.

The recent lists note Papa as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan and Papala the son of Yeh Mei Kan and not his brother.

T'o Huan in the three old lists belongs to the fifth generation, in the recent lists to the sixth generation, but in all these lists T'o Huan is recorded as the son of Papala. Anyway T'o Huan is noted as a descendant of Kolgan, whether his father was the son or the grandson of Hulut'ai.

YEH PU KAN

Yeh Pu Kan succeeded to his father Hulut'ai. On all lists he is noted as the son of Hulut'ai.

To Yeh Pu Kan seems to have been granted the dignity of Prince of Ho Chien which had been bestowed upon his grandfather Hu Ch'a and his father Hulut'ai and the reason is that in the history of the Yuan (14, 176) is recorded that his appanage of Ho Chien and his title of Ta lu hua ch'ih had been removed from him in 1287. It thus seems that he had inherited the title from his father and that his father had died before 1287. However, his name is not recorded in the lists of the princes with title (108, 40) but only in those called "great princes" (107, 6b).

Also, his grandfather Hu Ch'a (107, 5a) is recorded Prince of Ho Chien in the official history and also in the list of the sustenance given to the princes (95, 5a). However, his name is not mentioned in the list of Princes of Ho Chien (108, 4a). Also, his father Hulut'ai is noted only as "great prince" in 107, 6b, but in the principal *Annals* he is recorded as Prince of Ho Chien (6, 2), with the date of the granting of the title and the seal, and also in 108, 40, he is noted as Prince of Ho Chien. Does this fact suggest that only the grandfather and the father had enjoyed the title of Prince of Ho Chien and that after the death of Hulut'ai, the title had no longer been granted to Yeh Pu Kan and later successors? Or is it possible that it had already been removed from Hulut'ai after his revolt in 1277?

Anyway, Yeh Pu Kan's appanage and title were removed from him in 1287 after he had participated in the revolt against Kubilai, in which Hai Tu had lured Na Yen, descendant of Hasar, the fourth brother of Chingis, appanaged in Manchuria.

Marco Polo, at that time at the court of Kubilai, tells that Na Yen was a baptized Nestorian Christian, who in the battle against Kubilai bore a cross, but that this did not avail, because he had revolted against his lord.⁷⁴⁹

Before his revolt Yeh Pu Kan in 1284 had accompanied the imperial Prince Namuhan in the region of Kobdo, to inquire about the line of action of the rebellious and turbulent Mongol princes.

Many hypotheses have been suggested related to the place the appanage of Yeh Pu Kan was really situated. It seems to have been north of the Altai Mountains, and north of the appanage of the descendants of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis.

Yeh Pu Kan died in 1288.

YEH MEI KAN, PAPALA, PEITAHAN, AND PAPA

In all the lists of the descendants of Kolgan, Yeh Mei Kan is recorded as the son of Hulut'ai, except in the list of the Cho Keng Lu where he is entirely obliterated. In the history of the Yuan are encountered many Yeh Pu Kan and Yeh Mei Kan and it is not always easy to distinguish them.

In the history of the Yuan (20, 7a) Yeh Mei Kan the son of Hulut'ai, having simply the title of prince, is recorded as having received a silver gilded seal in 1300 and having died in 1301, and his son Papala as having succeeded him (20, 13). Hambis encounters in the same history two texts concerning Papala: one of 1286 related to an imperial gift for his destitute people, another

⁷⁴⁹ de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine* 9: 432.

recorded the granting of the title of “great prince” in 1314 (108, 6*b*). On p. 66 Hambis explains the discrepancies between these texts and those related to Yeh Mei Kan, and concludes peremptorily that Papala must have been the brother of Yeh Mei Kan, and not his son, but the son of Hulut’ai. In the Mohammedan lists and in *Yuan Shih hsin pien* he is also noted to be the brother.

The Cho keng lu not only notes Papala as the son of Yeh Mei Kan, but substitutes for him Peitahan, as brother of Yeh Mei Kan. However Peitahan does not belong to the group of the descendants of Hulut’ai, but to that of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis (Hambis, p. 66).

It has been noted that all the old lists of the descendants of Hulut’ai record only three sons. However, the two most recent histories printed after 1911 note four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Peitahan, Yeh Mei Kan. Papa noted as the son of Yeh Pu Kan in all the other lists, is noted in both recent works as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan. In all the lists of the descendants of Hulut’ai, Papa is noted as having two sons: Hapin Timur and Wu T’u-sse Timur. Hambis, in his magisterial study, proves conclusively that Papa belongs to the group of the descendants of Chagatai, in which lists he is consigned with his two sons, bearing names entirely the same as those recorded in the Kolgan lists.

The Cho keng lu, in order to make the question more intricate, records the two sons of Papa not to be the sons of Papa, but of T’o Huan! In the family Chronicles, however, these names are not encountered.

T’O HUAN

All the sources, together with the family Chronicles of the Lu clan, unanimously attest T’o Huan to be the son of Papala and descendant of Kolgan in the fifth generation. The two most recent studies, however, claim him to be the descendant in the sixth generation, Papala being the son of Yeh Mei Kan and grandson of Hulut’ai. Anyway, T’o Huan is a member of the imperial family of the Yuan by the Kolgan branch.

It is interesting to conclude with the note that Papala had lived and died in Lien Ch’eng. In the *Annals* of Kansu and P’ing Fan, and in the Chronicles of the Lu clan, it is noted that T’o-Huan, after his submission, was ordered to reoccupy the old country he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. In the biography of T’o Huan (3rd section) it is recorded that he and his wife were buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Ta-tung. Because it is called the ancestral cemetery, ancestors must have been buried there.

THE SONS OF T’O HUAN

The Chronicles of the Lu family note only two sons, Ah-shih-t’u the oldest, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh the second. The *Annals* of P’in Fan and those of Kansu, however, claim Pa chih han to be the first son of T’o Huan. In the study are noted the disastrous consequences of the submissions by T’o Huan, his first son, at the moment of the appointment of his successor as chief of the clan. In the history are noted three more sons: Hapin Timur, Wu T’u-ssu Timur and T’o-erh-chih-pa. Hapin Timur and Wu T’u-ssu Timur are proved by Hambis to belong to the line of Chagatai. T’o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal) is noted in Cho Kung lu as son of Pei Ta Han, in the Mohammedan sources. However, in the official history of the Yuan and the two recent historical works, he is claimed to be the son of T’o Huan. In the official history he is recorded as Prince of An Ting, without notice of the date of appointment. It is impossible that a son could have borne the title of his father during the lifetime of the father. T’o Huan died in 1376 and was still Prince of An Ting at the time he submitted to the Ming in 1368-1369. In the family Chronicle, however, are only noted the sons who succeeded to the office of supreme chiefs of the clan. It is not impossible that T’o Huan had

had more sons, but that Dorjibal should have been one among them is not proved. In the family Chronicle it is noted that in 1375 T'o Huan helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol Dorjibal, who can therefore hardly have been his son. Anyway, he did not succeed T'o Huan.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE FAMILY LU

PREFACE

The genealogical register was composed by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation, who filled the hereditary office of commander, with the possession of the seal, controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang.

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model.

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205-250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them.

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."⁷⁵⁰

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| • Primordial Ancestor | T'o Huan |
| • Second generation | Kung-pu-shih-tieh |
| Two sons: | Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded |
| • Third generation | Hsien |
| • Fourth generation | Chien |
| • Fifth generation | Lin |
| • Sixth generation | Chin |
| • Seventh generation | Tung |
| Two sons: | Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded |
| • Eighth generation | Kuang-tsu |

⁷⁵⁰ Yuan Shih, 107, 3b, 6a-b, 24, 27b, 113.

- Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded
- Ninth generation Yung Ch'ang
 - Tenth generation Hung
 - Eleventh generation
 - Two sons: Ti Ch'eng succeeded, died soon, Ti Hsin succeeded
 - Twelfth generation Hua Lin
 - Thirteenth generation Feng Chu
 - Fourteenth generation Fan
 - Fifteenth generation Chi Hsun
 - Sixteenth generation Cho
 - Seventeenth generation Ju Kao

CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

PREFACE

In former times Huang Li-chou (Huang Tsung-hsi) always said that the science of the composition of chronological biographies is a distinctive branch (of history).

Li Wen-chien composed the chronological biographies of Sires Fan, Han, Fu, Wu Yang, Ssu Ma, and the three Su's. The later generations admired their completeness and correctness. These men had been renowned ministers and eminent scholars.

Kingdoms have official histories. Families have chronological biographies in which men are the warp and years the woof. If the biographies cover only a few years, the collection of the material is easy. In 1643 our family met with the insurrection of Huo Chin during which (our) archives, books, law registers, and official deeds, were consumed by fires set by the brigands. A dynasty is only a fraction of the history, a single man a fraction of a generation, and an event only a fraction of the life of a single man. Weaving with the warp of men and the woof of years, collected over periods of hundreds of years, and then trying to put the events of several hundred years in a one-foot roll is difficult.

Now I summarily coordinate all the events, I record our submission (to the empire) in order to conform with the will of Heaven, I record our military successes, in order to recall the glorious achievements of the ancestors, I note the dates of the birth and the death of the ancestors, the place of their interment, in order that the ulterior generations will remember to make sacrifices to them. I eliminate all doubtful events and avoid writing unchecked facts, in order not to mislead posterity. Facts which have to be believed and are important have to be recorded and insignificant ones omitted. This is the rule of the Ch'un-ch'iu. The dates of the period of the reigns of the emperors are noted with the first day of the moon.

Now we proceed to the second section, the chronological biographies.

CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

PRIMORDIAL CLAN ANCESTOR: T'O HUAN

1368. First year of the period Hung Wu. Emperor T'ai Tsung on the eighth moon enters the capital of the Yuan.

1369. The Ming captured K'ai P'ing. The Yuan emperor fled northward.

1370. In the fifth moon Su Ta captures Hsing Yuan. Teng Yu was sent to inform the tribes in the western countries about the new conditions in the empire, and to call them to submit. The ancestor T'o Huan submitted, accompanied Su Ta, conquering the northern countries and fighting K'uo-k'uo Timur in Cheng Erh Yu.

1371. Sire T'o Huan followed Su Ta, Li Wen-cheng, Feng Chen and others to fight K'uo k'uo Timur.

1375. Sire T'o Huan followed Pu Yin to fight T'o-erh-chih-pa,⁷⁵¹ a chief in Ho Hsi (Liangchow) and defeated him. He was invited to court. On account of illness he could not go.

1376. Sire T'o Huan died. His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him.

SECOND GENERATION: LU KUNG-PU-SHIH-TIEH

1377. Sire Ah-shih-t'u was transferred from the commandery of Lanchow to that of Chuang Lang, with the title of centurion.

1378. Sire Ah-shih-t'u captured the rebel Tibetan chief Ta-kuan-tieh-chih and killed him. He became blind and soon died. The ancestor of the second generation Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded him. The imperial order he received read:

I govern the empire, to talented men who love justice I give official duties. Kung-pu-shih-tieh, for a long time you have lived in the western country, you are able to devote yourself to the submission of the people. I appreciate your intention, I give you the title of Chao-hsin Chiao-wei and the title of centurion in charge of the troops of the commandery of Chi Ning. You will devote yourself to obeying the law and controlling the people with kindness. I hope you will respond to my desire in the office I entrust to you. Devote yourself to it.

1390. By imperial order was granted to him the use of the Ma-fu-yen (the half of a tablet having the form of a horse, the other half being deposited in the bureau of the administration; the presentation of the tablet permitted free entrance and right to call on the superior).

1402. Kung-pu-shih-tieh fought Ta-ming-pu-yen-to-shih on the territory of Liangchow. He defeated him and captured many of his followers. He went to the capital to offer captives. Emperor Ch'eng Tsung (Yung Lo) ascended to the throne. He was promoted centurion in the commandery of Chuang Lang.

1404. Kung-pu-shih-tieh was transferred and promoted to the defense of Cheng Fan and other places.

1405. He was entrusted with the defense of Mo mo ch'eng and other places.

1409. He was ordered to move to I-chi-nai to induce the Mongols to submission.

1410. He followed the emperor on the expedition in the northern countries. He died on the battlefield in Ho-la-ho.

1411. He was buried in Ch'ing Shih Shan.

THIRD GENERATION: LU HSIEN

1412. Sire Hsien with the high commandant Ch'eng Huai fought the rebel Mongols Yang-ku-erh and others and captured many at Pa-li-ma. In winter he fought with commandant Liu Mu the rebel Mongol Shih T'ai in Sung Shan and killed the chief.

⁷⁵¹ D. Pokotilof, *History of the eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, 7, translation by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China Union University, 1947.

1414. Sire Hsien was transferred to defend Hsuan Fu and was promoted secretary commandant. On the second of the twelfth moon an imperial order arrived for the commandant of Chuang Lang to choose from the tribe 200 soldiers inured to war, to be commanded by the Lu chiliarch.

When the imperial order arrives they must leave for Hsuan Fu and await orders there. You must care for the provisions of the soldiers and the animals yourself and act according to the order.

1419. On the seventh of the third moon we received the imperial order:

I govern the empire making no distinction between subjects living inside or outside the empire. It is the old rule of the empire. You, Sire Lu, since long ago, have lived in the western country. You serve the emperor reverentially. How old are your faithfulness and sincerity, and how reliable and strong! Since I ascended the throne you have received many promotions. At present I promote you Ming Wei general and secretary commandant in the commandery of Chuang Lang. Try always to be good and to care for your subjects with more zeal. Instill in yourself the feeling of a great love in order to improve your faithfulness and zeal and to enjoy peace eternally. Pay respect to this order.

1421. Sire Hsien was transferred to the defense of Ho Chou. The twenty-ninth of the eighth moon the imperial order was received with respect.

Commander of Chuang Lang, choose in your circumscription the soldiers of the tribes, the people of the tribes and the Chinese capable of fighting as many as possible, and entrust them to the commandant Lu Hsien. Each of them must carry his weapons. On the passes along the way provisions must be delivered for the men and the animals. The first of the second moon they must reach Peking. Obey and act according to the order.

1422. Sire Lu Hsien followed the emperor on the expedition against the northern rebels. On the seventh moon he arrived at the river Han T'an and captured the rebel chief Ao la ban. He was granted money and flowered silk. In the tenth moon he fought in T'ien Ch'eng and was again granted money.

1423. The thirtieth of the seventh moon the imperial order was received:

High commander of Chuang Lang chose instantly 300 men among the soldiers, the Monguor subjects and the Chinese, to be commanded by Lu Hsien. They first have to march to Ningshia, and there they have to accompany Duke Ning Yang, Brigadier General Ch'eng Yao, and the eunuch Wang Nan on a hunting party. Obey and act according to the order.

Sire Hsien entered the Alashan country and entrapped the Chung Yung prince, Yeh Hsien t'u-ch'ien and captured many prisoners.

In the twelfth moon the imperial order was received:

Lu Hsien, Monguor official in the commandery of Chuang Lang; immediately upon the arrival of the order you must command soldiers of the regular army; each of them must carry his weapons and ride his horse; provisions must be delivered to men and animals on the passes on the way; and on the third moon in 1424 they must arrive at Peking. Obey and act according to the order.

1424. Sire Hsien followed the emperor on the expedition against the rebels. In the seventh moon the army camped at T'u Mu Ch'uan. The emperor died. Jen Tsung ascended the throne.

1425. The fifth of the second moon Lu Hsien personally received the imperial order:

Monguor official commandant Lu Hsien, of the commandery of Chuang Lang, on the arrival of the order take immediately 260 officers and soldiers chosen from among those you formerly commanded. First go to Hsining and then together with the High Commandant Li Yin, the commandant K'ang Shu and others, go to the three wei of Han Tung, Chu Hsien, An Ting (Turkistan) and inquire about the case of the audacious brigands who plundered and killed the ambassadors on the road to Wu Sse Tsang (on the Szechwan and Tibetan borders). Inquire to what tribes they belong and order their chiefs to capture and conduct them to the capital. Be careful not to be deceived when they incriminate each other. This is the aim of the order.

In the fifth moon the emperor Jen Tsung died, and Hsuan Tsung ascended the throne.

In the seventh moon Lu Hsien participated in the expedition in Chu Hsien and other places. He killed and captured many brigands. He induced Prince Wu Ting, Sang-erh shih-chia to submit. He was promoted high secretary commandant with the promise that three generations would enjoy the favor of this title.

On the fourth of the eighth moon an imperial order arrived informing Lu Hsien, Monguor commandant in the commandery of Chuang lang:

You served reverentially my ancestor T'ai Tsung, displayed faithfulness, exercised your sincerity, zealously and intelligently expended your forces. Many times you became illustrious by glorious achievements. Successively, dignities and rifts were bestowed upon you. You received from my late father Jen Tsung, whose tablet is honored in the ancestral temple on the place Chao and whose succession I received, an imperial order relating to the affair of the brigands of An Ting and other places who had plundered and killed the imperial ambassadors, to lead your troops to exterminate them, to bring peace in that country, and put an end to the miseries of the people. You have capably complied with the order of the emperor. Acting with zeal and courage, you led your strong troops into the den of the brigands, killing and capturing more than 1,000 men and capturing booty of 130,000 camels, horses, cows, and sheep, suppressing even the vestiges of the brigands, rendering peace to the people, so that the communications (with central Asia) might start again and no more troubles occur (on the highway). I praise your faithfulness and zeal. When I ascended the throne I appointed generals to keep peace in the frontier regions. If all of them will expend their forces in that way, peace can easily be enjoyed and great success achieved. Who among the generals of former times are equal to you?

Now by special favor I send Yang Yun, chief of the ministry of civil appointments, to congratulate you.

The captives, camels, and horses have to be sent to the capital, cows and sheep have to be distributed among the officers and troops who participated in the expedition. You will soon come to court, the expenses defrayed by the empire, in order to comply with my sentiments.

On the eleventh moon he obeyed and went to the capital. He received silver, flowered silk, precious trinkets, and paper money.

1426. On the eleventh of the first moon the imperial order arrived at the quarters of the commandant of Chuang Lang, to choose 260 officers and soldiers who formerly served in the cavalry and put them under the command of high secretary Commandant Lu Hsien to receive training in the defense of the frontiers. They may expect to be transferred soon. Obey and act according to the order.

1427. The chief of the Tibetan Erh-chia tribe revolted but the revolt was quelled by Lu Hsien.

On the twentieth of the twelfth moon the imperial order was received:

We informed the Prince of An Ting, I p'an tan, of the An Ting commandery, the secretary commandant Ah la ch'i pa and others, concerning the mission of the eunuch Hu Hsien and others to Wu-sse-tsang. Order your 3,000 officers and soldiers to protect the ambassadors, under command of high secretary-commandant Lu Hsien and the chiliarch Li Pao-tung. They have to wait for the ambassadors on Sse ha erh ma yang. They have to encounter the ambassadors in a group. Do not disobey the order or commit errors. It is the aim of the order.

1428. The ambassadors, protected on the way, arrived at Ao Chieh Ch'uan. The Lama Cheng nan ho pa of the Erh-chia tribe had moved far away. Lu Hsien treated his troops well on the way.

The imperial order of the twentieth of the eleventh moon informed the high commandant Lu Hsien and the quarters of the commandery of Chuang Lang, to call immediately the troops which have received training.

Each of them must carry his weapons and ride his horse, provisions will be delivered at the passes. Lu Hsien will command them. These troops and others will obey the orders of Duke Hui Ning, Li Yin of Hsining, and be at Peking for the fifteenth of the second moon (1429). On the way the behavior of the troops must be strict. Those who disobey will be punished severely. Obey and act according to the order.

1429. Lu Hsien, obeying the orders went to Peking.

1430. Lu Hsien led an expedition and quelled the revolt of Ho-sse-san Chi-sse.

1434. In the ninth moon Lu Hsien fought and defeated the Mongol Wan Chih Timur. The eighteenth of the twelfth moon an imperial order is received:

Lu Hsien, first captain commandant of Shensi province, you are becoming old. During long years you expended your forces with zeal. Your name is engraved in the heart of the emperor. Now I promote you, by especial favor, assistant Tu-tu at the headquarters of the Tu-tu. You will obey the orders of the brigadier general defender of the country. You will practice more faithfulness and sincerity in order to manifest your gratefulness. Try to respond to the affectionate solicitude of the emperor. Receive this order with reverence.

1435. Emperor Hsuan Tsung died in the first moon.

Emperor Yin Tsung ascended the throne.

Lu Hsien fought and defeated the rebel Pai pe ta li ma.

In the eleventh moon Lu Hsien fought Ho Shan-erh in Kanchow, beheaded the chief and captured his baggage.

1436. Lu Hsien participated in the expedition of the brigadier general Jen Li, in I-pu-la-shan. He pursued and defeated the brigands. In concert with the brigadier general Chao Nan he participated in the expedition in Ho Yun Sse. In the tenth moon the Mongol Ah t'ai t'o erh chih-pa invaded Chuang Lang. He was pursued by Lu Hsien. Nai lai-wa, one of the chiefs of the brigands was killed.

1437. Lu Hsien put to flight Tu so lo in Mi la ch'uan, captured the chiefs Pa tu so lo and Mi li ku, and more than 1,000 brigands.

1438. Lu Hsien put to flight and beat Pe ya wu in I-pu-la-shan. He was promoted to high commandment.

1445. On the second moon Lu Hsien was promoted to Piao ch'i general, and secretary commandant at the headquarters of the left army. He sent his son Chien to offer a tribute of horses at the capital. His son was promoted to Centurion.

1447. In the twelfth moon Lu Hsien, the Piao ch'i general, died. Chien, the ancestor of the fourth generation succeeded the father.

FOURTH GENERATION: LU CHIEN

1448. Chien defeated the Mongol brigands at Ch'a nan wu la, and was promoted to commandant.

1449. Emperor Ying Tsung was captured by the Mongols in T'u mu. Chin Ti ascended the throne.

1450. Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the seventh moon:

Lu Chien commandant in the commandery of Chuang Lang, I order you to have strict discipline among the Monguor officers and soldiers and to defend the country with the 400 soldiers in combination with the commandant Kao and others. Train the troops continually and be kind toward them. Where troubles arise move the troops to the danger spots. Do not consider your troops as being your own, imposing on them corvées on your personal behalf, and so provoke trouble among the subjects by taxes and exactions, exciting their antipathy and neglecting the defense of the country. If you disobey you will be accused. I hope you will obey the order, be careful.

(Did a reason exist for this order and had accusations been made against him?)

1457. Emperor Chin Ti died. Emperor Ying (the liberated emperor) ascended the throne again. Lu Chien pursued and beat Mongol brigands in Chuang Lang. He was promoted to secretary high commandant.

1458. Imperial order of the twenty-fourth of the third moon, informing Lu Chien the secretary commandant:

I, emperor, consider that Hung Ch'eng situated between Lanchow and Chuang Lang, is an important place on account of the passing ambassadors, travelers and traders, and the transportation of grains. You, commandant of Monguor troops, used to defeat and kill brigands and extend your faithfulness, you enjoy the sympathy of your subjects. I order you to choose two groups of soldiers from among the Monguor troops you command or from among the Chinese troops of Chuang Lang, and to move them to Hung Ch'eng, to exercise the cavalry and defend the country. If alarmist rumors are spread, take council with the other commandants. Combine your plans and act accordingly. You will obey the orders of the brigadier general, defender of the country and of other commandants. Try by all means to be honest and just and to become more and more perfect in order to be able to control the subjects better. It is not allowed to bother the inferiors or to use the troops in your personal behalf, be provident in defending the country. If you disobey you will be punished severely. I hope you will obey the order with reverence. This is the purpose of this order.

1459. Lu Chien attacked the Mongol brigands at Wu Chao Lin, killed and captured many. He was promoted to assistant commandant. Imperial order of the twenty-fourth of the fourth moon:

Lu Chien, secretary commandant defender of Hung Ch'eng, Mongol brigands incessantly invade the country. You are capable of combining plans and killing them, your faithfulness and zeal are worth praises and admiration. By special favor I promote you to assistant commandant. As before, you will defend the country with zeal, in order to display your gratefulness and make the country peaceful. This is the aim of this order.

1461. Wang Pai made an inroad in the country of Liangchow. Lu Chien with his troops beat him and put him to flight.

1463. The Tibetan Huang-tu-erh tribe revolted. Lu Chien quelled the revolt and pacified the country.

Imperial order of the fifth of the twelfth moon:

Lu Chien assistant commandant and defender of Hung Ch'eng, as before Tibetans incessantly make inroads and plunder. The eunuch Meng T'ai, General Wei yin, Wu Cheng, and others assembled to devise means either to induce them to submission or to exterminate them. I received the report of Meng T'ai. You will inquire which among the tribes causes troubles, and how many horse troops will be required for an expedition against it. You will submit your plan with the minutest details. At the arrival of the imperial order you will immediately choose and move the troops in full number, prepare the weapons and provisions. Each of the commandants will have to assume his responsibilities. Have council with them, related to the date to start the expedition, the way to follow, and the place where they will fight. You will wait until the arrival of the fixed date and move according to orders you will receive from Meng T'ai, Wei yin, Wu Cheng, and others. Expend your forces unanimously, pursuing the Tibetan brigands either to exterminate them or to induce them to submission and pacify the country. It is strictly forbidden to have discordances among you, and to let slip away favorable opportunities. I hope you will endeavor to obey the order. This is the aim of the order.

Emperor Ying Tsung died. Hsien Tsung ascended the throne.

Imperial order of the twenty-eighth of the second moon to Lu Chien, assistant commandant and second captain in Hung Ch'eng:

At the beginning of my accession I consider your zeal and fulfillment of your office. I have to be generous according favors. I hope you will respond to my grand sentiments, exercising more and more your faithfulness and sincerity in the office I entrust to you. This is the aim of the order.

The emperor sent a gift of 200 taels and the lining and facing of silk gowns.

In the winter the Tibetan Huang-tu-erh tribe revolted again. Lu Chien quelled the revolt and pacified the country.

1465. Lu Chien on account of his merits was promoted to high commandant, piao-ch'i general, Shu-tu-tu Ch'ien-shih with the function of lieutenant colonel of the left, defender of Chuang Lang.

Imperial order of the twenty-eighth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien, high commandant, according to the decision of my councilors you are capable of combining plans and you are courageous and you have already defended Chuang Lang. Immediately at the arrival of the order, with 400 officers and soldiers you commanded before, foot and horse, Monguors and Chinese, move to Chuang Lang to defend the country, exercise the troops, repair the city walls to prevent attacks of the brigands. If alarms are reported, act according to the conditions. As formerly you will have to obey the orders of the commandant in chief of Kansu. Each time you will have to discuss the circumstances and together with the high commandant Chao Yin arrive at a decision before moving. Do not obstinately cling to your own ideas, resisting stubbornly and harming the country. Be honest and just, amend your shortcomings in order to control better your inferiors. It is not allowed to use officers and troops by imposing corveés in your own interest, and so neglect their military training and the defense of the country. It is not permitted to indulge in your whims toward your inferiors and disturb the people by taxes and exactions. If you disobey these rules you will not be forgiven. I hope you will obey reverentially. This is the aim of the imperial order.

In the eighth moon, three moons later, the imperial order was sent:

Lu Chien, high commandant and defender of Chuang Lang, today reports have been sent by official defenders of Shensi province, informing that the brigand Liu Ming-hai mustering his troops invaded the country to a large extent, plundering and ravaging Ku Yuan and P'ing Liang districts. This brigand formerly has been the scourge of

the country, intermittently making inroads starting from Ho T'ao. I ordered the eunuch-P'ai Tang and the officials Yang Sui and Kung Chung and others to exterminate his group. Now he has become more and more audacious. Troops have to be mobilized to attack him in combination and exterminate him. Already orders are issued to the defenders of the frontiers in Yen-an, Sui Te and Ningshia to have ready horse and foot troops, to inquire about the way the brigand will take to return to his den, to organize among the commanders a communication service by means of flying couriers and to devise plans to intercept his escape route and kill him.

Receiving the imperial order, you must instantly mobilize foot and horse troops. Some among you must guard the borders of the Yellow River, separated in groups, in order to impede his crossing the river. The others have to set ambushes at strategic points obstructing his course and kill him. If you can devise other stratagems it is permitted to discuss them together and put them in operation. I have been informed that the brigand disposes of 10,000 reserve troops, which in Ho T'ao block the way to the Oirats. Because elders and children follow the troops, their movements could be hampered and you may seize this opportunity to act. Care for my orders and obey. This is the aim of the order.

One moon later on the sixth of the ninth moon was received the order:

Lu Chien, high commandant and defender of Chuang Lang: the autumn is quickly passing, grass and bushes are dry, it is the suitable time to burn them and lay naked the country in order to observe better from afar the movements of the enemy.

When you receive the order, immediately dispatch groups of intelligent officers and soldiers, who according to the old customs set on fire the country outside the frontiers, when the wind blows suitably. Burn entirely naked the country along which the invasions are usually made in order to hamper the hiding of the enemy in the bushes and the setting of ambushes. Send intelligent scouts to the four corners of the country to spy on the movements of the enemy. If some rumors are heard, move instantly and act according to the conditions. Be extremely careful to avoid errors, note the burned areas, and the number of officers and soldiers entrusted with the task and send a report. I hope my order will be executed with the utmost care. This is the aim of the imperial order.

1468. Lu Chien put to flight and exterminated the brigands of Man Ssu in Ku Yuan. Imperial order of the sixth of the eighth moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters, I order you to defend the country of Chuang Lang as before, to train the Monguor and Chinese foot and horse officers and soldiers, repair the walls of the city, to be kind to the officers and soldiers, to prevent invasion. If alarms are reported, act after deliberation with the commanders. You will continue to obey the orders of the commandant in chief and other defenders of the country. In commanding soldiers do not indulge in whims, impose corvées, taxes, and exactions and provoke their antipathy. If you do not obey, the fault will not easily be forgiven. I hope you will receive the order with reverence and not be remiss. This is the aim of the order.

Imperial order of the twenty-first of the eighth moon:

Lu Chien, commandant in chief and defender of Chuang Lang: the burning of dry grass and bushes is of the utmost importance to defend the country. Recently it was reported that my orders had not been executed carefully. The Mongol brigands are able to approach the frontiers, feigning to graze their herds. They may easily make inroads and ruin the people. At present I will not press for more investigations. However, the autumn is progressing, the grass and bushes are dry. It is the suitable time to burn them to have a wide view. On arrival of the order correct your remission, think of the security of the country and the invasions of the brigands. Choose some armed troops, send them outside the frontiers, conducted by centurions, chiliarchs, and commandants. Use scouts to inquire about the movements of the cavalry of the brigands, and their invasion routes. Along the routes

burn naked the country when the wind blows suitably, as far as three to five days distant. Carefully burn the country at the passes and around the garrisons. When this has been executed report the name of the officers and soldiers who were charged with the duty. It is not permitted to disobey and to be remiss.

1472. Po Lu Hu and Pei Chia Sse Lan invaded the country. Lu Chien defended Yen-an and Sui Te, and beat and pursued the brigands on the way to An Ting. On the way back he put to flight brigands at Huan Hsien and Ch'ing Yang Fu.

Imperial order of the fourteenth of the second moon:

Lu Chien, defender of Chuang Lang: Recently the Mongols Po Lu Hu and Pei Chia Sse Lan, who live in Ho T'ao and who made several inroads in the frontier regions, plundered the region again. In order to end this calamity and save the lives of the people, troops must be mobilized and the brigands exterminated. Immediately, deliberate with the commandant-in-chief and chairman of the military headquarters and other officials. In Chuang Lang choose 1,500 horsemen of the imperial army and 2,000 among those who are not in service at present. You yourself must command them, to control their number and weapons, to train them according to the military art and follow the orders of Wang Yueh, supreme commandant of the expedition. Move to the fixed place in groups or all together, and, uniting your forces, try to be victorious. It is not permitted to hesitate, to disobey orders, to be remiss. It is not permitted to not dare to advance, to draw back and let slip suitable opportunities. I hope you will endeavor to obey.

1474. Imperial order of the sixteenth of the first moon:

Lu Chien, commandant-in-chief and defender of Chuang Lang, the high commandant Hsuan Yü reports: According to the saying of the people who came back from the Mongols, Man Tu Lu and Po Lu Hu cross the river in the east, Pei Chia Sse Lan will cross in the north. Pei Chia Sse Lan is a shrewd brigand of the northwest. In case he crosses and goes northward, be sure he will ravage your country.

At the moment you receive the order, organize and muster your cavalry instantly, watch the strategic points, block the roads of the brigands, and kill them. Do not hesitate a moment or let slip a favorable opportunity. If you disobey you will be punished. I hope you will look at the order with reverence. This is the reason for the order.

Imperial order of the fifteenth of the eleventh moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title) and defender of Chuang Lang: the high commandant Hsuan Yu reports news of the commanders of the six commanderies of Tat'ung: the ninth of the eleventh moon, seven Mongol horsemen destroyed the great wall and crossed the frontier, shot arrows and wounded soldiers. From Pien Ti Ku it is announced that since the sixth of the tenth moon, much smoke and many tents are seen in the far distance in the northwestern direction. It seems that Pei Chia Sse Lan mustered his troops and is camping near the frontiers in order to invade and plunder the country. We have to be ready to resist the brigands. The New Year is not far away. I fear that some commandants might be remiss in their duty on account of the New Year festivities, that some might impose corvées on the soldiers, send them outside the frontiers to collect fuel, and have hunting parties to provide meat for New Year's, thereby tempting the brigands to make a sudden inroad. The losses suffered would be heavy.

I order you to control strictly the troops, to enforce the day and night watches, to keep the troops in full strength, to sharpen the weapons just as if the enemy were in front of you. When the enemy starts the invasion, inform the commandants and act according to the circumstances, attack the enemy, or consolidate the city walls, or burn the surrounding country to dispel amongst the enemy the temptation to make inroads. Try to resist the enemy and to insure the peace. I hope you will carry out your duty, remembering that peace cannot be enjoyed by taking it easy. To be entrapped in the snares of the enemy will not be forgiven. Use prudence. This is the reason for the order.

1475. An imperial order enjoins the local officials to build an honorific arch in front of the mansion of Lu Chien. The emperor sent the inscription to manifest his affection toward him. It reads: "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and sincerity, incessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal."

1480. Lu Chien was promoted to lieutenant colonel and defender of Hsining. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title not a function), I order you to fulfill the function of lieutenant colonel. You will still care for the defense of Chuang Lang and assume at the same time the defense of the country of Hsining.

You will train Chinese and Monguor foot and horse, repair the city walls, deal with officers and soldiers with kindness, prevent inroads of brigands. In time of alarm act according to the circumstances. You will still obey the orders of the commandant in chief and the Governor of Kansu. You will be honest and just, amend your shortcomings in order to command more effectively your inferiors. Do not use troops for your own interests, imposing corvées for your private use, impeding the military training and the defense of the country. Do not indulge in whims in commanding inferiors, imposing taxes and exactions in order to avoid complaints. In case you disobey, the fault will not easily be forgiven. I hope you will receive the order with reverence and be attentive. This is the aim of the order.

1481. To Lu Chien was granted a piece of red silk woven with red colored silk thread, also a piece of satin with dragon designs to make a gown, facing and lining included. He was promoted to vice-commander in chief of the left.

1483. An imperial order informed Lu Chien:

Today I, by special favor, promote you to be vice-commandant in chief of the left in Kansu. I received reports of the defenders, officials of Yen-an and Sui Te. On the tenth moon they had spied on the Yu Yang valley at the foot of the Ching mountains and the vicinity. On the northern borders of the river numerous rows of tents and smoke were seen. To be sure, Mongol brigands are camping there. Now the river is frozen and may be crossed everywhere; it is difficult to believe that they will not invade the T'ao (Ordos) country. The report was sent to the ministry of war which, after deliberation, ordered him to notify the officials residing along the river, and especially those near the Ho T'ao regions, to mobilize the troops for the defense of the country.

After receiving the order of the ministry of war, send a report concerning your proposed execution of the order and then act according to the next order. Organize the troops under your command, train foot and horse, defend vigorously the cities and passes and the watchtowers situated along the roads from which dangers are signaled. The troops, day and night, must keep watch intensively. If brigands cross the river then the commandants will inform each other by means of flying couriers. According to the circumstances, take the offensive or stay on the defense and send a report by couriers. It is allowed to move troops according to the circumstances which develop. It is not permitted to sit, wait and see, and let favorable opportunities slip away. Offensive or defensive actions depend upon the officers of the frontiers, but plans have to be discussed before the invasion of the brigands in order to be ready to put to flight and kill the enemy and pacify the country. I know you are capable of doing that. This is my desire. I hope you will receive with reverence the order.

On the first of the seventh moon was received the order:

Centurion Lu Lin, by special favor I order you to command the officers and soldiers in Chuang Lang, in the way of your ancestors. Your ancestors controlled the country and enjoyed the sympathy of the people. Deal with

the people with kindness, train the troops, repress the brigands. At the time of alarm you must obey the orders of the defenders of Kansu province and then move the troops. Later, when you have merited it, I will promote you according to the rules. You must not consider the troops as belonging to you personally (and not to the empire), impose corvées and trouble the people, indulge in whims, retain the salary of the troops, be unjust, alienate the sympathy of the people, or neglect the defense of the country. If you disobey, it will be easy to know who is responsible. Receive with reverence my order. Be not remiss. This is the aim.

1484. Imperial order of the third of the second moon:

Lu Chien, vice-lieutenant colonel, assistant chairman of the military headquarters of Kansu, I ordered Fan Chin to act as lieutenant colonel and defender of the country. Always act in concert with him, devise plans together, and act after they have been fixed. Never be stubborn as to your own ideas or waste opportunities. I inform you in a special way to keep the seals for the time being, and the tablets (which allow free entrance at court) which Wang Yu has received before. On the arrival of Fan Chin deliver them to him. This is the reason for the order. Your son, the centurion Lu Lin, has received promotion as commandant of the Monguor troops.

1486. Lu Chien was promoted Pacificator General of the Mongols and vice-chairman at the military headquarters of the left army.

Imperial order of the seventh of the third moon:

Information for the vice-chairman at the military headquarters of the left army, Lu Chien. Today I deliver to you the seal of general pacificator of the Mongols (a mere title) and the function of commandant in chief for the defense of the country of Yen-an and Sui Te. Defend vigorously the cities, train the troops. In case of alarm, according to the circumstances, exterminate the brigands. The vice-lieutenant colonel, the lieutenant colonel, and others will obey you. Defend the country and the officers and soldiers will obey your orders.

Imperial order received the nineteenth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien commandant in chief of Yen-an, and Sui Te, vice-chairman, at the military headquarters. I received from the defending officials of Tat'ung the report: two divisions of Mongol brigands numbering probably 10,000 men have been seen in the region of Wei-Ning and Hai Hsi. South of T'o La Ch'eng the brigands advance, plundering, forming a line as long as 70 li. They probably passed as far as 10 li from the garrisons on both sides of the Ta Ho River. I sent the report to the ministry of war and received the answer that already orders have been delivered to all the officials to mobilize the troops and to be ready strongly to resist the invaders. When we consider that these brigands had decided in T'o Yen San Wei, to make an invasion at the time the new grass is growing, and that now they are camping near the frontiers, we may more or less guess their intention. However, it is hard to see through their duplicity. They claim they will invade the east and plunder the west, so we have to order each frontier region to keep ready.

When the order arrives, transmit instantly to your inferiors, the instructions received, prepare sufficient provisions in each village and city, instruct the vice-commandant in chief, the lieutenant-colonel and other commandants to choose troops inured to war, to feed the horses so they will be fat and strong, and examine the quality and number of the weapons. Strictly order the soldiers caring for the watchtowers to send the signals on time. Use intelligent scouts, teaching them to inquire day and night about the conditions of the country, and if they really see the brigands move their tents and approach the frontiers and seeming to prepare for an invasion, according to the news, immediately deliberate with the commandants, devise plans, dispose the troops, intercept the route of the invaders and kill them. At that time the commandants must be with their troops directing the operations and disposing the battle. The plans and the orders must be kept strictly secret. Make the victory

sweeping and complete. Press the preparations. Such tremendous responsibility is entrusted to you by the court. Receive the imperial order with reverence. This is the aim.

Imperial order of the seventeenth of the seventh same textually as those of 1466 and 1470 the burning of grass and bushes.

Imperial order of the eighteenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Chien: Today it is reported from Hsuan Fu that in the region of Yu Wei the brigands plunder the people, that six divisions of horsemen of T'o-lao-han-chih-t'o, marching in the western direction, move to the Chin Shan regions to camp. It is also reported that the troops of Hsiao Wang-tse have left the sand dunes moving toward Hsing Ho in a western direction. From Kansu it is reported that Wa la ha prepared a big army, and that Prince Ti ha li ku to wu and their scouts spy on the frontier regions. The five Tat'ung armies, according to the orders, will have to defend vigorously the passes in Ningshia, Yen-an, and Sui Te. Now the weather is cold, the ground frozen, the horses fat and strong. It is time for the brigands to make inroads. Our troops have to be vigilant, all the more because the New Year's festivities are not far off. Some among them like the New Year's festivities. Some use the troops for hunting parties and for collecting fuel, and in that way tempt the brigands to make inroads. Then the suffering of the people will be tremendous. At this time troops have to be commanded with severity, day and night they have to watch just as if the brigands were in front of them. They have to receive training and sharpen the weapons. As long as the brigands are few in number, try to put them to flight and beat them. When the group is important immediately send couriers with the news to each other, block their roads and kill them, or set ambushes and attack them. You are allowed to send troops where the danger is imminent to help each other. I hope you will fulfill your duty carefully and will not hope to gain victories barricading the city gates, sitting at ease protected by the city wall. If the country is ravaged then we will find out the culprits. This is the aim of the order.

Imperial order of the thirteenth of the eleventh moon:

Lu Chien, today I received the report of several commandants of Kansu that several groups of brigands commanded by Wa-la are camping around Hami and plan an invasion in the frontiers, and also that Uighurs (Yellow Mongols) have stolen cattle and killed people in Ch'ih Chin region and are moving eastwards. The Mongol brigands deceived us many times and their inroads are intermittent. Every year when the river is frozen they invade the country of the three commanderies. Several times they made unexpected invasions in Ho T'ao, parted into several groups, and plundered. All our precautions to defend the country have been useless most of the time. When you receive the imperial order, act according to the orders issued in former times, discuss together plans and attack together and beat the brigands. Lu Chien, send your orders to the vice-commandant in chief, the lieutenant colonel, and the commandants who share the defense of the country to muster the troops, and to prepare the weapons. Use scouts to spy in the country day and night and send to each other news about the movements of the brigands. According to the circumstances prepare to combat them in concert, to resist and kill them. If beating their vanguard you obtain a small victory, do not permit your troops to come home and let slip the opportunity to obtain a complete victory. I hope you will endeavor to the utmost to comply with the orders.

Your son has been promoted to be secretary high-commandant on account of his merits.

1487. Imperial order of the sixteenth of the first moon:

Lu Chien, I received today the report of the eunuch Ao Hsien and other defenders of Shensi announcing that Mongols from Kokonor invaded the country of Ho Chou and Lanchow and are still camping in the Chuang Lang region. I ordered Brigadier General Peh Wang to intercept their route and kill them. Ao Hsien is on the way to clear the situation. Yen-an and Sui Te are very near to the invaded countries. According to the imperial orders enjoin the vice-brigadier general, the lieutenant colonel, and other commandants to muster their troops and

proceed in full haste where the brigands are plundering, to help Peh Wang and other commandants. Discuss the plan of concentrating the forces. Frighten the brigands, inflict on them a crushing defeat and make them flee back to their country. You are capable of doing that. In case you hesitate and let slip the suitable opportunity, the law is there (to punish you). Receive the imperial order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1488. Lu Chien begged permission to retire. The retirement was accorded. The favor was granted to honor posthumously his ancestors of three preceding generations with titles bestowed upon him.

FIFTH GENERATION: LU LIN

1489. Imperial order of the sixth of the fourth moon:

Secretary high commandant Lu Lin, by special favor I granted this promotion, more important than the previous one. You will control all the Monguor families in Chuang Lang. Since your ancestors successively have controlled the country the people have been happy. Try to deal with the people with more kindness and make them happier. Try to acquire more perfectly the military arts in order to stem better the inroads of the brigands and make the people suffer less. When alarms are reported, you have to obey the orders of the official defenders of Kansu and accordingly mobilize your troops and kill the brigands. Do not indulge in stubbornness and laziness. Consider that the troops belong to the empire. Do not impose upon them corvées and taxes in your behalf, avoid exactions, do not indulge in whims or retain the salary of the troops. Avoid injustices. Do not provoke the antipathy of the people and neglect the defense of the country. If you disobey, the culprit will easily be detected. I hope you will receive the order with reverence. This is the aim.

1490. Imperial order of the twelfth of the second moon informing Lu Lin about his transfer to Hung Ch'eng; the same text as that of 1458.

1491. Lu Lin was promoted to assistant commandant in Hung Ch'eng Tze.

1494. Lu Lin was promoted to *Yu Chi* general, to put to flight the brigands in Yung Ch'ang. Imperial order of the eleventh of the second moon:

Lu Lin, I order you to become *Yu Chi* General in Kansu, command the officers, choose 2.000 soldiers, examine their number, horses and weapons, camp in Yung ch'ang on the western highway (to Turkistan), train the troops and stimulate their morale. When the brigands invade the country confer with the vice-commandant in chief. Lieutenant Colonel Yen Yu about intercepting the brigands and killing them, and the pacification of the country. It is forbidden to flee with fear, causing calamities in the frontiers. Since you received this promotion by special favor, you have to be more honest than before and perfect yourself in order to deal with your inferiors with humanity, to be more courageous fighting the brigands, and to be equal to the duty entrusted to you. For all questions related to fighting and defense of the country obey as before the orders of the governor. In case you are obstinate in your ideas and do not command the troops according to the rules, and lack severity and neglect the condition of the frontiers, the fault will be ascribed to you. I hope you will endeavor to obey. This is the aim of the order.

1496. Lu Lin loaned his troops to Liangchow officials to put to flight and defeat the Mongols at the foot of the Chin mountains.

1499. In combination with Liu Sheng, Lu Lin made the expedition in Chieh Chou. He captured prisoners and sent them to the capital. He received the reward of the official Man p'ao dress (with dragon designs).

1500. Lu Lin was promoted to be lieutenant colonel and defender of Chuang Lang. Imperial order of the eighth of the fifth moon:

Lu Lin, assistant high commandant, I order you to fulfill the duty of lieutenant colonel of the left and to defend Chuang Lang and other places, train Chinese and Monguor foot soldiers and cavalry, repair the city walls and prevent the inroads of brigands. At the time of alarms, according to the circumstances, take the offense or stay on the defense and pacify the country, in order that the people might attend to their duties. You are capable to do that. In all military matters obey as before the orders of the commandant in chief, the governor and defenders of Kansu, and after that mobilize your troops, avoid being obstinate in your ideas and resisting your superiors. Do not be lazy and provoke calamities in the country. Be honest and just; perfect your shortcomings in order to be more capable of commanding inferiors. Do not use the troops in your own interests and hinder their training and the defense of the country.

In case of disobedience your fault will not easily be forgiven. Receive the order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

I promote you to be vice-commandant in chief of the left, and order you to defend Chuang Lang.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the twelfth moon:

By a special favor I promote you to be vice-commandant in chief of the left and defender of the country of Kansu. Especially you will protect the highway between Kanchow, Suchow, Shan Tan, and Yung Ch'ang. In case of alarm go to the rescue, order the troops to repair the cities, the walls, and the passes, prevent and resist invasions, control Tibetans and barbarians with kindness. All military affairs concerning barbarians have to be discussed with the commandant in chief, the governor, and other commandants of the country, and then executed. Do not be obstinate, quarrel among yourselves, and act contrary to the decisions. Be honest, just, considerate, and accommodating in dealing with the affairs of the frontiers. I hope you will fulfill the assignment correctly. Avoid the imposition of taxes and exactions, and the complaints of the people. Receive the imperial order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1501. Lu Lin put brigands to flight and defeated them in Wei Chou. His son Lu Chin was promoted to be centurion.

1502. Sire Lu Chien died. When his death was announced he was awarded posthumously the title of Yung-lu Ta-fu, pillar of the empire, and chairman of the left at the military headquarters. By special favor Li Shih, the treasurer of the province of Shensi, was dispatched. The funeral oration at the sacrifice, sent by the emperor, reads:

You received from your ancestors the favor to fulfill military duties; several times you gained merits on the battlefields; incessantly you pacified the frontier regions, and eventually obtained the office of chairman of the military headquarters. By special favor, on account of illness, you were permitted to retire and care for your health.

It is normal to enjoy the happiness of an old age. How did you leave us all of a sudden? This announcement coming from so far grieves us cruelly. On account of your merits we accord you official burial and sacrifices. In case your spirit is still conscious and able to breathe the fragrance of the sacrifices, accept and enjoy them.

Imperial order of the eighth of the fourth moon: he was granted the official burial. The imperial oration at the sacrifice reads:

You have fulfilled the duty of commandant in chief and have been a first rank officer. The luster of your heroic achievements has long glittered. How is it possible that after a short illness you died so fast? The time is fleeting,

the time of the burial already has arrived. By special favor we dispatch an official to preside at the sacrifices, as ever our solicitude is beneficial. If your spirits are still conscious, they may enjoy the sacrifices.

On the thirteenth of the sixth moon the hundred mourning days were completed.

1503. The thirtieth of the third moon was the anniversary of the death.

Imperial order of the tenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Lin, assistant high commandant, vice-commandant in chief of the left army, engrossed in the defense of Kansu. I examined your report, reading that your father Lu Chien, dying from illness, had left a great number of troops he commanded and families he controlled. I am fearful that the troops and the families will disperse. You report that your son Lu Chin has received an office very recently, that he is an inexperienced man and incapable of controlling the troops and the families effectively and peacefully. You implore permission to stay temporarily in Chuang Lang to control and pacify the tribes. Your solicitation is urgent. I grant you the request. I order you to stay temporarily in Chuang Lang, to command the officers and soldiers and control the families. Deal with them with kindness and provide them with what they need. Train the troops zealously, resist the brigands. In case of alarm you are permitted to mobilize the troops and kill the brigands as before. Take care of the education of your son so that he may become capable to succeed to the office, acquire some more experience, and become a capable man enjoying the sympathy of the people. I order you to take his place. For long your reputation has been unimpeachable, your achievements on the frontiers are numerous. Later I will promote you to another function. I hope you will receive this order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1504. The thirteenth of the fifth moon is the third anniversary of the death of Lu Chien. The mourning is finished. A sacrifice is offered.

The sixth of the tenth moon the imperial order was received:

Lu Chin, having the function of vice-chiliarch, by special favor I order you to command the Monguor officers and soldiers of Chuang Lang as before, and to control the tribes. Your ancestors have administered the country and enjoyed the sympathy of the people. Endeavor to deal with the people with kindness, resist and suppress the brigands. When alarms are reported always obey the orders of the defenders of Kansu and then mobilize the troops. Later, according to your merits and to rules, I will promote you. It is not permitted to consider the troops as being your own. . . . [Then follow the usual recommendations.]

1505. On the fifth moon Emperor Hsiao Tsung died and Emperor Wu Tsung ascended the throne. Imperial order of the fourth of the ninth moon:

Lu Lin, assistant high commandant, and vice-commandant in chief of the left army, I have received information concerning the intermittent inroads of Mongol brigands in Chuang Lang country. The appointed defender, Lieutenant Colonel Su T'ai, is not sympathetic with the people and many affairs are neglected. I appoint the vice-commandant in chief, Pa Tsung, to the function of defender. Your whole life long, since the time of your ancestors, you have considered the defense of the frontiers as the most important duty. The capacities of your son Lu Chin have increased with the years, his education is achieved, it is time for him to gain merits, defend the empire, and continue the traditions of the family. Every time you meet incursion of the brigands, feeling in the same way as Pa Tsung, join your forces and combine together the plans. Order your son and the reliable chiefs of the tribes to command and mobilize the troops and to attack the brigands in combination with Pa Tsung, or to stay on the defense according to the circumstances, and make the people enjoy peace. The day he will have gained merits, promotions will be granted generously. Let him not sit and wait and see, avoid moving and neglect the duty entrusted to him. This is the aim of the order.

1506. When the death of Lu Lin was announced, the posthumous title of secretary chairman of the military headquarters of the left army was granted to him. The provincial treasurer of Shensi, Lieutenant Colonel Chu Tsai, was delegated with the favor of three sacrifices, according to the rites.

SIXTH GENERATION: LU CHIN

Lu Chin succeeded. He repelled the brigands in Hung Ch'eng Tse.

1507. Lu Chin was promoted to be secretary chairman of the military headquarters and received the seal of Chao Yung Chiang-chun.

Imperial order of the twelfth of the fourth moon:

Lu Chin, secretary high commandant, after the death of your grandfather Lu Chien, you commanded the Monguor troops of Chuang Lang and controlled the tribes. The people were sympathetic to you during the lifetime of your father, you replaced him to command the troops with the title of vice-chiliarch. Now you succeed to the duty of your father with the title of high commandant. Because your title is of the same degree as that of the officers of the tribe, and because you accompanied your father in the expeditions in Ningshia and other places, killed many brigands and accumulated many merits on the battlefields, I promote you. You will, as before, command the same officers, soldiers, and tribes. Endeavor to console and help the people, incessantly repel the brigands, and train the soldiers. For important affairs and mobilization of troops, obey the orders of Chang Hsun and other commandants of Kansu. Later I will be generous, rewarding your merits. Respond to the special favors granted to you, and increase the luster of faithfulness and zeal specific to your family. Be honest and just and devoted to the empire. Do not consider the troops as belonging to you, do not impose corvées and taxes, urge discipline among the officers. Do not be exacting with the people and alienate them from you. Do not neglect the defense of the empire. If you disobey, the fault will be punished. I hope you will comply with the orders with reverence. This is the aim of this order.

In the seventh moon in concert with Lieutenant Colonel Wu Yun, Lu Chin defeated the brigands in Ming Shui Hu and was promoted to be assistant high commandant.

1508. Imperial order of the twenty-ninth of the twelfth moon:

Lu Chin, assistant high commandant, succeeding to your grandfather, you commanded in his place the Monguor troops of Chuang Lang, and controlled the tribes. You received promotions on account of your merits. Now on account of your merit in Ming Shui-hu, attested by the military inspector, I confirm your previous promotion. [Then follow textually the same recommendation as in 1507.]

1509. Imperial order of the nineteenth of the fourth moon: Lu Chin reports that Mongol brigands plundered and ravaged Hui Hui Mu, that he attacked and repelled them and captured a huge booty of cows, horses and weapons.

1510. Imperial order:

Lu Chin, I received your report together with that of the eunuch Sung Lin and the defenders of Kansu, informing me that on the twelfth and the following days of the first moon, Mongol brigands invaded P'o Shan Ku, that together you attacked and beat them, beheaded 158, captured a booty of 160 camels and horses, flags and many weapons. For many years we have not met such a big victory. It proves that you have been courageous and that the Monguors obeyed the orders of their chiefs. Inquire about the merits of the officers and soldiers, about the wounded and the dead, and according to the rules reward them. I give an imperial order, praising and stimulating your zeal. I hope you will endeavor to. This is the aim of the order,

In the sixth moon he repelled the brigands at T'ung Yuen P'u.

1511. Lu Chin was promoted to be lieutenant colonel of the left army, and entrusted with the defense of Chuang Lang.

Imperial order of the twelfth of the third moon:

I promote you lieutenant colonel of the left army and defender of Chuang Lang. Train the soldiers, etc. [Textually the same recommendations concerning the behavior of the commandants follow.]

1512. The Mongols (I pu la of Kokonor) invaded the Hsining region again. Lu Chin defeated them in Ma Ch'ang Ku. He received the title of secretary chairman at the military headquarters, the official dress adorned with dragon designs, the jade cincture.

In the ninth moon he defeated the brigands in Pei Shih Ch'uan.

1514. He defeated brigands at Shih erh Miao.

1515. Tibetans in Ch'a K'u I plundered the imperial ambassadors. Lu Chin pursued and defeated them at Sha Chin Ku, and recovered the tribute stolen from the ambassadors. He received the title of assistant chairman of the military headquarters and defender of Chuang Lang and Hsining.

In the winter the Tibetans of the Huang-t'u-erh tribes plundered the tribute brought to the emperor. Lu Chin beheaded their chief at Hua Shih Ku, captured horses and came back.

1517. Lu Chin repelled Mongol brigands at Ma T'u Ho and was granted silver and pieces of silk.

1519. The emperor sent the eunuch Chao Lin with gifts, among them the Ta Ming Hui Tien and Ming Lien Ta Tien, also a gown adorned with dragon designs, jade cincture, the equipment of a horse, and a golden box containing precious stones.

1520. Mongol brigands invaded La Shan Shui Ku. Lu Chin repelled them and captured a great number of camels and horses.

1521. Mongols invaded the Chuang Lang region. Lu Chin's son Tan repelled them. In the fourth moon Emperor Wu Tsung died and Shih Tsung ascended the throne. Lu Chin because of illness implored for permission to retire. The court refused and ordered him to defend, as before, Chuang Lang and Hsining, with the titles of assistant chairman of the military headquarters and vice-commandant in chief.

1522. Imperial order of the twenty-first of the first moon:

Lu Chin, by special favor, I order you to fulfill the duty of vice-commandant in chief and defender of Chuang Lang and other places. The second captains of Hsining and Hung Ch'eng Tse must obey our orders. In time of peace train the Chinese and Monguor soldiers, repair cities, etc. Then follow the same injunctions concerning the conduct of the chief. At the end of the order we read: taxes, revenue affairs, and lawsuits are to be dealt with by the civil officials and not by you. [This phrase seems to open a whole horizon upon the abuses existing in the country at that time.]

He received the title of Yung-lu Ta-fu, assistant chairman of the military headquarters of the vanguard troops. His son Tan was promoted to be vice-centurion.

1524. Imperial order of the fourteenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Chin, assistant chairman of the military headquarters and vice-commandant in chief, defender of Chuang Lang and Hsining, and other places, at present the Mohammedan brigands revolt at Suchow. By special order I

sent an eminent official to defeat and exterminate them. I ordered you to choose and mobilize troops and designate the officer commandants of the vanguard. Now I have received your report imploring permission to retire, on account of a petty illness. Considering that during your whole life you practiced faithfulness and justice, that you are renowned for courage and the combination of stratagems, I must use you in these troubled times. How do you dare to seek retirement for a petty illness? I order you to fight the brigands with all your energy) to gain merits and make the country enjoy peace and happiness. This means, comply with the important duty I entrusted to you. An imperial order has been sent to the governor to use Li Yi whom you recommended before. Liu Chia and Chang Wu approved his enrollment in the army. Having merits, he will receive his former duty. I hope you will comply with the orders with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1525. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the third moon:

Lu Chin, today I received your report that your illness is incurable, that you are unable to command troops, and that you wish retirement. You implore the favor of the appointment of your son as chief of the clan tribes, and of a courageous and capable official to take his place for the defense of the country. All this is a proof that during your whole life you have been devoted to the defense of the country. However, considering your merits and the sympathy of the people toward you, considering that in the Chuang Lang mountains the Mongol brigands of the T'ao, feigning to graze their herds, incessantly make inroads, and that the troops have intermittently to be mobilized to protect the country, how is it possible to want retirement? By special order I praise, stimulate, and honor your devotedness. You must double your energy, faithfulness and zeal, to pacify the country and make the people happy. I hope that, considering the importance of the duty which is entrusted to you, you will comply with the order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

Lu Chin asked to retire again and to be relieved of the defense of the country.

1527. His son Tan was ordered to control the country with the function of vice-chiliarch.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon:

Lu Tan, by special favor I permit you to command the Monguor officers and troops and administer the clan tribes. Your ancestors have, one after another, controlled the country, enjoying the sympathy of the people. Now you will fulfill this duty. Try to console and help the people in such a way that all of them may engage in their businesses. Train the troops incessantly; endeavor to study the military arts; prevent and repel brigandage; do not allow the people to suffer. At the time of alarms obey the order of the commandant-defenders of Kansu; mobilize the troops and kill the brigands; be obedient and do not indulge in laziness. The troops are not yours; do not impose taxes and oppress the people; urge strict discipline among the officers and soldiers; do not neglect the defense of the frontiers. If you disobey you will be punished. I hope you will comply with the order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

Imperial order of the eleventh of the twelfth moon (Lu Chin, despite the fact he had been permitted to retire, was called again to defend the country):

Lu Chin, assistant chairman of the military headquarters, I order you to defend the country of Shensi, together with the eunuch Yen Yun; to train the troops, console and help the people enjoy peace, repair the city walls, prevent and repel the brigands. For all kinds of military questions combine the plans with the eunuch Yen Yun, the intendant of the circuit, and the military inspector; and execute them after deliberation. Each of the participants at the council has to share his responsibility. At the moment of the execution it is not permitted to cling obstinately to personal views. Lu Chin, I entrust you with the duty to be honest, just, amend your shortcomings, and stabilize

peace in the country. Do not indulge in greed for riches and behave unrestrainedly. I hope you will comply with the order. This is the aim of the order.

1529. Mongols invaded Chuang Lang. Lu Tan beat and put them to flight. He was promoted to be secretary chairman at the military headquarters.

1532. Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the seventh moon:

Lu Tan, assistant commandant: I allow you by special favor to command the Monguor officers and soldiers and to control the tribes. [Then follow the typical injunctions to chief commandants.]

1533. Mongols invaded Ta La T'u Ch'uan and were defeated by Lu Tan.

1535. Lu Tan was promoted to be second captain in Shan Tan. At that time the Mongols moved southward. He asked to move to Chuang Lang.

1536. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the first moon:

To Lu Tan is granted the permission to move to Chuang Lang, command his troops and control the tribes. [Then follow textually the same injunctions given to chief commandants.]

1542. Lu Tan died. He was succeeded by Chang Wu.

1543. Imperial order of the twenty-ninth of the third moon:

Lu Chin, assistant chairman of the military headquarters in Shansi province; I ordered the vice-director and inspector of the ministry of war to cope with the problem. However nobody is able to understand the mentality of the Mongols and their stratagems. The conditions bode ill. You are an old general of the western frontiers and are conversant with the customs of the barbarians. Your reputation is well known among them, they fear you, you are respected on account of your faithfulness and justice. The troops of Chuang Lang are known for their courage and vigor. I order you to appeal to the governor and obey his orders. Mobilize 3,000 experienced Monguor and Chinese troops of Chuang Lang. The governor general will inspect and care for their helmets, armor, horses and weapons, salaries and provisions. Comply with this order with faithfulness. I will be generous with promotions. Do not pretend illness and miss the opportunity to gain merit. I hope you will comply with the order with respect.

1544. Lu Chin received the order to control the Monguor troops as before. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Chin, I have examined your request to retire on account of illness. Already I have ordered your son Tan to command the troops. You beg again to retire. The favor I accorded to your grandfather Lu Chien to command the Monguor troops and control the tribes, I accord to you. Try to console and make happy your subjects, incessantly train the troops, make them understand the military arts, to be capable to resist, capture and kill brigands. In case of alerts you are allowed to mobilize the troops. Do not impose taxes, oppress the people, alienate their sympathy. Care for the education of your son and grandsons, make them understand what is faithfulness, in order that they may succeed you and command the tribes. Your merits on the frontiers are highly celebrated. Care for your health. Later I hope to promote you to another office.

1546. An order was sent to the local authorities to build an honorific arch in order to glorify his merits.

1556. Lu Chin died. His son Tung succeeded him.

SEVENTH GENERATION: LU TUNG

1556. On the third moon, Wang Kuang-tsu, member of the provincial treasury administration of Hsining, was sent with the imperial oration to be read at the sacrifice of Lu Chin.

Lu Chin, you inherited the office of your ancestors and succeeded them. Your talents as general of the troops were well known, and frightened the enemies. You were promoted to be lieutenant colonel. Your zeal and merits were highly celebrated. You were promoted to be first captain in the Chinese army. You begged permission to retire on account of illness. Thereafter I called you to return to defend the country. Your incessant merits caused the country to be at peace. Just at the time I was about to entrust to you important duties, your death was announced. In order to manifest my beneficent affection I grant you sacrifices and official burial. I hope your spirits in the outer world will still be able to enjoy this benefit.

On the twenty-sixth of the third moon, on the return after the burial, a sacrifice was offered.

On the fifteenth of the sixth moon, 100 days after the burial, another sacrifice was offered.

1557. On the fifth of the third moon, a year after the death, a sacrifice was offered again.

1558. On the fifth of the third moon, at the end of the mourning period, a sacrifice was offered.

The treasury administration of Hsining sent Wang Kuang-tsu, with the formula of the imperial oration.

During your life you practiced faithfulness and zeal. You have been promoted to high offices. Your achievements have long been celebrated. How did you die all of a sudden? The time is fleeting, already the time of the interment had arrived. We celebrate your glorious achievements. To the former orations is added a new one and a sacrifice. I hope your spirit is still conscious and able to enjoy them and be consoled.

1560. Imperial order of the second of the eleventh moon:

Lu Tung, assistant high commandant, since your ancestors received the duty to command the troops and administer the clan tribes, the entire country has received the benefit of their protection. You succeeded your father. I order you, according to the rule used by your father, to command the Monguor troops and administer the tribes. [Then follows the same injunctions given to chiefs for the fulfillment of their duties.]

1561. The Mongols made an inroad in the west, and were repelled by Lu Tung.

1563. Mongols invaded the K'ai Ch'eng country. Lu Tung went to the rescue and beat and repelled them.

1564. In the twelfth moon Emperor Shih Tsung died and Mu Tsung ascended the throne.

1568. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the eighth moon:

Lu Tung is promoted to be high commandant. The governor, reporting about the *t'u-ssu* official of Chuang Lang, asked to apply the rules used for the ancestors and to issue an imperial order granting permission to administer the clan tribes, and to help defend the Chuang Lang country with the lieutenant colonel. Each of you must have his administrative bureau for the control of his troops. You will command the Monguor foot and horse troops, and train them unceasingly. In case of alerts, you will, according to the conditions, repel and kill the brigands. According to your merits and to the rules, you will receive promotions and rewards. Relating to the problems involving the lieutenant colonel, you will deliberate with him and make the decision, without clinging obstinately to your views and resisting stubbornly. You will obey the orders of the governor general. Relating to your subjects, provide them with what they need. Relating to the troops, remember they are not yours. Urge discipline among them. Do not impose taxes. Relating to the Tibetan problems, try to solve them yourself.

Relating to major Tibetan problems, deliberate with the military administrator and act according to the law. In case of alerts do not sit down with a wait-and-see attitude and let the brigands ravage the country. If you disobey, according to the reports received from your superiors, you will be punished. Receive this order with reverence.

1569. Lu Tung in combination with Lieutenant Colonel Li Shih-wei defeated the brigands at Ho Shih Ku, and a second time at Sse Yen Chin, killing and capturing many.

1572. Emperor Mu Tsung died. Chen Tsung ascended the throne.

1578. Lu Tung, because of illness, asked for retirement. The emperor ordered Kuang Hsien to succeed him. Kuang Hsien soon died.

Imperial order of the second of the seventh moon:

Lu Kuang Hsien, commandant in Chuang Lang, from the time your ancestor administered the troops and the tribes, the entire country enjoyed the benefit of his protection. [Here again follow the injunctions given to chiefs.]

EIGHTH GENERATION: LU KUANG-TSU

Kuang-tsu pacified the Kokonor and was promoted to be secretary chairman at the military headquarters.

1583. Lu Tung died.

1584. Imperial order:

Lu Kuang-tsu, commandant of Chuang Lang, you succeeded your ancestor according to the rules applied to Lu Chin. Command the troops, administer the tribes, make the subjects happy. Our last deliberation orders you to choose among the troops 1,000 Monguor soldiers. Deliberate always with the lieutenant colonel of Chuang Lang. Train the troops. Affairs of marriage, and lawsuits related to land, among the Monguors, may be coped with by you. The appointments of officers of your troops are to be discussed by the military superiors. [Then follows again the usual injunctions given to chiefs.]

1586. Kuang-tsu was promoted to be high commandant and vice-defender of Chuang Lang. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the eighth moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, from the time you took office the people enjoyed the benefits of your protection. After his inspection of the frontier regions, the inspector recommended that you be given the title of "assistant protector of the Chuang Lang region," in order to insure better the repression of the brigands. The ministry of war approved. By special favor, command your troops as high commandant, care for your 1,000 soldiers. The lieutenant colonel and you will have your own administrative bureau. [Then follows again the usual injunctions to chiefs.]

1587. Imperial order of the nineteenth of the seventh moon: repetition of the order of 1586.

1590. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to be lieutenant colonel, and cared for Hsining.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the seventh moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, vice-secretary high commandant, by special favor you will fulfill the duty of lieutenant colonel, in the capacity of major general, defender of Hsining. Repair the city walls, train the troops, be kind to the Tibetans and Mongols of Kokonor, but watch for the inroads of the northern Mongols whom, according to the circumstances, you must repel. Always cooperate with your superiors and execute their decisions.

Take with you 600 Monguor troops, go to Hsining, and in cooperation with the local troops participate in punitive expeditions and exterminate the brigands. You will be rewarded according to the reports received from your superiors. Be grateful for the distinction received, exercise your faithfulness.

1591. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to vice-commandant in chief, and defender of Chuang Lang. Imperial order of the eighth of the seventh moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary high commandant, I order you to the office of vice-commandant in chief and defender of Chuang Lang. The questions relating to finances, taxes, lawsuits, and administration of the army belong to the superior officers and the officials directly appointed to collect the taxes and revenues. Do not mix in their sphere of action. [Then follow the same injunctions given to chiefs.]

1592. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to vice-commandant in chief of the right, and defender of Liangchow.

Imperial order of the twenty-fifth of the tenth moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, by special favor, you are promoted to be vice-commandant of the right, and defender of Liangchow. [Then follow the typical injunctions given to the chiefs.] Peh Pai and Peh Ch'eng-nan, father and son, invaded Ningshia. Lu Kuang-tsu repelled them. Then in cooperation with Governor Li Yu-chen he participated in the expedition against Peh Pai. The rebels were entrapped in ambushes and killed.

1596. Lu Kuang-tsu received the office of assistant defender of Liangchow.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the third moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary chairman of the military headquarters, by special favor, I order you, having the title of vice-commandant in chief of the right, to the office of lieutenant colonel and assistant defender of Liangchow. In time of peace, repair the city walls and train the troops, stimulate their ardor, cope with the affairs of the Tibetans and barbarians. In time of alerts, combine plans, fight vigorously and kill the brigands. Do not fear them. Obey the orders of the general-in-chief and the governor, do not mix with the affairs of civil officials relating to finances, taxes, lawsuits and administration of the country. Be honest, just, observe the laws, perfect yourself in order to be better able to command your inferiors. Do not be greedy about riches, impose taxes or corvées, oppress the people, or provoke their complaints. If you disobey, you will be severely punished. Be careful and attentive to the order.

1598. Lu Kuang-tsu, having the title of vice-commandant in chief, I order you to defend T'ao and Ming Chou in Shensi province.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the eighth moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary chairman of the military headquarters, by special favor, fulfill the duty of vice-commandant in chief and defender of T'ao and Ming Chou, and garrison in T'ao Chou. You are allowed to transfer from one place to another the second captains of T'ao and Ming Chou, train the troops, repair the city walls and the passes. In time of alerts, according to the circumstances, fight and exterminate the brigands. If Mongols of Kokonor invade the country, call to the rescue the troops of Ming Chou and Kung Ch'ang Fu, order the second captains to unite their troops and to fight in cooperation, attacking and exterminating the brigands. After the invaders have been beaten and put to flight, send the troops back to their garrisons. Do not allow them to stay inactive, waste the salaries and the provisions. Deliberate with the chief commandant of the frontiers of Shensi. The lieutenant colonel and the second captains of Chieh and Wen Chou will obey your orders, and you obey the orders of the commandant in chief of Lin T'ao. At the time of alerts, you are allowed to mobilize the troops on your own account, and repel the brigands. If precautions are required for the defense of the river and the autumn conditions, help the officials of Ho Chou, Hui Hsien and An Ting. Lawsuits between the troops and the people are to be dealt with by the civil authorities. Be honest, just, observe the law, stimulate the ardor of the troops, do not be greedy and unrestrained. Your faults will be severely punished.

1600. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to provincial commandant in chief, for the military preparations against Japan, and the training fields of the military headquarters in Nanking.

Imperial order of the seventeenth of the third moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary chairman of the military headquarters, today by special favor, I order you to be zealous in controlling the military headquarters of the left, and to fulfill the office of commandant in chief of the training fields. You will control conditions in behalf of that ministry and obey its orders. You will command the land and sea forces of the left and control the preparations against Japan. In peace time you will command the officers, stimulate the ardor of officers and soldiers, teach the military arts, make them conversant with battles on the sea, and keep the discipline strict. In time of war, you will command and mobilize according to the circumstances, the troops of Hsi Kiang and the two newly prepared land and sea divisions. According to the rules you will have deliberations with chiefs, and make known the orders to your inferiors. In cooperation with them you will fight the enemy and defend the empire. The army has to be dealt with according to the old rules. Be honest, just, faithful, and courageous in the fulfillment of the office. If you refuse the office, or are remiss, the fault will not be forgiven.

1602. Lu Kuang-tsu begged for permission to retire. It was accorded. Secretary commandant Lu Yung-ch'ang succeeded him and commanded the troops.

NINTH GENERATION: LU YUNG-CH'ANG

1607. Lu Kuang-tsu died on the fourth moon. When his death was announced he received posthumously the title of Kuang-lu-ta-fu and was granted official sacrifices and burial.

1620. Emperor Cheng Tsung died on the eighth moon. Kuang Tsung ascended the throne.

1627. Emperor Hsi Tsung died. Emperor Ch'ung Tsung ascended the throne.

1636. Lu Yung-ch'ang was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assistant defender of Chuang Lang.

1637. Lu Yung-ch'ang was promoted to commandant in chief and defender of Hsining.

1640. Lu Yung-ch'ang defended Hsining acting as vice-commandant in chief. According to his merits, he was promoted assistant chairman at the military headquarters, and received the official dress with dragon designs) and the jade cincture.

1644. The brigand Huo Chin invaded Ho Hsi. Lu Yung Ch'ang fought the brigands, but was defeated. He retreated to Lien Ch'eng and was killed, offering his life for the empire. His son was captured and abducted.

1645. Prince Yin called to submission the people of the two rivers. On account of the faithfulness of Lu Yung Ch'ang, his nephew An was ordered to control the tribes and to command the troops ad interim.

TENTH GENERATION: LU HUNG

1645. On the sixth moon Yang, the concubine of Lu Yung Ch'ang, sent to the emperor the report:

According to the genealogical register the name of our first ancestor is not recorded, by reverence for the emperor. Our first ancestor, T'o Huan, originated from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty. It is noted that he was Prince of An Ting, and fulfilled the duty of P'ing-chang cheng-shih. On account of the victorious armies of the great Ming dynasty, the ancestor leading his tribe retreated in Ho Hsi. He submitted and received the name of Lu and was appointed hereditary defender of Chuang Lang. This blessing, which has lasted 300 years, thanks to the protection of the ancestors, has been passed on to their descendants. Our desires to be grateful to them have not yet had the opportunity to materialize.

Unexpectedly the brigand Li Tse-ch'eng revolted, occupied the pass of T'ungkuan in Shensi and plundered and ravaged Ho Hsi for the second time. My husband Lu Yung-ch'ang, devoted to the defense of the empire, had resisted the savage brigands valiantly, and had secretly deliberated with the Monguor commandants Ch'i T'ing-chien, Li T'ien-yu and others, to unite their troops and fight the rebels. Who could have guessed that traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribe, had joined the brigands to steal our patrimony? Cooperating with the brigands, they led them to the country and the country was ravaged. My husband died, killed by the brigands. The son of his first wife was captured and led to Sian as prisoner. To this day we do not know whether he is still living or dead. The subjects of our tribe have been divided among the traitors (just as a melon, sliced in pieces) and our properties usurped. Considering the circumstances in which the brigands have been led here, the people of the city slaughtered, my husband killed, my son abducted, I understand that they aimed at the suppression of the sacrifices for the ancestors, the seizure of our patrimony, and the usurpation of the hereditary lordship over the tribes, which they have appropriated until today.

Fortunately we have met the victorious armies of the emperor, who saves the poor and the destitute people. My husband is killed, my son abducted and the sacrifices to the ancestors completely lack incense. Humbly I dare to think of Lu An, the nephew of the first lady. On account of his youth, nobody among the lamas and laymen of the tribe is sympathetic to him.

I implore the emperor to have sympathy for the faithfulness displayed by my husband, killed by the brigands, to think of the hopelessness of the spirits of the ancestors without support, to permit Lu An to administer effectively the tribe ad interim, to restore the prosperity of our old patrimony, and to offer incense to the ancestors. After Lu Hung has been discovered and comes home, I shall humbly dare to send another supplication. I hope this will be beneficial to the living and provide peace to the dead. The frontier regions again will have faithful defenders, the sacrifices to the ancestors will not be offered by unauthorized men, and will not be rescinded. The genealogical register of the Lu family will not be disturbed.

1648. Imperial order of the twenty-seventh of the fourth moon:

Lu An, commandant of the commandery of Chuang Lang, when the t'u-ssu submitted to the empire during the former dynasties they were promoted to be officials, commanded their Monguor troops and administered their tribes. Lu Yung-ch'ang has been killed by the brigands. It has been proven that you, Lu An, are the nephew of the first lady of Yung Ch'ang; you have implored the court to succeed. By special favor, according to the former rules, I order you to succeed to the hereditary office, to command the Monguor officers and troops, lamas, and the families of the tribes. Receive with reverence the special favor of the new dynasty. Try to comfort and bring peace to the people, to provide them with what they need. Bring concord into the tribe, repel and capture the brigands. When alerts are reported, you are allowed to mobilize your troops and kill the brigands. In major military actions, obey the orders of the governor and general of Kansu. I will promote and reward you according to the rules applied to the Chinese. Try to expend your energy with faithfulness and zeal and be grateful for the favor. Do not consider the troops as belonging to you, do not impose taxes, urge strict discipline among the troops, do not oppress the people and alienate their sympathy. Disobedience will be punished severely. This is the purpose of the order.

1650. Lu Hung returned from Wu Ch'ang.

1659. On the ninth moon Lu Hung succeeded.

1673. Lu Hung died on the eleventh of the third moon. His son Ti Ch'eng succeeded.

ELEVENTH GENERATION: LU TI-HSIN

1674. The revolt of the three ministers shook the country of the two rivers. It was the time of the revolt of Wu San-Kuei. The city of Lanchow was recovered by Chang Yun. The widow of Lu Hung, originating from the Wang family, carried grain to the troops and offered horses. She sent

troops to the general in chief of the Hsining troops engaged in quelling the revolt of Hsieh-erh-so. The fact having been reported, the widow received a laudatory imperial order.

1688. Ti Ch'eng, still young and without issue, died on the twenty-first of the first moon. The nephew of Hung, Ti Hsin, succeeded.

1699. Ti Hsin, commanding his troops, beat and put to flight the Jungar brigands.

1718. Ti Hsin asked for retirement. On the ninth moon his son Hua Lin succeeded.

TWELFTH GENERATION: LU HUA-LIN

1719. Revolt in Kokonor of the Tibetan Ta-wa-chien shan pa, Hua Lin participated in the expedition and was promoted lieutenant colonel.

1721. Hua Lin participated in the expedition against the Kuo Mi tribes and saved the garrison of Je Yueh Shan.

1723. Hua Lin, under command of General Nien Keng-yao, quelled the revolt of the Hsieh-erh-so tribes in the region of Chuang Lang. He captured the chief, Ho Mu Shan, and six others, attacked and captured their city of Shih Pao Ch'eng, killed hundreds of brigands and captured sixty. He attacked the Ao Lo tribes and others and accepted their surrender.

1724. In the spring, Hua Lin garrisoned with his troops in Ta Ying Wan; the country was at peace. In the fourth moon under command of General Yueh Chung-ch'i, he captured the remnants of the Tibetan rebels and killed many. In the fifth moon, the revolt of Tibetans was quelled. In the fifth moon by imperial order, the eight Tibetan Hsieh-erh-so tribes were granted to him as his subjects.

In the seventh moon he participated in the expedition with General Yueh Chung-ch'i, against bLo-bzang tan-chin, and was granted silver and pieces of silk.

1730. By imperial order, Hua Lin sent half of his troops to colonize the region of Ch'ih Chin.

1731. On the first moon Hua Lin, on account of his merits, received the emoluments of lieutenant colonel, the peacock plume, the *man p'ao* (dress with dragon designs) and the office of major of the right division of the regular troops in Hsining.

1732. Feng Chu, son of Hua Lin, received the title of lieutenant colonel and colonized the country of Pu Lung Chi and others.

1736. Hua Lin went to the capital. He received the imperial order to fulfill the duty of lieutenant colonel of the cannonier division at Sian. Then he was transferred to Kanchow, with the function of lieutenant colonel of the division for the defense of the city.

1739. Hua Lin received the office of general in chief in Yung Ch'ang, and commandant in chief in Liangchow.

1742. Hua Lin finished the question of the tributes, offered by the barbarians of the Suchow regions.

THIRTEENTH GENERATION: LU FENGCHU

1744. In the twelfth moon his son Feng Chu succeeded.

1764. The permission to succeed his father was renewed.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION: LU FAN

1765. Fan received with reverence the official diploma of his succession.

1781. On the fourth moon, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou revolted and besieged Lanchow. Fan, commanding his troops, fought in Luan Ku Tung P'ing and was severely wounded. However, he was able to move his troops to Sha Mi Shan, and to block the retreat of the rebels. After the

revolt was quelled, he received a laudatory imperial order, the peacock plume with coral button on the cap, pieces of silk and satin, and silver.

1784. On the fourth moon revolt of the Yen Ch'a Hui (Mohammedans) Fan again defended Lanchow, the capital of the province. After the revolt was quelled he received gifts from the emperor, and money to be distributed among the soldiers.

1785. Fan asked for permission to call on the emperor at the capital. The permission was granted. On account of illness he could not move. Again he received silk and satin.

1786. On the tenth of the eleventh moon he called on the emperor. On the twenty-first of the twelfth moon he saw the emperor at the Ying Hua Tien, and was granted the peacock plume and coral button, dresses, and precious trinkets.

1787. On the fifteenth of the eleventh moon, Fan died. His son Chi Hsun being too young to succeed, his mother the noble dame Sun kept the seals (administered the tribes).

1791. The Chinese army fought the Kokonor rebel K'uo Erh K'o. The widow sent a million pounds of fuel for the troops in Donkir.

1792. On the seventh of the first moon an imperial order was received, which reported a letter written by the widow to the emperor.

The Lady Lu Sun, caring for the seals of the t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, reports: Learning that the army was quelling the revolt of K'uo Erh K'o, I was happy to send a million pounds of fuel for the army. The young t'u-ssu carried the fuel to Donkir. T'u-ssu Lu Fan of Chuang Lang during his life expended his forces participating in punitive expeditions. After the revolt of the Mohammedans was quelled, I rewarded him with the peacock plume. Now the lady Lu Sun, his wife, learning that the troops were fighting the rebel K'uo Erh K'o, prepared and sent a million pounds of fuel to the army. The t'u-ssu lady of the frontiers, understood faithfulness and justice. She is to be praised. I reward her with two pieces of satin. To her son, Chi Hsun, though he is only fifteen years of age, I give permission to succeed to the hereditary office of t'u-ssu, with the title of commandant, and reward him with the peacock plume in order to manifest my beneficial commendation toward you. Receive with reverence this imperial order.

FIFTEENTH GENERATION: LU CHI-HSUN

1797. On the seventh of the eleventh moon, my father was buried in Shang Hsiang T'ang.

1799. On the twentieth of the second moon the noble dame Sun died. She was buried next to her husband in Shang Hsiang T'ang, on the fifteenth of the tenth moon.

1801. On the nineteenth of the first moon was born Chou, the oldest son of the first lady.

1809. Chi Hsun asked through his superior, permission to go and congratulate the emperor at the capital, on the anniversary of his fiftieth birthday. He received the report of Huo Tu-fung, Governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces.

I received the imperial order, reading "for anniversaries of the fiftieth birthday, the rule of felicitating is not used." No need for him to come to the capital to display his solicitude. Later when the rules of felicitating will be performed, the t'u-ssu may send his supplication to come to the capital, through your hands. Then you will report again, and after deliberation the permission will be accorded. Receive the order with respect.

1819. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the first moon:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, asks for permission to come to the capital to present his congratulations, for my anniversary of sixty years of age. It is the proper time and the t'u-ssu desires to come. I agree. According to the rules in former times, the trip of the t'u-ssu to the capital was defrayed by the empire. He will come along the way of the couriers, but notice that I do not order the t'u-ssu and others to come to the capital. I order the t'u-ssu to travel with the T'u-lu-fan, Mohammedan prince of the second degree, and with the

Mohammedan prince of the second degree of Hami. They will arrive at Je Ho Erh, on the first of the eighth moon. After having called the emperor, having done the prostrations and presented the congratulations, they will return to Kansu. Receive this order with reverence.

On the nineteenth of the fifth moon Chi Hsun left.

On the tenth of the eighth moon he arrived in Je Ho Erh. On the twelfth he met the emperor in the lion garden. He was granted slices of dry deer meat, spiced with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor was so kind as to accept his two beautiful horses and the products of the country. He accepted them all. Chi Hsun was rewarded with the peacock plume and coral button, the official straw hat, the collar (worn by officials of the fifth degree), the long coat adorned with embroidered breast plates, the dress adorned with dragon designs, silk cinctures, an embroidered purse, a dagger worn at the cincture, a small coat, a long brocade dress, carpets, a horse saddle, and other things.

On the fourteenth he was invited to dinner and to the comedy. He received again a collar made with silk from Ch'ang Chou in Fukien, a purse, a dagger, fringes fixed on the hats, tea, and dry fruit.

On the sixteenth he was again invited to dinner and the comedy, and received a clock and snuff box. On the seventeenth, dinner again and attendance at the comedy, and at the fireworks at night. On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor, and received two pieces of brocade, two pieces of silk from Ch'ang Chou, and six pieces of satin and a piece of dry deer meat. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor. The next day he left for Kansu, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, permits for the soldiers of his retinue, and another for the passage of his cars free of toll and taxes. He was back in Lien Ch'eng on the fourth of the eleventh moon.

1824. The Mongol Khoshot, daughter of the Prince of Alashan, arrived to marry, as first lady, Chou, the son of Chi Hsun. Chou was born in 1801.

1826. The Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in Turkistan and captured four cities. The rebel was captured and brought to the capital.

1828. Imperial order:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, ennobled with the third degree and peacock plume, our troops have been victorious and you fulfilled many duties imposed by the army. You went to the country of Chung Wei to buy camels for the army, you acted carefully and very quickly, the order was executed with accuracy. This means devotedness to the empire. Lu Chi Hsun, I reward you with the button of the second degree, to manifest my praise and appreciation. Receive the order with reverence.

1829. A revolt broke out in Turkistan again. Lu Chi Hsun was ordered by the viceroy of Shensi and Kansu provinces, and by the bureau of provisions for the army, to buy camels and lead them as fast as possible to the troops fighting in Turkistan. On the ninth moon the revolt was quelled. Lu Chi Hsun asked for permission to go to the capital to thank the emperor. The viceroy requested the permission for him. The emperor agreed. On the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon he started on the trip. On the nineteenth of the twelfth moon he arrived at Peking. On the twenty-third he called on the emperor. From the twenty-fourth until the twenty-ninth he enjoyed dinners with the emperor and attended the comedies. He received food from the emperor.

1830. On New Year's he congratulated the emperor in the T'ai Ho Tien, had dinner, assisted at the ceremonies, and at night enjoyed the comedy on the ice in Ying T'ai. On the fifteenth he

enjoyed the illumination at the Yuan Ming Yuan, and was rewarded with the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and foodstuffs.

On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor and bade farewell.

On the twenty-eighth he moved back home, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, free from taxes and tolls for him and his retinue. On the fifth of the fourth moon he arrived at Lien Ch'eng.

On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon a grandson, Ju Kao, was born to the first lady.

1835. On the twenty-eighth of the ninth moon his oldest son, Chou, died.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION: LU K'UNG-CHAO (CHO)

Cho never succeeded his father and was never a t'u-ssu. There is no reason to call him ancestor of the sixteenth generation. He was born in 1801, married a Khoshot princess from Alashan in 1824, and died in 1835, leaving a son Ju Kao, born in 1830. At that time his father Chi Hsun controlled the troops and administered the tribes, and remained t'u-ssu until his death in 1850.

Then the son of Cho succeeded in 1852. Nothing needing to be said about Cho's achievements, an elegy in high literary style, written by his father, laments his unusual talents and virtues, which had not had the opportunity to be displayed and unfolded.

The style name of Cho was K'ung-chao. He was innately considerate and generous, his hands and face were beautiful, his eyes and eyelashes were as those painted in pictures, he was a blossom of an orchid, a bud of a cinnamon tree. He was a son of a family in which every generation had enjoyed dignities, but did not have the bad habits of sons of rich families. His parents loved him affectionately and severely watched his studies and education. They desired that he should perfect himself by means of literary studies. His desires were not limited by being a pious son only. Growing up he was strict with himself, mortifying himself. He endeavored as Shen Sheng⁷⁵² to guard his reputation untarnished.

Alas he did not reach maturity, he was a flower not producing fruit (died without having produced achievements).

He was as the flower of the Canna Indica, which all of a sudden appears (and vanishes). Is it not the very nature of the jade tree (tree of science) of his former existence, which foreboded that?

Alas, among the weeds (medicinal herbs), which grow all over the world, it is difficult to find (one) which makes you live again.

In some places there are cries of cuckoos (who cry upon the death of their young), but none (among these) are equal to the cries of our grieved heart.

The outer world is confusing, life is uncertain.

It is a pity that my child, as the child Wu of Tse Yun (a precocious child that died at a tender age, lamented by his father Tse Yun), had been a child which lived unhappily until the age of six, but if he had lived, he would have carried on the family lineage and would have carried on great weighty achievements (and have been happy).

He possessed, between his eyes, the horn of Rhinoceros (protuberant bone between the eyes is a token of a bright intelligence, so the child was intelligent). The plumes of the phoenix, who lives near the pool, grow slowly (is said of a child whose literary talents surpass those of his father, so he should have been more intelligent than his father). The rain wanted for the flowers makes them grow in the spring, the shadow of the trees is heavy in the summer, those who have no shelter do not worry on the way (and can sit in the shadow). Creeping plants are

⁷⁵² Shen Sheng, son of Prince Hsien Kung of Chin, was falsely accused by the beloved concubine of his father of having poisoned him. He committed suicide, avoiding having to accuse the concubine and hurt his father, protecting his reputation. *Couvreur-Ch'un ch'u* and *Tso chuan* 1: 267-268.

capable of protecting their roots. (When we have a son, he may grow (spring), the parents in the middle of their lives (summer) take advantage (of the son), even those who have no shelter (who have no sustenance) do not trouble, for they have a son who will work for them, for the son protects the parents as the creeping plants protect their roots).

This child was an unusual one. At the moment of its birth, men wondered that the color of its afterbirth was purple (token of bright intelligence). When an honorable family has a son, everybody admires the yellowness of his eye brows. Now if we put together all the military and literary dignities of today, and put them all on this child, and think that (such) a child would have continued the line of the family, in which every generation had enjoyed honors, how could it be possible to console such a limitless sorrow?

You, Ju Kao, his son, exert yourself and make great efforts.

1844. Ju Kao married a Khoshot princess of Alashan.

1848. During three generations, the Lu t'u-ssu family married princesses of the Prince of Alashan, prince of the first degree. The wife of Ju Kao was the niece of his mother. After a short time she died during childbirth and her younger sister succeeded as wife to Ju Kao. Both sisters were as flowers blossoming on the parterre of the mirror of Jade.

1850. On the second of the sixth moon Lu Chi Hsun died. He was buried in Hsia Hsiang T'ang on the twelfth of the tenth moon, four months after his death.

1851. On the seventh of the second moon, the wife of Lu Chi Hsun died. She was buried in Hsia Hsiang T'ang.

Here end the printed chronological biographies. Two pages in handwriting have been added, written by the son of Ju Kao, Shu, born to one of his concubines.

SEVENTEENTH GENERATION: LU WAN-CH'ING (JUKAO)

1852. Ju Kao ancestor of the seventeenth generation, succeeded on the third of the eleventh moon.

1857. In Lanchow the capital of the province was started with the building of the mint. Ju Kao offered the wood for the construction, and contributed to the building expenses for one year. The viceroy of the province informed the emperor about his generosity. Ju Kao received a laudatory imperial order and the peacock plume of the second degree. On the eighteenth of the eighth moon, the mother of Ju Kao died (the wife of Cho).

1862. The Salar Mohammedans of Pa Yen Jung revolted. Ju Kao was ordered to choose 500 Monguor and Tibetan soldiers and officers, to join the regular army in quelling the revolt of the rebels.

On the eleventh moon the revolt was quelled. An imperial order was sent to the judicial commissioner Yang, to make known to the t'u-ssu officers and soldiers the praises manifested by the emperor for their successful achievement.

1863. Ju Kao was ordered to protect the safety on the routes to the west, and to exterminate the brigands. He was ordered to choose 500 Monguor and Tibetan officers and soldiers and to garrison them in Shan T'an Ch'i Li Ho. Ju Kao was delighted to hear the praises of the military inspectors concerning the high spirits of his troops, their good behavior and regularity, the care for the tents, kettles, weapons, salt, tea, and provisions.

1873. The rebel Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining besieged the city of Hsining. The circumstances were critical. The governor of the province Liu Chin-ch'ing went to the rescue of the city. The river of Tatung was so swollen that boats and rafts could not cross. Ju Kao spent

more than 1,000 taels, calling artisans to build a floating bridge with his own wood. The army could reach Hsining in time to save the city.

1874. When the revolt was quelled he was favored by a report sent to the emperor by the viceroy, explaining the circumstances of the rescue of Hsining and the recovering of the subprefecture of Tatung. Ju Kao received a laudatory imperial order and the titles of provincial commandant-in-chief, and of Courageous Patulu.

1876. On the twenty-second of the fifth moon Shu was born to a concubine of Ju Kao. Shu later succeeded as *t'u-ssu*, the first lady having no issue.

1883. Imperial order of the twelfth moon:

Lu Ju Kao, high commandant of Chuang Lang, since the *t'u-ssu* submitted to the empire, they have unceasingly received official duties, have commanded their troops and administered their tribes. You are the grandson of Lu Chi Hsun. According to the former rules, I order you to succeed to the hereditary office, to command the troops and administer the tribes. (Lu Chi Hsun, his father, had died in 1851. It had been said that Ju Kao succeeded in 1852, but now he received in 1883 the official nomination.) Receive with reverence this unusual favor. Try to comfort your subjects, make them happy, provide for their needs, control your subjects, prevent inroads of brigands. [Then the injunctions continue the same as the previous ones.]

1893. On the twenty-first of the third moon Ju Kao died. My father's style name was Wan Ch'ing, his posthumous title Chen Wei. He is buried in the cemetery of Shang Hsiang T'ang. (Thanks to this text we know that the writer of the additional two pages was Shu, the son of the concubine of Ju Kao who later fulfilled the *t'u-ssu* office.)

The wife of Ju Kao kept the seals.

1895. The twentieth of the fourth moon Shu succeeded. The wife of Ju Kao died on the eighteenth of the ninth moon.

1897. The eighteenth of the twelfth moon the noble lady was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang (after two years).

BIOGRAPHIES (LIEH CHUAN)

PREFACE

The name Lieh Chuan started (to be used) with Ssu-Ma Ch'ien. Biographies constitute historical material. Authors in the past did not write biographies for private individuals.

During the Tang dynasty, Han (Yu) Ch'ang-li composed the biographies of Lu Chih and Yang Ch'eng, which were incorporated in the Hsun-tsung-shih-lu. Liu Tsung-yuan composed the biography of Tuan T'ai-wei. He did not call it "chuan" but "chuan" (memoir). Li Ao composed the Chuan of Lu T'an, but Fang Pao scorned him.

Since the historians had lost their original profession, those appointed in the bureau of the archives became the disciples of T'an Pai-lu (and no longer composed biographies). From that time on the people were compelled to compose their family biographies themselves, to fill this want. Then, among the vulgar were people who liked to spend money to glorify their ancestors (by means of biographies). Those, among those scholars, who liked to profit from their wealth, tucked up their sleeves to write. They filled pages with falsities and errors, so that their writings were untrustworthy.

In our family, from the Ming time on, each generation took up arms to defend the frontiers, our women and girls ardently practiced love for the country and justice in order to glorify (the country). However, the official history of the Ming did not record their deeds.

In what was recorded in our family history some events were confusing. Again we added (new facts) and eliminated (others). We followed the rules of the biographies in order to provide secure material to the official historians in the future. We dared not add (falsities), embellish (the facts), or deceive (the people), in order not to defile the glory of the anterior generations, and provide the descendants a text whose veracity may be checked.

We start with the third section which contains biographies.

SIRE T'O HUAN, THE ORIGINAL ANCESTOR

Sire T'o Huan was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan.

In 1313 Emperor Jen Tsung bestowed upon him the dignity of Prince of An Ting. Successively, he served several emperors and was renowned for his faithfulness and zeal. During the Chih-yuan period (1335-1341) brigands arose (as numerous) as insects. At the time of the Ming Emperor T'ai Tsung, the brigands of Kansu entered the valley of the Huai. After a few years their bands were exterminated and pacified.

In 1368 Emperor T'ai Tsung sent Su Ta, Ch'ang Yu-chuan, and other commanders, to pacify the north with the army. Wherever they arrived the people met them and surrendered. Sire T'o Huan was grieved, cried and said, "The empire is lost." At that time, orders of the empire were not obeyed beyond some hundred li of both capitals. The army was inferior in number (to that of the enemy) and enfeebled, incapable of taking the offensive or of staying on the defensive. Sire T'o Huan, in cooperation with officers of the imperial guard commanding exhausted troops, day and night fortified and guarded the capital. Besides the famine and lack of food in the city, there was no hope of getting provisions or rescue. The officers stimulated the courage (of the troops) by means of the example of their faithfulness and fidelity. Everybody was happy to expend his forces.

However, the armies of the enemy more and more distressed the troops. They pressed around the capital. Emperor Shun, the heir apparent, and the imperial grandsons fled at midnight, giving up the empire. Sire T'o Huan with some ten cavaliers, unable to follow the imperial group, roamed the country and finally arrived in Ho Hsi (Kansu). Every time he told about the former empire he cried bitterly, striking his breast.

The Ming Emperor T'ai Tsung having heard about it, thought he was a faithful man, and sent a messenger to invite him to come to the place where he sojourned. When T'o Huan entered, the emperor informed him about his intentions. He consoled him several times, and said he would grant him an official office. Our ancestor bowed his head and answered: a servant of a lost empire is unworthy to receive the favors of your dynasty. The emperor (hearing that) appraised him more and ordered him to muster his tribes and control the country (he previously administered).

In 1370 K'uo-k'uo-t'ieh-mu-erh attacked Cheng-erh-yu. The ancestor followed Su Ta and defeated him. K'uo-k'uo-t'ieh-mu-erh fled to Karakorum.

In 1375 T'o-erh-chih-pa, chieftain of Ho Hsi, revolted. The ancestor, with General Pu Yin, fought and defeated his army. Only Chih Pa escaped with his life. The army returned and rewards were distributed. The ancestor was ordered to come to court. On account of illness the ancestor could not obey the order. At the end of the year he died.

His wife, the noble Lady Ma, was earnest, intelligent, and strong minded. The Tibetan Ta-kuan tieh-chih was a clever and courageous man, who could catch a galloping horse with his hands and throw arrows, hitting the target, as well with his right hand as with his left. With his younger

brother he induced the Tibetans to occupy Lo Pe mountains, for robbing purposes. He killed imperial ambassadors, robbed travelers and traders. The highway was closed. The noble lady insidiously made him come over to her mansion. When he arrived a tent was pitched, red felt rugs were spread on the ground, and several maid servants clad in gauze dresses, wearing golden bracelets, playing p'i p'a and singing songs of the country, entertained the guests. When they were drunk, copper kettles were beaten and some strong hidden troops jumped out and with iron chains tied the chief, his servant, and seven more men. Awakening a little, they started moving arms and legs. The soldiers beat them half to death, cut off their heads, stuck them on poles and planted them along the Wu Chao Lin highway to make examples of them to the country. The Tibetans were frightened. The young brother of the brigand cut his throat. The lady sent troops (of the clan) to exterminate the tribes and accept the surrender of those who submitted. The country of Liangchow was at peace.

The emperor, having been informed, sent to the lady one thousand ounces of silver, precious golden trinkets, complete sets of hairpins and earrings, four pieces of flowered silk, and ordered a mansion to be built in Lien Ch'eng, and a house of seven rooms. An inscription was sent: "she displayed fidelity." In the country of Chung-ku-erh 305 hectares of land were granted to provide for her toilette expenses.

The lady died at ninety years of age and was buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Ta-t'ung, next to the ancestor T'o Huan,

KUNG-PU-SHIH-TIEH, OF THE SECOND GENERATION

Kung-pu-shih-tieh was the second son of Sire T'o Huan. At the death of Sire T'o Huan, his oldest son Ah-shih-tu succeeded to the office. Having killed the brigand Ta-kuan tieh-chih, he was promoted to be first chiliarch. Soon he lost his sight and died. Sire Shih-tieh took over the office. He was a strong-minded and severe man, endowed with the qualities of his father.

In 1403 the Mongol Pu-yen Ta-shih revolted and was about to invade the country of Chuang Lang. The indignant Shih Tieh said, "This wicked wretch who inhabits the country surrendered a long time ago, and he is about to become the scourge of the country. He prepares his own ruin." The ancestor, leading more than one hundred of his tribesmen, went to the territory of Wu Wei to attack him. He beat him severely and captured seventy-two of his brigands.

At that time Emperor Ch'eng Tsung ascended the throne. It was the first year of the Yung Lo period (1403). The ancestor went to the capital to offer a tribute of horses and the captured brigands. In the eighth moon he was promoted to be centurion in the commandery of Chuang Lang, commander of his troops and administrator of his subjects. Then he was charged with the defense of Cheng Fan and Mo Mo Ch'eng, and with inducement to submission of the I Chi Nai people. Everywhere, the rewards he granted and the punishments he inflicted were severe but just. The people were afraid of him but were sympathetic toward him.

In 1410 Emperor Ch'eng Tsung himself made an expedition in the northern Gobi and ordered the ancestor to accompany him. At that time the noble Lady Ma, his mother, was old, and had also been taken ill. The ancestor could not resolve to abandon her and to leave. The lady said: "You are an official in the frontier regions. Each (of our) generation has received important favors from the emperor. How will you, preferring a private interest, harm the public interest? What is more, death and life are fixed beforehand. Shall I live because you stay with me? Shall I die because you leave me? Go! Son, you may be successful in this important affair. If I die I shall close my eyes in peace. The ancestor wiped his tears and accepted the lesson."

On the fourth moon the army camped in Wei Lu Cheng. The weather was hot and the camels carried water for the soldiers to drink. Pen Ya Shih Li fled. In the fifth moon he returned and camped at Yin Ma Ho. The emperor commanded the army to move to another place to fight A-lu-ti. Then it rained tremendously; the noses of the horses disappeared in the mud, and the troops were exhausted. A-lu-tai feigned to submit. The emperor commanded the ancestor to dispose the army in strict battle array and to wait. Then A-lu-tai attacked with his whole army. The ancestor courageously fought a bloody battle. His arrows killed ten or more men. The enemy encircled him, and the arrows came down on him as the rain. The ancestor, from the time he had followed the expedition until his death, during months, had not removed his cuirass and helmet. Rust was seen on the visor of the helmet, grains had germinated to grass in it. It was unusual. In the sand dunes the soldiers found the left arm of the ancestor on a finger of which adhered a jade sheath, and so it was possible to identify the ancestor.

His wife was the noble Lady Li, daughter of the Hui Ning Pe, Li Yin. She arranged the burial of the noble Lady Ma. The obsequies were performed according to the rites. She remained a widow to care for the education of the orphan son. All the time she stimulated him to practice faithfulness and filial piety. Thanks to her, Sire Hsien, the ancestor, having the title of governor, could make the family illustrious.

PIAO-CH'I CHIANG-CHUN, SIRE HSIEN OF THE THIRD GENERATION

Piao-ch'i chiang-chun, Sire Hsien, was the oldest son of Shih Tieh. First he was called Shih Chia. Later, the family name having been granted (by the emperor), he changed his first name Shih Chia to Shih Tieh. At a tender age he was remarkable, fostering high aspirations. Faithfulness and sincerity were inborn in him. Not having studied military arts, his science, his combination of plans and stratagems accorded with those of this art.

In 1411, following the eunuch Wang Nan, he fought the rebel Mongols in Hsi Liang, capturing and killing many of them. On account of his merits he was promoted to be second chiliarch. In succession, he served meritoriously four emperors, Ch'eng, Jen, Hsuan, and Ying Tsung, and was promoted from secretary commandant, to assistant commandant, to secretary high commandant, to assistant high commandant, and to high commandant. He received the titles of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun, and secretary of the military headquarters of the left army. He participated in ten battles and never suffered a defeat. He was conversant with the frontier regions, his troops obeyed him and, therefore, he was successful in his actions.

In 1414 he followed the emperor in his expedition against A-lu-tai. His troops, on the river Kan-t'an, captured the rebel chieftain Ah-la-han.

The emperor's esteem and affection for him increasing, the emperor said:

In former times Tan, Duke of Chou, had made distant expeditions in the Yen Hsi countries. Prince Ch'eng appanaged him with the country of Lu. Your family submitted to the empire a long time ago. In expeditions in remote countries it gathered merits. Your brilliant achievements may be compared with those of the Duke of Chou. For these reasons I grant you the name of Lu, so that your descendants in each generation may be protectors of the frontiers and consolidate my empire.

The ancestor prostrated himself twice and obeyed.

In olden times the family names were determined by the sounds of musical tubes, in order to make them correspond with the five tones of the gamut. An appanage was granted and a name. The emperor presided at the ceremony. Later, the names of the clans became so confused that the

people forgot their origin. At present some of the names are identical with those of the kingdoms. The people say that the names of the families originated from those of the kingdoms, and they do not know that they are wrong.

The name of Hsia originated from Chao Hsi of the Ch'eng kingdom, and not from the name of the Duke of Hsia. The name of Ch'i originated from Ch'i no of the Wei kingdom, and not from the name Ch'i of the Ch'i kingdom. Ch'in Chin-fu does not originate from the name of the Ch'in kingdom. The name Ti does not originate from the name Ti of Ti Ssti mi. The names in olden times originated from posthumous names, or from style names, or from names of cities, or from fulfilled incumbencies. To be sure, when people fled to another kingdom, the name of the kingdom of their origin became their name. This happened with Ch'en Ching-chung of the kingdom of Ch'i, and with Sung Ch'ao of the kingdom of Wei.

I write with the minutest details the way in which our family received its name. I will prevent later generations from misinterpreting the meaning and circumstances in which it was granted and I hope that they will be grateful for the favor bestowed by the emperor and increase the luster of the merits of the ancestors. How should we not be attentive for all eternity (not to tarnish such a glorious past) and endeavor (to be worthy of it).

During the reign of T'ai Tsung of the Ming, the Mongol academician Huo-mi-ch'ih was gratified with the name of Huo Chuang, Pa-tu-t'ieh-mu-erh with the name of Wu, Lun-tu-erh-hui with the name Ts'ai, and Pa chou with that of Yang. They had submitted at the same time and had received varied favors. This proves the love nurtured by the emperor toward his subjects living in the remote countries, and proves that our ancestors had acquired merits for our family.

The ancestor was a nice tall man. Every time he fought the enemies his beard and mustache bristled fiercely.

His wife, the noble dame Li, was the daughter of the Hui-ming-pe, Li Yin. She was intelligent and her needle work and cooking showed her skill. She was proficient in weaving baskets and cups, in which were poured the grains offered to the spirits. The baskets and cups were elegant and gracious and can still be seen. They are conserved and admired as benefits from her hands.

The ancestor died in 1447 in the twelfth moon. When the death was announced, the court was troubled and mourned. Lang Kai was sent and ordered by the emperor to make the sacrifice. He was buried in the ancestral cemetery. To the widow was granted a fine dress, sent by the emperor.

CHIEN, SIRE CHING LU, OF THE FOURTH GENERATION

The style name of Chien, Sire Ching Lu, was K'o Ming. He was the oldest son of Hsien. In 1445 he offered a tribute of horses to the capital, and received the title of chiliarch. In 1447 he succeeded to the office (of his father who had died in 1447) with the title of assistant commandant. At the end of the year, bands of Mongol brigands gathered outside the pass of Chia Yu, in the regions of Kua and Sha Chou, and seized the opportunity (the country was poorly defended) to make inroads. Sire Ching Lu said to the eunuch Liu Yung-chou, guardian and defender of the country: "The brigands just arrived from far away. I seize the opportunity to beat them when they are tired, and shall gain a complete victory. If I wait until they have spied the conditions of our army, it would be difficult to be sure either of the victory or the defeat." The eunuch agreed. Then our troops, 1,500 in number, arrived at Ch'a-han wu-la and administered a crushing defeat. Prisoners and killed were numerous. On account of his merits, Sire Ching Lu was promoted commandant. Sire was courageous, valiant, fearless, and enterprising.

During the periods Chin T'ai and T'ien Shun (1450-1464), the signals (fires) in the watchtowers on the great wall many times announced alarm. Brigadier General Su Ching and Wei

Yin, Duke of Hsuan Cheng, and others, received orders to have the troops ready. Wherever the drums were beaten the ancestor with his troops constituted the vanguard. In every battle they preceded the troops and attacked fiercely, flourishing their swords and howling ferociously. Wherever the ancestor fought he was victorious. When in the enemy army there were violent savage types, he jumped on his horse and rushed to kill them in the midst of their troops. The troops called him the fleeing general. With few troops he could beat large bands of brigands, and every time he managed to be victorious. The brigands who opposed him flew away as birds, or escaped in groves as wild animals. They were frightened of him as of a spirit.

In that way he defeated Wang Pe in Liangchow, Man Sse in Ku Yuen, and fought Pe-lo-hu and Pe-chia sse-lu in Ho T'ao. All these victories were gained, thanks to the ancestor. The emperor relied on him as on the Great Wall.

In 1475 an order was given to build an honorific arch in front of his mansion, in commemoration of his merits. In 1486 he received the seal of General Pacifier of the Mongols. He had inborn kindness and considerateness toward the people, and did not pride himself on his merits. Upon receiving gifts he instantly shared them with his officers and his soldiers. He was especially devoted to stimulating and promoting education, and to honoring and revering scholars. He glorified our family. Starting by fulfilling humble duties, he accumulated merits to the point of being promoted General Defender of Chuang Lang, mandarin-at-large, in Huan Ch'ing, and Military Governor of Yen Chou and Sui Te. His fame lasted for more than forty years, until his death. Though this might have happened because of good fortune, his faithfulness and sincerity however have also been its cause.

In 1488, at the accession of Emperor Hsiao Tsung, he asked for retirement. In 1494 his son Chin was appointed major in Kanchow and Suchow. Because nobody was able to command the Monguor troops except the ancestor, the emperor especially ordered him (to emerge from retirement) to command them. The ancestor presented at court a memoir of several thousand words, in four articles, concerning the problems of the frontier regions relating to defense and the organization. Many times the memoir was discussed and used.

He died in 1502 from an old sore which had opened again. When his death was announced, the titles of Yung-lu Ta-fu, or pillar of the empire, and of chief of the military headquarters of the left troops were granted to him posthumously. Li Shih, councilor (of the supreme council), was sent to offer three sacrifices.

His wife was the daughter of Li Wen, Duke of Kao Yang. She was chaste and peaceful; she knew the art of educating children; she died five years before the ancestor. She received titles according to the customs (in accordance with those bestowed upon the husband). She had a daughter married to Wang Hsu, second captain in Kanchow. During the Cheng Te period (1506-1521) the almighty eunuch, who knew that she was nice and attractive, praised her beauty within hearing of Emperor Wu Tsung, who sent a special order to the eunuch Chao Lun to prepare the ritual gifts and to escort her to court. The girl refused, and said, "An unsightly girl from the frontier regions is unworthy to receive orders from the emperor. All the more the decision of a wife of the common people is not to change the husband she married. I desire you will inform the emperor that I cannot avoid the capital punishment (I prefer to die)." The eunuch answered, "The order of the emperor is strict and cannot be eluded." The girl surreptitiously took a knife and cut her throat. She was grieved not to be dead. The eunuch ordered the family to guard her closely day and night. One day she seized the opportunity to burn her face with absinthe and died after many days.

Alas, the father was a distinguished officer, the daughter a chaste wife. This event is significant in that it is a lesson related to the three Kang (observance of the three relations between prince and subjects, father and sons, husband and wife), and related to the five Ch'ang (the five virtues of charity, justice, urbanity, prudence, and sincerity). In that way this event is not only painful for our family (but also glorious because our family provided a model of the three Kang and five Ch'ang). I record this fact because it has to be inserted in the chapter of the glorious wives in the official history of the Ming dynasty.⁷⁵³

LIN, SIRE THE GOVERNOR OF THE FIFTH GENERATION

The style name of Lin, sire the governor, was Shih Hsiang. He was the oldest son of Chien. He was brave, strong and had the qualities of his father.

In 1484, the ancestor Ching Lu was military governor of Yen Chou and Sui Te. The troops of his clan had no chief (to care for them, Yen Chou and Sui Te were too far from Chuang Lang). Lin was promoted centurion with golden badge, chief of the troops of the clan. At that time the Mongol brigands from Liangchow, Yung Ch'ang, Kanchow, and Suchow intermittently made inroads. The ancestor moved his troops to rescue the countries where the danger arose. Always he was victorious and his fame was well known in distant countries.

After a year there was great famine in Kuan Chung (Shensi). Along the roads the people sat looking at each other (not knowing what to do). The ancestor Lin carried 600 *tan* of grain to relieve the miseries of the people east of the Yellow River. He saved the lives of some thousands of people. The court was appraised of the fact and he was promoted to be commandant. After one year more, together with Lieutenant Colonel T'ien Kuang, he put to flight the brigands in Ch'ing Shih Hsia. In the autumn in the ninth moon, he put to flight and defeated them again on the river Fu Tung Erh. He was promoted to be high secretary commandant.

In 1488 his father Chien asked for his retirement. The emperor agreed and in 1489 the ancestor Lin succeeded his father. In 1494 Mongol brigands invaded the Yung Ch'ang region. The ancestor leading his troops rescued the country and fought in Liu Yuan. The brigands retreated a little, but soon they besieged Yung Ch'ang with more bands. Because his troops were inferior in number, he fortified the city and did not fight. The siege and attacks became more impetuous, arrows fell as

¹¹⁰ In Huangchung are encountered two Li clans. Li Nan-ko is the founding ancestor of the first clan and Li Wen, Duke of Kao Yang, the founding ancestor of the second clan. Both clans have their own cemetery, in which the cult of the ancestors starts with their respective founding ancestor.

Li Nan-ko had a brother Li Chang-ko, who died during the Yuan dynasty. In that way he is not recognized as the founding ancestor of the clan, but his son Li Wen who submitted to the Ming dynasty together with his uncle Li Nan-ko, is considered the founding ancestor of the second clan.

Li Nan-ko had a son Li Yin, Duke of Hui Ning, who was the cousin of Li Wen, son of Li Chang-ko.

The ancestor of the second generation of the Lu clan was the father of the ancestor of the third generation of the Lu clan. Both father and son married daughters of Li Yin, Duke of Hui Ning. According to the Chinese rules of marriage, such marriage is highly unbecoming, especially among eminent people.

The ancestor of the fifth generation of the Lu clan married the daughter of Li Wen, Duke of Kao Yang, who was a cousin of the daughters of Li Yin, Duke of Hui Ning. Again this marriage was very shocking for the Chinese, who used to call the Monguors barbarians.

rain; officers and soldiers used saddles to protect themselves. In three days they were reduced to the utmost point. T'ao Cheng, the lieutenant colonel of Liangchow, without coming to the rescue, waited for the issue of the battle. The ancestor implored the aid of Heaven, stimulating the courage of his troops. Ten times or more they had already fought bloody battles when Heaven made a tremendous wind blow and sand and pebbles flew in the air. He made a vigorous sally and fled out of the city. The court, learning of the defeat, inflicted on the ancestor the punishment of defending the frontiers, and did not allow him to leave them. The ancestor wrote a report of the battle accusing T'ao Cheng. The imperial censor was ordered to investigate the case. T'ao Cheng was punished, and the ancestor condoned. However his title was lowered one degree. Having captured brigands in the twelfth moon of the same year, 1499, he was promoted to be lieutenant colonel and defender of Chuang Lang, and after a few days more, was promoted to be second brigadier general and military governor of Kanchow.

In 1501 Mongols invaded the Hsi Hsia region. The ancestor went to rescue the country. When he arrived at Wei Chou, the brigands had already entered deeply into the country. He sent the high commandant Yang Lun, who encountered the Mongols at Kung-pa-ku, and could not dispose his troops in battle array. His frightened soldiers and officers took to their heels and fled, pursued by the enemy. It was a disastrous defeat. The ancestor was terribly indignant. With his son Chin, he led some hundreds of wounded soldiers to fight the brigands. His vanguard again retreated. Then Chin himself killed some among them, and went to fight in the first rank, ahead of the soldiers, followed by his father, ancestor Lin. All the soldiers followed him with fierceness. Each of them was worth a hundred soldiers and their savage battle cries shook heaven and earth. The Mongols fled in disorder. The high commanders affixed their seals to an accusation against the ancestor Lin, for having spoiled the battle. The ancestor wrote a defense, Yang Lun was punished, the ancestor was condoned, but his salary was withheld for two months.

At that time the father of Lin, sire Chin Lu, was old, and his son Chin was young and unable to command the army. The ancestor asked to resume his office. Liu Ta-hsia told the emperor, who agreed. Emperor Wu Tsung ascended the throne (1506). Su t'ai, lieutenant colonel of Chuang Lang was not sympathetic to the people and caused many troubles. The court ordered the sub-lieutenant to take over the duty ad interim. The ancestor Chien, of good repute in the frontier region, implored the emperor to grant to Lin help in the military and civil administration. Pi Heng told the emperor, who agreed.

Lin died in the third moon of 1506, receiving posthumously the title of secretary general of the left army. The emperor sent Chou Tsai councilor (of the supreme council) with the favor of official sacrifices and burial according to the rites.

His first wife was the noble Lady Wang, daughter of Wang Yin, high commandant of Yu Lin. She died early without issue. The second wife was the noble Lady Wang, daughter of Wang Chang, *tu fien* of Yu Lin. The ancestor Chin was her son.

CHIN, SIRE PACIFIER OF THE MONGOLS, OF THE SIXTH GENERATION

Chin, Sire pacifier of the Mongols, had the style name of Yuan Ch'ang, and the literary name Hsi K'un. He was the oldest son of Lin.

In 1501, following the general, his father, he defeated the brigands in Wei Chou and was promoted to be centurion. In 1504 he defeated brigands in Shui Ts'ao Ku, and was promoted to be secretary commandant with golden badge. In 1506 his father Lin died and he succeeded him. The court, considering that he had accumulated many merits on the battle front, by especial favor granted him the title of secretary commandant, defender of Chuang Lang, with the seal of Chao

Yung general. His gratitude and zeal increased. In 1508 he defeated the brigands at the lake Ming Shui and was promoted to high assistant commandant. In 1510 the Mongols invaded Chuang Lang territory. He pursued and defeated them at Shih P'en Ku, killing and capturing many of them. In 1512 the Mongols invaded Chuang Lang again. He pursued and defeated them at T'ung Wei P'u, killing and capturing many. In the same year the Mongols invaded Hsining. He pursued and defeated them at Ma Ch'ang Ku killing and capturing many.

Then the most important officials affixed their seal to a report to the emperor, praising and exalting his merits. The emperor granted him the *mang p'ao* (official dress adorned with dragons) and the jade cincture and especially promoted him to be secretary governor, lieutenant colonel of the left wing, and defender of Chuang Lang. In 1515 the tribes of Ch'a K'u I stole the tribute brought to the emperor, and the tribes of Huang T'u Erh stole the tribute of horses. The court ordered the ancestor to punish and capture the robbers. The ancestor succeeding in capturing the stolen tribute and offered it to the emperor. He was promoted to be assistant governor and defender of Chuang Lang and Hsining. Emperor Wu Tsung died and Shih Tsung ascended the throne (1522). Chin asked to retire. Su Feng-hsiang, governor of the province, said to the emperor, "Chin has been officer during his whole life, he is courageous in war time, his fame is known among the barbarians. At present the circumstances of the empire are critical and it is not the time to permit him to retire." The emperor himself wrote a letter in order to console him and keep him in charge. He sent an official to manifest his sympathy, sent him precious gifts, promoted him to be second brigadier general, and enjoined him to help in the administration as before.

In 1525 he was promoted to be brigadier general in Yen Chou and Sui Te and received the seal of general pacifier of the Mongols. The scholar Yang I-ch'ing said to the emperor, "Chin has administered Chuang Lang twenty or more years and accumulated many merits. He alone is capable of controlling the Monguor troops. Chang Feng his whole life long has been brigadier general in Yen Chou and Sui Te. If you would remove Chang Feng from Yen Chou and Sui Te and appoint Chin, then we could be assured of keeping the country at peace by means of the army, and the western regions would no longer cause anxiety." The emperor agreed, and immediately ordered Chin to move to Yen Chou.

In 1542 the Mongols invaded Yung Ch'ang at Shang Ku. Repeated reports claimed the circumstances to be alarming. The court ordered the chief of the ministry of war to appoint an official to rescue the region. Just at midnight the emperor sent a eunuch with a decree to the ministry of war.

I consider that Lu Chin of Chuang Lang is a courageous general who controls troops inured to war. I think him equal to meeting the alarming situation, and demand that the decree written by my hand be brought instantly, by the chiliarch Liu Kang ordering him to move.

Just at that time the ancestor suffered an attack of rheumatism, and he limped. Upon receiving the order, doing himself violence, he chose 3,000 of his best soldiers. Obeying the order they arrived at Suchow. The Mongols, conversant with the fame of the ancestor, retreated. The court praised his faithfulness and sincerity and congratulated him again and again. After delivering a gift of silver the messenger returned.

Three years later the governor of the province Ch'eng Chiu-ch'ou was ordered to build two honorific arches with the inscriptions "unceasingly he practiced faithfulness and justice for a long time, and was known for his dignity and fame."

Tan, the oldest son of Sire Chin, died some time ago. He ordered his second son Tung to take over the office. He retired to one of his properties in Hsi Tat'ling. After more than ten years he died in 1556 in the third moon. He received the posthumous titles of Yung-lu Ta-fu, pillar of the empire, governor of the military government of the right wing. He was honored with three sacrifices.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was the daughter of Duke Ch'ing Yuan from Hsining. She was a serious and model lady. In 1517 the court, in consideration of the merits of her husband, sent a eunuch with the robe adorned with dragons, the cincture of jade, precious stones, golden bracelets, pieces of very thin silk and satin, and other objects. The gifts were unusually rich and numerous. She died in 1526, in the tenth moon before Sire Chin.

TUNG, SIRE CHAO I, OF THE SEVENTH GENERATION

Tung, Sire Chao I, with the style name Tsung Chou, and the literary name Shih Feng, was the second son of Chin. His oldest brother Tan had gained merits accompanying his father, sire Chin Lu, on expeditions, and had received the promotion of second chiliarch. In 1527 his father had obtained the decree permitting him to retire. The court ordered Tan to control the country and to succeed to his father. Having gained merits he was promoted secretary commandant and second captain in Shan Tan.

In 1535 his father, Sire Chin Lu, presented a memorial to the emperor: "Always the ancestors of your subject have controlled this country (Chuang Lang). At present I am retired and my son Tan is moved to another commandery of the frontiers. The troops of the clan are upset and are not willing to obey another. If, on account of this fact, troubles arise they will cause the ruin of the patrimony of the ancestors, and we will be ungrateful for the blessings received from the ancestors. Your subject implores you to permit my son to control the old patrimony." The court agreed and ordered Tan to move to Chuang Lang. In 1543 Tan died, his son Cheng Wu succeeded him and died also.

At that time Sire Chin Lu was old. Considering that the empire had to cope with many difficulties and that his troops had nobody to control them, he implored permission for his second son Chao I to succeed him.

Tung, Sire Chao I, was endowed with the appearance and distinction of a scholar, and with inborn faithfulness and filial piety. When his father, Sire Chin Lu, was sick, he burned incense and begged to die in his place. He cut a piece of his thigh to heal the disease. Ch'en Pi, governor of the province, asked the court to glorify this gesture of filial piety. Every time he went to fight brigands, he knelt down before his father, asking him for instructions related to the art of war.

In 1561 big bands of Mongols invaded the country. The frontier regions were upset. Sire Chao I led his troops against them. The brigands dared not invade Chuang Lang. He defeated them in K'ai Ch'eng and in Shih T'u Ku and Pe Shih Ch'uan. Everywhere he was victorious.

In 1568 he was promoted to be high commandant and prefect in Chuang Lang. He helped the lieutenant colonel Li Shih-wei in military affairs. Chuang Lang enjoyed peace.

The disease of his father became more and more deep rooted, his legs and arms were crippled, and for ten years he could not move. In 1578 Sire Chao I implored the emperor for permission to retire. The court ordered Kuang Hsien his oldest son to take over the office, but soon Kuang Hsien died. Sire Tung asked permission for his second son Kuang Tsu to succeed to the hereditary office. In 1584 Sire Chao I died, and received posthumously the title of Chao Yu chiang-chun.

His first wife belonged to the Li family, the second to the Ts'ao family. Both received the title of honorable Lady (title accorded to wives of officers of the third degree). Sires Kuang Lu and Kuang Tsu were sons of the honorable Lady Li.

KUANG TSU, SIRE KUANG LU OF THE EIGHTH GENERATION

Kuang Tsu, Sire Kuang Lu, whose style name was Pe Hsien, was the second son of Tung, Sire Chao I. He was born and grew up in a family in every generation of which were officials. He was diligent in the study of the classics and calligraphy. In his youth he was registered on the roster of the students of the military school of the commandery of his country. He decided to glorify the family by obtaining literary degrees. Soon his oldest brother Kuang Hsien died. Sire Kuang Lu, being the next in age, succeeded. However, until his death he did not enjoy the office. In his disorderly room, next to long guns and spears, were disposed maps, books, and sacrificial vases. Having some spare time, he burned incense and sat motionless studying old books, relaxing his spirit, and enjoying quietness. Those who saw him did not think he was a military officer.

From commandant in Chuang Lang he was promoted colonel in Hsining. On account of his expeditions in Kokonor, he was promoted to be brigadier general in Liangchow. Having defeated P'u Pai, he was promoted to be brigadier general in T'ao and Ming Chou.

In 1600 he was promoted to be commandant-in-chief, in Nan Ching at the military headquarters of the right, and director of the training fields, in preparation against Japan.

Sire Kuang Lu was unassuming, loyal, mild, intelligent, and helpful toward the underlings. Those who inhabited the capital, a noisy city, indulged in pleasures and dissoluteness, rearing dogs and horses. The prominent people pursued the satisfaction of their desires. It was easy to incriminate them. Sire Kuang Lu used his salary only to buy books. The hundreds of books he bought were all pencil marked and filled with notes. When the administrative affairs allowed him some spare time, he invited eminent scholars, composed poems, and drank wine. He visited the ford at T'ao Yeh and the barrow of Sian and he inquired about the old lanes and green brooks and the long bridge in Wu I. He very much enjoyed the strolls he made when he was a public official.

After a short time, on account of illness, he asked for retirement. It was accorded and the costs of the journey were defrayed by the empire.

Back home he delighted in strolling in the woods and on the banks of the rivers. He composed the family chronicles in three sections. He started with the imperial decrees. He wrote the biographies and the correspondence with the empire, and finally the things interesting the family from the first ancestor on. According to the Chia Li composed by Chu Hsi (Chu Hsi, 1130-1200) he built a temple east of his mansion for the ancestors, with five niches inside. In the center niche sacrifices were offered to the first ancestor, in the other four sacrifices to the great-great-grandfather, the great-grandfather, the grandfather, and to the father according to the rite Chao Mu. Sacrifices at the time of the four seasons were fixed on the first day of each of them. The tablet of the first ancestor was never allowed to be moved, the other four, however, had to be removed according to the rites (to allow a seat for the recently deceased). He emphasized the importance of the sacrifices and the rites.

In former times the morals and customs in our village were rough and savage, today the people start knowing the prime ancestor and honor him. That is what the ancestor taught us to do. Now from the time I was a small boy I felt with my hands, the gifts made by the hands of the ancestors. I felt deeply impressed. I feel gratitude for having received this tradition (of honoring the ancestors in the family).

Sire Kuang Tsu died in his mansion in the village in 1607. The death being announced at court, he received posthumously the title of Kuang Lu-ta-fu and sacrifices and burial according to the rites.

His wife, the noble Lady Chang, was intelligent, and quick to understand. She had much erudition and a noble character. She controlled her home with severity and regularity. She had a son, Yung Ch'ang, who died in the service for the empire during the Ming dynasty. This is quite sufficient for her to illustrate our glorious family.

YUNG CH'ANG, SIRE CHUNG TI OF THE NINTH GENERATION

Yung Ch'ang, Sire Chung Ti, whose style name was Ch'eng Pu, his literary name Chung T'ai. He was the son of Kuang Tsu, Sire Kuang Lu. In 1602 Sire Kuang Lu retired. Sire Chung Ti inherited the office of secretary-commandant and the control of the Monguor troops. Chung Ti was an eminent man with high aspirations. He would not be limited by the offices and titles his ancestors had received (he aspired for more). He was fully devoted to the affairs of the frontiers, was self-sacrificing and loved the empire. In 1628 there was famine in Yen Chou and Sui Te. Wang Chia-yun, in Fu Ku, called the people to organize and plunder. The followers of Chang Hsien-chung and Li Tzu-ch'eng waited for the opportunity to revolt. Sire Chung Ti knew that the situation was changing. He used his troops with foresight to defend Ho Hsi.

In 1636 he was promoted to be lieutenant colonel and prefect in Chuang Lang. After a year he was promoted to be brigadier general and guardian of Hsining. Then on account of his merits he was promoted assistant in the military government of the left army. The *mang pao* was granted (robe with dragons) and the jade cincture. In 1643 the rebels broke through the T'ung Kuan pass; Ch'ing Yang and Kung Ch'ang were imperiled. Sire Chung Ti knew that Lanchow was an isolated city in danger, whose defense was problematical. Several times he reported asking to send Su Fan past the river to protect the cities of Ningshia, Liangchow, Kanchow, and Su Chou in order to combine plans for the recovering of the country. He did not receive an answer.

In 1644, in the spring, the brigand general Huo Chin invaded Ho Hsi. Liangchow and Chuang Lang looked at what other cities did, and surrendered. Sire Chung Ti was raging. He distributed his wealth to the officers and the soldiers and led his troops to attack and fight the brigands in Hsi Tatung. The fame of the Monguor troops frightened the brigands, and they retreated a little. Among the tribesmen of the ancestor, some submitted to the brigands claiming that the troops were outnumbered, that no rescue was to be expected. The courage of the brigands grew. Sire Chung Ti, because his troops were outnumbered, retreated and defended his city of Lien Ch'eng. The brigands attacked the city and it was captured. Sire Chung Ti was tied before the gate of the city. He was called to surrender. He refused. They summoned him to give his wealth. He refused again. They threatened to kill him with the sword. He mocked and cursed them. While he was dying he did not desist from cursing them.

It was the sixteenth day of the first moon of 1644. The brigands abducted his son and his daughter, stole all his wealth, and went westward. Hung, the son of Chung Ti was only a few years old when he fell into the hands of the brigands. The brigands divided the tribes of Chung Ti among the members of the family who had submitted to them. The noble lady Kan, the first wife, overwhelmed with grief wished to kill herself. Among those who consoled her, some said: your son is abducted, your wealth is stolen, to commit suicide is useless. Then the noble lady dressed and took her meals as before.

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty called the people of the two rivers to submit and ordered the concubine of Sire Chung Ti, the noble Lady Yang, to write with her blood a report to

the emperor expounding the facts from the beginning to the end, with the minutest details. The emperor ordered the ministers to deliberate and send him their advice. He ordered the nephew of Chung Ti, An, to succeed ad interim, to command the troops and control the subjects.

For two hundred years the descendants have conserved the patrimony of the ancestors, thanks to the endeavor of both noble ladies, and thanks to the loyal spirit of Sire Chung Ti, who from the outer world has been able to arrange events.

COMMANDANT SIRE HUNG OF THE TENTH GENERATION

The Commandant Sire Hung had the style name of Yu Hu. He was the son of Yung Ch'ang, Sire Chung Ti. During the troubles of Huo Chin he had been captured, brought to Chung Chou (Honan Fu) and later to Wuch'ang. In 1645 the court, having been informed about the circumstances of the death of Sire Chung Ti, ordered An to succeed in the interim. In 1648 he received the decree of his appointment and the seal to fulfill his office. At that time the revolt had subsided a little. The noble Lady Kan had sent men in all directions in search of information (about the captive). Every night she burned incense and implored Heaven. In 1650 she obtained certain news from traders, and sent men with money to bring back the captive. Back home son and mother embraced each other and cried with joy. The subjects also cried with joy and skipped at having met their true tribe chief. However, those among the family who had submitted to the brigands had already submitted to the newly established Ch'ing dynasty, and their chief had received the office of lieutenant colonel. He intended to occupy the grounds of the tribes, to control the subjects, and to seize the patrimony of Hung.

What is more, at the time Sire Chung Ti had been killed, the chief of the surrendered clan men had effectively beheaded Chung Ti with the sword. Now he feared that the recovery of the chieftainship of the tribe by Sire Hung would be ominous to him. Astutely using the revelation made by the shaman Wan Lang, whom he had invited, he confused the mind of the subjects (while in trances, the shaman must have said that the returned captive was not the son of Chung Ti). Even using money he tried to make Hung change his decision (to succeed to Chung Ti) but the decision of Hung to buttress his position grew all the stronger. From then on, the most malevolent rumors were spread. The most intelligent among the subjects were paid to testify to the veracity (of the revelation of the shaman). Sire Hung was brought before the tribunal of the governor of the province. Inhumanly treated he did not die. Put in jail, suffering ruthlessly, he still did not die. After ten years, the truth became evident and the abuse was cleared up.

He succeeded in 1659 at the time the empire was at peace inside and outside. Tibetans and barbarians offered tribute. Sire Hung did not obtain merits in war. He consolidated the patrimony of the ancestors, controlled his subjects and troops with kindness, and the subversive intentions of the traitors dissolved.

The ulterior generations are beholden to Sire Hung for the blessings of the peace they enjoyed. Heaven has been merciful to him. He succeeded for fifteen years and died in 1673 on the twelfth of the third moon at the age of forty.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was upright, severe, and determined. After the death of her husband she remained a widow caring for the education of the orphan son.

In 1674 Chang, Kung, and Keng (Ministers of the Ming dynasty who had submitted to the Ch'ing) revolted. The people of the two rivers were upset. Chang Yung captured Lanchow. The widow sent grain and horses to the soldiers and sent the Monguor troops to be commanded by the brigadier general of Hsining. After the revolt of Hsi Erh Su was quelled, she received a laudatory decree. She died in 1707 on the fourteenth of the third moon. She received posthumously the title

of Shu jen and was buried in the ancestral cemetery of Ch'ing Yang Shan next to her husband. Sire the commandant.

**TI HSIN, KAO-TSU CHAO YUNG, THE GREAT-GREAT-GRANDFATHER⁷⁵⁴
OF THE ELEVENTH GENERATION**

Ti Hsin, the Sire Chao Yung Kao-tsu had as his style name Chien Tsai. He was the adopted son of Sire the Commandant Hung. Before the troubles for the succession of Sire Commandant arose, the noble Lady Wang cared for Ti Hsin, still in swaddling clothes and loved him as her own son. Later she bore Shu Kao-tsu whose name was Ti Ch'eng. At the death of Sire the Commandant Hung, Sire Chao-yung, Ti Hsin, and his brother Shu (Ti Ch'eng) were still young. The noble lady kept care of the seal (controlled the tribe). In 1685 there was announced by decree the succession of Ti Ch'eng (the genuine son of Lady Wang). He received with reverence the decree and fulfilled the duty. His name was inscribed on the roster of the students of the director of the school of the commandery (Chuang Lang). After three years he died without issue. Sire Ti Hsin (the adopted) succeeded in the capacity of second son. He was intelligent and capable, he understood the core of the problems. Despite the fact that he was not born of the noble Lady Wang, his filial piety and care for her never decreased. After the death of the commandant the orphan and the lady endured vexations at the hands of powerful and audacious people, as well as in private and in administrative affairs. Sire Ti Hsin succeeded before the age of twenty-one. He examined thoroughly all the questions with intelligence. His mildness and sincerity were on a par. The nonbrilliant conditions of the family improved, thanks to Sire Ti Hsin.

In 1699 the Jungar group tried to hinder the submission of the tribes (to the empire). Sire Ti Hsin prepared at his own expense the provisions for his troops and left for the expedition in the western regions. The brigand fled. The Kokonor Mongols invaded the frontiers. The emperor sent troops to fight them, but the river of Tatung was swollen to the point that boats and rafts could not cross. Sire Ti Hsin spent thousands of taels, used his own wood, hired carpenters and built a floating bridge. The troops arrived at the destination on time, and Hsining was saved.

Sire Ti Hsin was engrossed in military affairs outside, but every time he had spare moments he went to sit down with the noble Lady Wang, to tell wonderful stories and enjoy and relax her. The noble lady took ill. He prepared medicines himself and during months did not take rest. At the time of the interment she had grown so lean that the bones protruded on the body. Troops and subjects were compassionately impressed. Her sincerity at home and in public were on a par.

⁷⁵⁴ Lu Chi-hsun, ancestor of the fifteenth generation, author of the Chronicles, starts calling the ancestor of the eleventh generation the (his) great-great grandfather, the ancestor of the twelfth generation, the (his) great grandfather, and so down till the ancestor of the fourteenth generation who is called the (his) father.

I suppose the reason for the process is that, according to the rules fixed by Chu Hsi, in the Hall of the ancestors, only five tablets of ancestors are to be honored.

The tablet of the founding ancestor occupies the center and is never to be removed. On both its sides are seen two tablets, one the tablet of the great-great grandfather of the actual living t'u-ssu, the second that of his great grandfather, the third that of his grandfather, the fourth that of his father.

Every time a t'u-ssu dies his tablet occupies the lowest place, and that of the great-great grandfather is removed. Only five ancestors are supposed to be honored and to be capable of enjoying the fragrance of the offerings, and also to be capable of protecting their descendants.

At fifty years of age Ti Hsin asked for retirement (1718). The deceased mother of Ti Hsin, the noble Dame Yueh, was the niece of Yueh Cheng-lung, Duke Ming Su, Governor of Szechwan province. She was the sister of the father of Yueh Chung-ch'i, Duke Wei Hsin. The lady was reared in a family of officials. She liked calmness, studied painting, music, and books in her spare time. She dressed in the way of the common people. People who saw her never thought she was reared in a family of officials.

Ti Hsin died in 1735. He was posthumously granted the title of Chao Yung-chiang-chun. The wife of Ti Hsin died in 1702. The title of Fu-jen was granted to her. She was buried with her husband in Hsi Hsiang Tang.

HUA LIN, SIRE WU KUNG, THE GREAT-GRANDFATHER (TSENG-TSU), OF THE TWELFTH GENERATION

Hua Lin, Sire Wu Kung, great grandfather, had the style name Chiu Ju. He was the oldest son of Ti Hsin, Sire Chao-yung. He was remarkable and surpassed common people. In 1718 retirement was granted to Sire Chao-yung. Sire Hua Lin received the decree in the ninth moon and succeeded his father.

In 1719 Ta wa chien shanpa revolted in Kokonor and the imperial army went to fight him. At that time Yueh Chung-ch'i Duke Wei Hsin's troops fought as vanguard. Knowing that he could use the Sire Hua Lin, he ordered him to lead his troops and protect the provisions of their troops. San Pa Ch'iao was the first dangerous pass on the way to Kokonor. It was guarded by Tibetans and impossible to go through. The troops of the Sire, all speaking Tibetan, running as fast as the wind (around the pass), reached the place of Lo Lung Tsung and captured some tens of Tibetans. The Tibetans fled pursued by the army and the pass was open. In the eighth moon Kokonor was pacified. Sire Hua Lin was promoted lieutenant colonel on account of his merits. In 1721 the Tibetan Kuo-mi tribes impelled to revolt by bLo-bzang tan-chin, made inroads and plundered. Sire Hua Lin leading some hundreds of troops went to garrison in Je Yueh Shan to protect the provisions of the army. The brigands failed to enter the place. In 1723 bLo-bzang tan-chin invaded the Hsining region and the countries east and west of the Chuang Lang mountains. The tribes of Hsieh-erh-su, Sa-Ma-chien shan-pa, Chao Ma-chien, and others revolted at the same time. General Nien Keng-yao ordered Duke Wei Hsin to pacify Kokonor and ordered the Sire Hua Lin to quell the revolt of Chuang Lang. Sire Hua Lin setting ambushes captured the chief of the revolt, Ho Mu-shan, and six others, and seized the opportunity to attack the Cho Tse Shan region. The ferocious howling of his troops made heaven and earth shake. The defeated brigands fled to Shih Pao Ch'eng. From the T'o-na valley he besieged the city five days and nights without success. Then Hua Lin ordered some courageous soldiers to cross the Tatung River on rafts, to climb to the source of a small river in order to reach the brigands from the rear. Hua Lin himself conducted a full attack with his whole army. The battle started. Cannons bombarded the city, the army attacked from the front and from the rear, the brigands were defeated, the number killed and captured was great, and the rebels of the Ah Lo tribe were exterminated or captured. The mountainous eastern country was pacified. The rebels in the western part, appraised of the defeat, lost courage. Sire Hua Lin went to fight them. After destroying the monastery of Shih Men, he attacked the den of the brigands and captured the chiefs. The others fled.

In 1724 Hua Lin, presuming that the rebels would plunder again in the spring, garrisoned troops in Ta Ying Wan. The people were no longer anxious (and the revolt was forestalled).

Kokonor was pacified in the fourth moon, and Duke Yueh Wei-hsin came with his troops, clearing the remaining groups of rebels in the region of both mountains. Hua Lin called 1,000 of

his soldiers and ordered a chiliarch to clear the country of Hsin Shan with 500 soldiers. He himself went with 500 soldiers into the P'ai Lu valley. He killed 500 brigands and captured 100. He also captured a tremendous number of cows, horses, and weapons.

At that time the commandery of Chuang Lang was converted in the subprefecture of P'ing Fan. Then a report was sent to the emperor imploring him to assign as subjects to the Lu family, the eight tribes of Hsieh Erh Su.

bLo-bzang tan-chin, clad in the dress of a Tibetan woman, had fled to Ko Erh Shun. In the seventh moon Hua Lin pursued him with 200 soldiers to Hua Hai Tse, following General Yueh. Then looking at the red earth reaching to heaven, and the sand dunes seeming to be as waves of the sea, and deeming it impossible to continue the pursuit, they gave up.

In 1730 he loaned half of his troops to colonize the Ch'ih Chin region.

In 1731 he received the salary of lieutenant colonel, was granted the peacock plume, the official robe adorned with dragons, and many pieces of satin. He was promoted to be major in Hsining.

In 1736 at the time of the celebration of the victory, he went to call on the emperor. He received the title of lieutenant colonel of the Huo Ch'i Ying in Sian. Successively he was transferred to Kanchow as defender of the city and as assistant general to Yung Ch'ang, both charges depending on the brigadier general of Liangchow.

The empire was at peace, the armies at rest. Sire Hua Lin, wherever he went, praised the favors and virtues of the emperor and taught the necessity of faithfulness and filial piety. He developed education. Officers had confidence in him, as in a tender mother. He delighted in the rites and the schools. In his spare time he liked to sing songs with scholars and eminent people. When he was transferred to a place and left the country, the elders, leaning on their sticks, pulled his sleeves to keep him, and presented a cup of wine honoring him. They accompanied him as far as several li. The picture representing the people hanging on the pole of his coach, impeding it from moving, portrays a genuine reality.

The noble Lady Wang, the wife of the Tseng Tsu (great-grandfather), was the daughter of Wang Ch'eng, the brigadier general in Wu Lu Cheng in Yunan province. She was zealous, mild, and considerate. Her virtues were on a par with those of her husband.

Sire Hua Lin died in 1736, the nineteenth of the second moon, at the age of sixty-eight. Posthumously he received the title of Wu-kung. The Lady Wang died in 1768, the fifteenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of seventy-eight. She was granted the title of Fu-jen. She was buried in the Hsi Hsiang T'ang cemetery.

FENG CHU, SIRE WU I, THE GRANDFATHER OF THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION

Grandfather Feng Chu, Sire Wu I, style name Hsiu Lin, was the oldest son of the great-grandfather Chiu Ju. The great-grandfather, for ten years, fulfilled official duties outside. He ordered Sire Wu I to care for the private and public affairs at home. Sire was well talented and dealt easily with affairs, just as he would place things in the right place. All things were done as they should be done. Every time he considered the kernel of the matter and did not waste his time examining minute details. For that reason those who worked with him feared him and loved him.

In 1732, having the title of lieutenant, he went through the pass with 600 soldiers to carry on the job of the colonization of Ch'ih Chin, Pu Lung Ku, and other places. He himself worked hard, examining the quality of the ground for cereals. The crops he gathered were always double that of others. After three years the work was done and he returned to his garrison (Lien Ch'eng). The high officials praised his capacities.

In 1744 the great-grandfather Chiu Ju asked to retire. Sire Wu I received the official decree and succeeded. The great-grandfather had a peaceful and quiet temperament. He liked to sit in a lonely room, boil his tea, burn incense, and did not inquire about outside things. Sire Wu I inquired about the health of the elder, cared for his food, and asked for orders in every circumstance. He never neglected the precepts of filial piety.

In 1756 the great grandfather died. Sire Wu I mourned him and buried him according to the rites. At that time the great-grandmother Wang was old. Sire Wu I afraid to grieve her, took his meals with her and behaved as always, but when he was alone he cried as a child. He succeeded in making the great-grandmother happy. Thanks to him the elders, for more than ten years, had been able to walk in the woods and at the sources of the rivers, and the great-grandmother had reached the age of seventy-eight. This had been possible because the filial piety of Sire Wu I had reached such a point of perfection.

The empire was at peace. On the frontiers no more fires were lit in the watch towers of the great wall announcing alarm, the troops and the people enjoyed happiness, and the virtue of humanity was practiced. The people lived until an old age. Our grandfather Sire Wu I fulfilled his official office and controlled his subjects. According to the seasons he stimulated and taught agriculture and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and trees, but first of all he was engrossed in calligraphy, writing according to the principles of the eminent scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write big characters by holding the pencil in such a way that a hollow could be seen between his thumb and index finger. Symmetrical sentences and inscriptions in our mansions, summer houses and at the water pool were mostly written by him. They are remainders originating from his pencil and are admired as benefits of his hand and his artistic virtuosity.

Sire Wu I died in 1762, the tenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of fifty-one. He was granted the title of Wu I Ta-fu.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was the niece of our great-grandmother. She died before our grandfather in 1759, the fifth of the ninth moon, at the age of forty-seven. She received posthumously the title of Shu-jen. Both were buried in the cemetery of Hsi Hsiang T'ang.

FAN, SIRE WU-KUNG, THE FATHER OF THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION

When I was young I met with piteous misfortunes. I lost my father at seven years of age and my mother at twenty-two. Not being on a par with my parents I nonetheless inherited their patrimony. When looking upward I am grateful for the benefits received from the emperor for having fed and educated me, when looking down I think of what my parents expect from me, and I am afraid. Therefore, I chastise my body and amend my behavior, hoping the blessings received from my parents might endure. This, my intention, is beholden to the inspiration received from my parents' spirits, living in the outer world.

I dipped my pencil in blood and wrote summarily (the facts), to instruct the descendants and to provide material for the use of the historians of the future.

My late father's name was Fan, his style name Yung Ch'i. He was the oldest son of my grandfather Wu I. In his youth he was regal, he did not care much for the wealth of the family. He was a tall strong man, intelligent and perspicacious.

In 1762 my grandfather Wu I died and my father received the decree for the succession. At that time the empire enjoyed peace. Eminent people liked the companionship of my father. He liked to invite people to dinner and sing songs. Wherever he went the guests were always in full number. He treated his officers and troops cordially. At every meal there was plenty of wine and food,

noise and drinking. To people who suffered from the cold he offered clothes, not caring for the cost. This was the reason why the people were devoted to him until his death.

In 1781 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou revolted and approached the city of Lanchow, which was in critical circumstances. Father was ordered to rescue the city. Having crossed the river he fought in Luan Ku Tu P'ing. The rebels were beaten and scattered, the city was saved. However, many of his soldiers had been wounded and killed. Father also had been badly wounded. When the fact was known at court, he received congratulations, the coral button on the cap, the peacock plume, money, and several pieces of satin.

In 1784 the Mohammedan revolt, the Yen Ch'a Hui, broke out. The ancestor was ordered to move again to Lanchow. Day and night he guarded the capital of the province. After three months the revolt was quelled and he was given money to be distributed among his troops.

In 1785, having been recommended to the emperor by high officials, he was invited to call at Peking. On account of illness he could not move. He thanked the emperor and received some pieces of satin.

In 1786 he again received the call. The twenty-first of the twelfth moon (1788) he called on the emperor at the Hsi Hua Men, and later saw him at Ying T'ai. He assisted in the archery exercises in Cheng Yien Kung, and was invited to dinner in Ch'ung Hua Hung and to another dinner in Pao Hua Tien. On New Year's he congratulated the emperor in T'ai Hua Tien and was invited to dinner in T'sai Kuang Ko. He assisted at a literary convention in Ying Hua Tien, at the fireworks in Yuan Ming Yuan, and at the illumination and the fireworks again in Yuan Ming Yuan. On the nineteenth of the first moon while walking with the emperor in the T'ing Lo Yuan, he asked the emperor's permission to leave. The forty gifts he received from the emperor consisted mostly of food, clothes, satin, table services, dishes, etc. He was back in Chuang Lang on the eleventh of the third moon. The next year he died.

My mother originated from the Suan family of Liangchow, a noble family honored for generations by eminent scholars and officials. When she was nubile she entered our family. She was dutiful, zealous, intelligent, considerate, and the sound of her voice had never been heard outside our home. My father was very regal. He used money just as if it were earth. My mother tried to make him spend less money and to act more orderly. At the death of father, bad members of the family vexed the widow and the orphan and aimed at our wealth. The noble lady controlled the military and administrative affairs outside, and directed the family affairs inside. In her spare time she cared for my education. Those who intended our ruin did not succeed "in making us be blown away by wind," thanks to the merits of my mother.

In 1792 the imperial armies fought the Kokonor chieftain K'uo-erh-k'o. The winter was very cold, and the troops suffered. My mother carried to Donkir one million pounds of fuel for the troops. The emperor congratulated her, sent several pieces of satin, and the peacock plume for her son Chi Hsun. In the fourth moon he received the decree for the succession of the office. Then I hoped that mother, being free from cares, would enjoy a happy old age in harmony with the decisions of Heaven, and that I would have the opportunity to manifest my filial piety. Alas, after a few years she died. It is a punishment for my faults against filial piety. The punishment came fast.

Our family has defended the frontiers since the Ming dynasty. It is easy to become conversant with the faithfulness and justice with which our family has become illustrious. During the Ch'ing dynasty we have inhabited its territory and have been nourished during two hundred years. Tibetans and barbarians have been induced to submission. Although the blessings received are enormous, we did not show the smallest gratitude (big as a grain of sand or a small river). Our

men fulfilled petty duties on the frontiers, and our ladies at home but all of them received praises and honors from the emperor. The gifts granted by him are piled up in our homes. We have even been allowed to have dinner with the emperor.

Now I am a small man, one of those who, rubbing his body is ashamed to--see he is growing fat (without having been grateful to the emperor), who is ashamed to see that he is becoming old and growing long teeth (as the horses), and that to all the benefits received from the emperor is added the blessing of old age (without still having been grateful to the emperor).

My father died in 1788, the fifteenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of forty-six. He was granted the posthumous title of Wu-kung Ta-fu. My mother died in 1799 on the twentieth of the second moon. They were buried in the cemetery of Ho Tung Hsiang T'ang.

CHI HSUN OF THE FIFTEENTH GENERATION

Sire Chi Hsun's style name was Tan Jen. He was the son of the first wife of Yung Ch'i originating from the Suan family. At the death of Yung Ch'i, Tan Jen was twelve years of age. His mother guarded the seal (acted as chief of the clan).

In 1791 the imperial army fought the rebel K'uo-erh-k'o and the widow sent one million pounds of fuel for the army. The emperor congratulated her and sent several pieces of satin, and to her son the peacock plume, and the decree to succeed his father the next year. It was an unusual benefit. Sire Chi Hsun was intelligent and perspicacious, tall and straight as jade; in trading he was zealous and economical. He was a model man. He liked nice clothes and horses, was gracious and talkative. He adhered strictly to the customs of a family which had reared officials for generations.

In 1796 the crops in Kansu were bad. According to the law, the Monguors in Kansu could not get help from the empire. Sire Chi Hsun sent a report through the hands of high officials. The emperor loaned seeds and food and later excused him from returning the loan. This proves that the emperor loves his subjects without making distinction between Chinese and non-Chinese. However, without the earnest supplication of Sire Chi Hsun the benefit would not have been granted.

At that time the Pe Lien Chiao brigands had spread in Hu Kuang, Nan Hui, and Szechwan provinces. Sire Chi Hsun asked to be permitted to help quell the revolt. He sent 300 of his troops to be enrolled in the expedition army of Kansu. The wounded and killed among his troops received the same compensations as the Manchu and Chinese troops. The very sensitive Heliotrope (subject) turns toward the sun (the emperor) and in that way is able to see its splendor (the virtue of the emperor).

In 1819, at the time of the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the emperor, Chi Hsun asked the favor of presenting his felicitations. It was accorded and the journey was defrayed by the empire. He went to call at Jehol. When dinners and ceremonies had taken place, he received the favor of precious clothes and food. In 1826 during the revolt in Turkistan, he was ordered to buy camels and to lead them to Suchow. After the revolt was quelled, he received with reverence the title of the second degree, the coral button on the cap, and the peacock plume. The next year he asked to be permitted to thank the emperor for the favor received. It was accorded and the costs were defrayed by the empire.

In 1830 on New Year's he congratulated the emperor at the T'ai Ho Tien, assisted at the illumination and fireworks, and the comedies on the ice. After dinners and ceremonies were over he received more gifts than on the former visit. During the reign of the emperor the empire was at peace. Drums were no longer beaten, no more alarm signals in the watchtowers on the Great Wall. Sire Chi Hsun had been favored to see the emperor many times, to admire the splendor of the

palaces, and to enjoy the varied delights of the capital. He had cultivated friendships with ministers and high officials, and listened to fine singers. He delighted in the association with distinguished people, elegance in dress, beautiful furs, etc.

He was innately intelligent and courageous. Past sixty, every day after washing, rinsing his mouth, and putting his beard in a sack, he covered his hat and adjusted his dress. Leaning on cushions he sat erect, and his intelligence was more alert. All his movements were regulated like those of Chou Ke-liang. It is said that Ma Fu-po, when he was old, descended from his horse and stood straight, along side of it. When he had to ride the horse he grabbed the saddle and jumped on quickly. He looked straight ahead with open eyes, in order to show that he could still serve the emperor. The emperor enjoyed his vigor. Sire Chi Hsun resembled these people. He died in 1850 at the age of seventy-three.

His wife was a Khoshot Mongol, the daughter of Duke Wang of Alashan, prince of the first degree, imperial son-in-law. She arrived at our mansion at the age of twenty. She studied the classics and was conversant with the rites. She was considerate and strong minded, and understood the core of problems. She was kind toward the people, subjects and troops feared and loved her, nobody dared to disregard her. She controlled her household for fifty years, cutting what was superfluous and adding what was needed. She was a big support to Sire Chi Hsun. She died in 1851 at the age of seventy, in the seventh of the second moon. She bore two sons: Cho, the oldest, died prematurely in the middle of his life. The lady was very grieved. The second son, K'anpu-mei-erh-kung-pu-chih-k'ao, was a Living Buddha. He administered the monastery of Tung Erh Ku Lung. He was strict and severe. She had a grandson, Ju Kao, who succeeded to his father Chi Hsun with the title of secretary commandant. She had a granddaughter not yet married on account of her tender age. There were two more sons from a concubine.

[This section of the biographies ended with the fifteenth. Later a sixteenth and seventeenth were added, written with pencil. The sixteenth biography is the only one in the series of biographies of Lu clan chiefs, of a man who did not succeed as chief of the clan. It is irregular to call this biography the sixteenth.

In the fifteenth and seventeenth biographies it is said that the grandson Ju Kao succeeded to his grandfather Chi Hsun. However, in the same seventeenth biography it is said that Chi Hsun was the great-grandfather of Ju Kao and his mother the great-grandmother Fu-jen!]

K'UNG-CHAO OF THE SIXTEENTH GENERATION

Sire Cho's style name was K'ung Chao. He was the son of the wife of Tan Jen (Chi Hsun) born to the Mongol Khoshot lady. He was naturally faithful and kind, had a nice face, fine hands, and his eyelashes and eyes were like those seen in pictures. He was loved very much by his parents who severely watched his education and studies. He hoped to become a model of filial piety and aspired to obtain literary degrees. However, his career was ended before he had reached the goal (he was a grain that did not mature). He died in 1835.

His wife was a nice charming Khoshot girl who joined him at the age she became nubile. She was kind, amiable, and possessed all the required qualities of a good wife. At the time of the death of her husband she remained a widow to care for the education of her son. She was quiet and strong minded. The son Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded his grandfather Chi Hsun as chief of the clan. In 1857 she died and was buried in the cemetery of Shang Hsiang T'ang.

WAN CH'ING, THE CHENG-WEI CHIANG-CHUN OF THE SEVENTEENTH GENERATION

Sire Ju Kao's style name was Wan Ch'ing. He was the (great) grandson of Tan Jen (Chi Hsun) born of the wife of Cho. At the death of his father K'ung Chao (1835) his age was only six years. His grandfather Chi Hsun (who lived until 1850) cared for his education. He devotedly served his (great) grandfather, always praising the wine and food he presented to him (in order to make him better enjoy the food). He tried to make the old man happy. The grandfather lived until seventy years of age and his spiritual forces remained bright and strong, thanks to the filial piety and the care of Ju Kao. In 1850 Chi Hsun died and Ju Kao received the decree to the succession.

He was a strong, tall, distinguished man having high aspirations. He liked to ride horses and exercise with the bow. He honored the tradition of a military family. He was intelligent, went straight to the core of affairs and did not spend his time in minute details.

In 1857 the mint was to be built in Lanchow. Ju Kao offered wood and paid the building expenses for one year. He received from the emperor the button of the second degree, and the peacock plume.

In 1864 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted. One village after another was captured and destroyed. Sire Ju Kao protected the destitute people.

In 1871 the Shensi Mohammedans attacked Lien Ch'eng at night (the stronghold of the clan). Sire Ju Kao, day and night, defended the lonely city which resisted the attacks of the rebels, thanks to the exertion of the Sire.

In 1872 the Mohammedans of Hsining and Ho Chou attacked the city of Hsining. The governor of the province, Liu Chin-ch'ing, went with the army to the rescue of the city. At Lien Ch'eng the Tatung River was so swollen that no boats or rafts could cross. Ju Kao spent more than a thousand dollars and used his own wood to build a floating bridge. The troops crossed the river and arrived in time to save the city. Although the city had been saved by the army, Ju Kao had helped to save it by building the bridge.

In 1874 the revolt was quelled, and a report at court noted the circumstances of the salvation of Hsining, the recovery of the subprefecture of Tatung, and the help of Ju Kao by building the bridge. He received the title of Pa-tu-lu.

The governor general of the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, was ordered to build a school in Lanchow for candidates to literary degrees. The institution having a bearing on the formation of eminent scholars and administrative officials, Ju Kao was happy to contribute. He liked to spend his own money and to collect money among his subjects. He offered 2,000 taels and a great number of trees to the officials who arrived to buy trees. The construction being achieved, the governor went to Suchow and stopped on his way in Chuang Lang. Ju Kao went to call on him. He was invited to dinner, and highly praised by the governor.

The empire was at peace, the troops at rest. Ju Kao executed the orders of his superiors, and controlled his subjects according to the law. According to the seasons he examined farming and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and bamboos and studied calligraphy, in the clerical style, according to the principles of the scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write letters as big as the elbow. Most of the inscriptions in our mansions, temples, monasteries, and shops are products of his pencil and admired as gifts of his hand and his artistic talent.

He died in 1891 at the age of sixty-four and received posthumously the title of Cheng-wei-chiang-chun. His wife, the noble Khoshot lady, guarded the seals. She cared for the orphan and controlled the clan. She was intelligent and strong-minded.

In 1896 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted again. Destitute people fled to Lien Ch'eng. The lady provided them with board and lodging and distributed alms and repaired the city walls. She was clever and was feared and loved by the subjects. Nobody dared to vex her.

She had no children. However, there were three boys of concubines. The first one, Tan Tseng, became a lama, the second one, Yang, died at the time he was adult, the third, Shu, succeeded to the hereditary duty. The lady died at forty-six years of age and received the title of tseng (great-grandmother) Fujen. She was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang.⁷⁵⁵

FOUNDATION OF A SECOND CLAN WITHIN THE LU CLAN

To the study of the Genealogical Register, the biographies and history of the Lu clan, is to be added a note about the founding of a second clan within the Lu clan.

T'o Huan, at the time of his submission to the Ming dynasty, was ordered to settle with his subjects in the country of Chuang Lang, which he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. Accordingly, he was the recognized proprietor of the country and the chief of his subjects, who were not allowed to abandon him. The same principle prevailed among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung, and the first appointed t'u-ssu was considered the founding ancestor of the clan, proprietor of the territory, and chief of the subjects. Regularly he was succeeded by his oldest son. Among the Monguors the founding ancestor distributed among his sons a part of the territory with some villages, to provide their sustenance, but he remained the supreme chief of the territory and the subjects. He was always free to dispense some territories to meritorious members of the clan. The sons of the founding ancestor and their descendants constitute the group of the nobles of the clan, forming as many branches as there were sons. Each branch was free to divide among its members the villages, and the land taxes, furnished by the commoners who tilled the soil of their properties and villages. In Huangchung, in time of war, each branch of the nobles was ordered to send a fixed number of soldiers to the t'u-ssu chief of the clan (Monguors I: 41, 42).

In the Genealogical Register and the Biographies of the Lu clan are noted only two sons of T'o Huan: Ah-shih-tu, the oldest, who succeeded and died after a year, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh, the second son, who succeeded from 1378 until 1410, and is recorded as the chief of the clan of the second generation.

In the genealogical records are noted only the t'u-ssu who succeeded to each other, and nothing is recorded about their brothers and sons who were not affiliated with the government of the clan.

Incidentally, there are encountered in the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 55, and in the *Annals* of Chuang Lang 36, some more interesting details related to the Lu clan and its history.

⁷⁵⁵ According to the Chronicles of the Lu clan Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded as t'u-ssu in 1850 or 1852 and received the diploma of his incumbency only in 1883. He died in 1891 or in 1893.

His wife, a Khoshot lady, died without issue in 1895.

Ju Kao had three sons born by concubines. The third son, Shu, born in 1876 succeeded his father in 1897. Here end the Chronicles.

In 1916 the widow of Shu, also a Khoshot lady, arrived at Hsining imploring General Ma K'o-ch'eng to accept the "dry fatherhood" of her son. A few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to acknowledge his "dry father," his protector. Certainly Shu had died before 1916, leaving a son. The wife of Shu, the Khoshot lady, hoping to see the son succeed her late husband as t'u-ssu, made a trip to Hsining to secure the protection of General Ma K'o-ch'eng, and the realization of her desire.

In both *Annals* it is recorded that the oldest son of T'o Huan was not Ah-shihr-t'u, but Pa-chih-han. The text reads:

Pa-chih-han, the oldest son of the Prince of Wu Ting, member of the imperial family of the Yuan, fulfilling the duty of P'ing-chang-cheng-shih, submitted with his father to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was promoted secretary commandant. Later the name of Lu was granted to the clan by the emperor. The successive chiefs of the branch of Pa-chih-han fulfilled the hereditary duty of t'u-ssu.

What could have been the reason for the creation of a second t'u-ssu clan at the very beginning, when the Lu clan submitted to the Ming dynasty? By analogy with what happened in the Li clan in 1655, as described in *Monguors I*: 42, we may suppose that it was due to a quarrel within the ruling family of the clan and that similar troubles between Pa-chih-han and his father T'o Huan or his brothers caused the establishment of a second clan in the Lu clan from the very beginning.

No hints are encountered of troubles in the Lu family at that time, either in the Lu chronicles or in the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 56, and Chuang Lang 36, but both *Annals* record that, at the time Pa-chih-han was appointed t'u-ssu by the emperor with the title of "secretary commandant with seal," T'o Huan offered him some territories and fourteen villages. Nothing is noted about the number of families they contained. T'o Huan at that time controlled ten tribes of Monguors, numbering 3,245 families with 21,686 persons, and the most extensive territories allotted by the emperor to any t'u-ssu in Huangchung.

T'u-ssu T'o Huan was entitled "Commandant with Seal" and controlled 300 regular Monguor soldiers, 500 irregular soldiers, and 200 regular Tibetan soldiers. He obeyed the orders of the Chinese General of Hsining in time of war but had himself to provide the equipment (horses, weapons) and sustenance to his soldiers, who were not paid for their military services. He did not pay taxes to the Chinese officials. He received a salary of 76.6 taels.

As "secretary commandant with seal," Pa-chih-han also controlled territories offered "by the clan" but only fifty regular Monguor soldiers. He also obeyed the order of the Chinese general of Hsining in time of war, provided the equipment and sustenance to his soldiers, and paid no taxes to the Chinese officials, but he received an annual salary of only 48.96 taels.⁷⁵⁶

The enormous difference between the poor territories and fourteen villages offered to Pa-chih-han by his father and the extensive territories and cities and villages his father controlled must have opened his eyes to the fact that his right of succession as an eldest son had been by-passed by his father, and he must have felt this as an open insult which could never be forgotten and which sooner or later must be revenged.

Even though we encounter no hints in the family chronicles and in the *Annals* concerning troubles in the Lu family, these circumstances lead us to surmise that something must have been wrong between Pa-chih-han and his father, which might well have caused the formation of a second clan within the Lu clan.

THE PA-CHIH-HAN CLAN

During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) the successors of T'u-ssu Pa-chih-han, endowed with the office of "T'u-ssu secretary commandant with seal," defended the country against the recurrent forays and invasions of Mongols and Tibetans, according to the orders of the general of Hsining. In 1644, at the end of the dynasty, the incumbent T'u-ssu of the Pa-chih-han clan was the secretary commandant Lu Tien, who fought the brigand Li Tze-ch'eng in Huangchung and Kansu. He

⁷⁵⁶ *Annals* of Chuang Lang 36a-b.

fought the brigands with his Monguor troops in the same way T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, "commandant with seal" of the T'o Huan clan, fought them with his Monguors. However, neither t'u-ssu helped the other during the entire expedition.

In 1646 T'u-ssu Lu Tien's army, in combination with the troops of the Ch'ing dynasty, fought the brigands Huo and Wu in the Hsiang Shan mountains of Ningshia and the seventeen rebel tribes of Tibetans from the Chuang Lang region, thus accumulating merit.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu Tien helped the Manchu troops and those of the other t'u-ssu to recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was promoted to "major of the Cheng-hai division." Some of the members of eminent families of the T'o Huan clan had mustered troops, on their own account, and lent a hand in the recovering of the cities. From then on their troops participated in all the subsequent fights against brigands.

In 1661 Lu Tien received officially the "hereditary incumbency of secretary commandant with seal" with the offices of "assistant chairman of the military headquarters" and of "vice-commandant in chief of the commandery of Ching Yuan." He died in 1667.⁷⁵⁷

During the Ch'ing dynasty the successors of the t'u-ssu of the Pa-chih-han clan were always at war (one of them, T'u-ssu Su Chou died on the battle field) with the other t'u-ssu of Huangchung and the seceders of the T'o Huan clan. They had helped quell all revolts of Chinese, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mohammedans in Huangchung.

All the successors of T'u-ssu Lu Tien were endowed with the incumbency of "secretary commandant with seal." They received annually a salary of 48.96 taels. They controlled fourteen villages and some territories and subjects granted to them by the founding ancestor T'o Huan. They did not pay taxes to the Chinese government. They commanded fifty regular Monguor soldiers.

THE T'O HUAN CLAN ON THE BRINK OF DISASTER

In the second moon of 1644, T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang of the T'o Huan clan, after several defeats suffered at the hands of the brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng, retreated with his troops into the city of Lien Ch'eng. The city was taken, T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang was killed and his only son, his legitimate successor, abducted by the brigands. The t'u-ssu had been betrayed by eminent members of the clan who had refused to fight. For three or four years news had been spread across the country that the dynasty was effete and its fall imminent. Long since at the clan meetings, chiefs and members of the most eminent families of the clan had had heated discussions among themselves and with the t'u-ssu, claiming that already three-fourths of China had been lost to the brigands and the Manchus, that fighting and dying for the Ming were useless, and that the surrender to the Ch'ing dynasty was the only solution.

The clan was convulsed by internal discord and on the brink of dislocation. The confusion and discord had grown after the death of T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, the abduction of his legitimate successor, and the arrival in the country of the appointed governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces, Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the new Manchu dynasty.

Throughout 1644 vehement debates aggravated the confusion, and in 1645 members of the eminent families of the T'o Huan clan, advised by T'u-ssu Lu Tien, decided to follow his example, and to be introduced by him to the newly arrived governor Meng Ch'iao-fang.

The governor appraised the behavior of Lu Tien and appointed him "major of the Cheng-hai division," with orders to fight the brigands in combination with the Manchu army.

⁷⁵⁷ *Annals of Kansu* 42: 58-59; *Annals of Chuang Lang* 36a-b.

The whole country was upset. The Lu clan, the most important among the t'u-ssu clans, was without chief, and rent by internal discords. The governor was in a hurry to pacify the country and to use everyone who was able to give some help with troops. He was happy to meet the t'u-ssu in Huangchung who controlled troops and were ready to lend a hand. He was not averse even to accepting the help of members of eminent families of the T'o Huan clan who during the Ming dynasty had gained distinctions for military achievements and were able to muster troops on their own account from among their groups of relatives. He needed troops badly to cope with the situation.

However, the policy of the governor was destructive to the t'u-ssu clans. The power of the authority of a t'u-ssu is based on his ability to keep the subjects, nobles and commoners, submissive. During the Ming dynasty, when the use of the t'u-ssu troops was very urgent and the t'u-ssu accused at court subjects intending to secede from the clan, the Chinese officials were ready to protect the t'u-ssu and punish the seceders. Secession of groups of clan members caused the ruin of many clans among the nomads.

FIRST GROUP OF SECEDERS FROM THE T'O HUAN CLAN IN 1645

Who were the members of eminent families of the T'o Huan Clan who caused disunion in the clan?

The chief of the first group of seceders from the Lu clan was Lu P'ei-tso who, in 1645, was led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien to surrender to the new Ch'ing dynasty.

Lu P'ei-tso was a descendant of Lu Fu, the second son of Lu Chien, who had been one of the most famous t'u-ssu of the clan. During forty years (1444-1488) he had successfully fought Mongol and Tibetan invaders. In 1475 the emperor had honored him with an Honorific Arch with the inscription: "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and sincerity; incessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." Lu Fu, the second son of Lu Chien, had accompanied his father on the expeditions and had been named by the emperor "secretary commandant" of the city of Chuang Lang in 1519. The son of Lu Fu, Nen, died on the battlefield fighting Tibetans. His grandson was made "assistant commandant." His great-grandson died with the rank of second captain of the garrison of Hung Ch'eng. The group of the descendants of Lu Fu was one of the most prominent defenders of the Ming dynasty.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu P'ei-tso with his own army accompanied Lu Tien and other t'u-ssu to quell the revolt and recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was given the original title of the family, that of "Assistant Commandant."

His descendants fought in 1723-1724 in Huangchung against the rebel Mongols of Kokonor. In 1781 they fought the Salar revolt and in 1784 the Yen Ch'a revolt of the Mohammedans.

During the whole Ch'ing dynasty the descendants of Lu P'ei-tso, in concert with Manchu and t'u-ssu troops of Huangchung and troops of seceders of the T'o Huan clan, quelled revolts and defended the country. Each in succession received the hereditary title of "Assistant Commandant" and an annual salary of 53.4 taels. The Lu P'ei-tso group lived in the country of Hsi Tat'ung and controlled the valleys of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang. It did not control subjects and had no regular soldiers but in time of war its chiefs called on the descendants of the Lu Fu group. It did not have to pay taxes to the Chinese government.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁸ *Annals of Kansu* 42: 60a-b.

SOCIAL STATUS OF CHIEFS OF GROUPS OF SECEDERS FROM THE CLAN

T'u-ssu are possessors of territories and subjects allotted to them by the emperor, and as beneficiaries of territories, and also the appointed defenders of them have the right to make legal claims against illegal appropriators of their territories. Since subjects are allocated to the t'u-ssu to provide them with defenders of their territories, each t'u-ssu is listed as having a fixed number of regular soldiers. A soldier is not allowed to abandon his chief, a Monguor is not allowed to abandon the t'u-ssu, and it is because the t'u-ssu has to equip his own troops that he is exempt from paying taxes.

By the same reasoning, one who, with his followers, secedes from his t'u-ssu is not legally entitled to either territory or subjects, and ought to be liable to prosecution. Even if he is not prosecuted, he and his group are not exempt from the payment of taxes, because he does not hold a recognized territory, with its attached duties and costs of defense.

The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma.

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his follower, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority.

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their "subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.⁷⁵⁹

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped."⁷⁶⁰

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso

⁷⁵⁹ See pp. 89, 101.

⁷⁶⁰ See p. 89.

group must be rated among the “traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes” and that the territories of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang had been stolen from the clan, with the people who lived on them. Such were the conditions existing in 1645, the year in which the noble Lady Yang reported to the emperor.

In the accusation sent by Lady Yang to the emperor it is recorded also that T’u-ssu Lu Tien of the Pa-chih-han clan stirred hatred and discord among the eminent families of the T’o Huan clan. Instead of helping save the clan, he aimed at its destruction, at the division of territories and subjects among the eminent families, and the absorption into his clan of more and more territories and subjects, and the patrimony of the abducted legitimate successor of the killed t’u-ssu, Sire Hung.

The resentment against the T’o Huan clan, caused by the forming of the clan of Pa-chih-han and nurtured in the hearts of the successors of the clan t’u-ssu for three centuries, brought the opportunity to take a long awaited revenge. Lu Tien used his influence with Governor Meng Ch’iao-fang to discredit the T’o Huan clan, to secure promotions for the chiefs of the seceding groups, to sow discord in the clan and accelerate its destruction.

At present it is easy to guess that one of the causes of all these troubles was the wrong done by T’o Huan in passing over his oldest son at the time he had appointed his second son as successor and chief of the tribes, and it is easy to believe that this old feud, which had flared up in the period of 1645 and brought the clan to the brink of disaster, is still smoldering in the hearts of the members of both clans.

SECOND GROUP OF SECEDERS

The second group of seceders were members of the same tribe of Lu Chien, the most prominent among the t’u-ssu of the T’o Huan clan. The chief of this second group was Lu Yung. It is noted that, like Lu Fu, he belonged to the nobility of the clan, being a descendant of the founder of the Yuan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, Lu Chien, Pacificator of the Mongols, achieved his most brilliant successes in his wars against the Mongols in the region of Yu Lin (1448-1488), where his second son Lu Fu and Lu Yung acquired their awards. Lu Yung obtained the title of “general ensign,” his son Lu Yu was given the title of “centurion” and during four generations the office of centurion was transmitted to his descendants.

In 1645 Lu Ta-kao, descendant of the seventh generation of Lu Yung, submitted to the Ch’ing and seceded from the clan. The hereditary office of centurion granted to him by the Ming was acknowledged by the Ch’ing. In 1648 he fought the rebel Milayin and in 1675 the rebels Wu San-kuei and Governor Wang Fu-ch’eng, and received the title of major and later that of secretary commandant. Having made an offer of grain to the army, he was made assistant commandant with the hereditary title of commandant. Then during eight generations some members of the group were dignified with the title of commandant and some with that of secretary commandant. During the Ming dynasty the group had never obtained such prominent titles. The group lived in Ku Ch’eng, an annual salary of 73.44 taels was granted to the chief of the group, and the group paid taxes to the government. It controlled seven villages, but no subjects. In time of war the members of the Lu Yung group were used.

A comparison between the social conditions of both groups of seceders is instructive. In group one, during the Ming dynasty, are recorded: one award of secretary commandant, two of assistant commandant, one of captain; in the second group: one of general ensign and six of centurion. According to these titles the social status of group one seems to have been more important during the Ming dynasty than that of group two. During the Ch’ing dynasty in the first group are recorded

nine awards of assistant commandant, in the second group are noted the awards of one secretary commandant, of one assistant commandant and of eight commandants. Again the titles of the first group have been more honorable. However, the salary of the chiefs of the second group was 73.44 taels, that of the first group only 53.4 taels. A big difference is that the first group did not have to pay taxes to the government but that the second group had to pay them. It is not easy to find an explanation of the fact that a group of members with higher offices received a smaller salary than members of a group with lower offices. Group one controlled the territories and villages of two valleys, group two controlled seven villages. Neither group controlled subjects but used descendants of their groups in time of war.⁷⁶¹

It must be noted that during the Ming dynasty both groups of Lu Fu and Lu Yung were submissive and obedient subjects of the dynasty and their t'u-ssu, and that the secession of the first group started in 1645 with the surrender of Lu P'ei-tso to the Ch'ing and that of the second group with the surrender of Lu Ta-kao in 1645. It is worth noting that after the secession from the clan, both groups are recognized by the emperor as its devoted subjects and defenders, notwithstanding that secession is not allowed by the law, and also that t'u-ssu alone are exempt from payment of taxes to the government, and not groups of seceders. There remains the puzzle of how to equip a valuable army without controlling subjects, using only descendants of the founder of the group. Notwithstanding these anomalies, during centuries the "institution" has continued.

GROUP OF LU CHIH-TING, THIRD GROUP OF SECEDERS

Lu Chih-ting belongs to the same tribe of Lu Tien (Pa-chih-han). During the Ming dynasty the office of commandant was granted to him, though it is not noted in what circumstances or for what reason. However, it was at the very end of the Ming that he formed his group, and that, in 1645, he followed Lu Tien to surrender to the Ch'ing.

In 1648 at the time of the revolt of Milayin he fought the rebel together with Lu Tien and the groups of Lu Fu and Lu Yung and helped recover the lost cities of Kanchow and Liangchow "using his subjects as soldiers." In 1651 his appointment as commandant received from the Ming, was acknowledged by the Ch'ing dynasty.

In 1675 Lu Wen-tu, son of Lu Chih-ting, at the time of the revolts of General Wu San-kuei and Governor Wang Fu-ch'eng, helped recover the lost cities of Lan-chow, Ti Tao, etc., in combination with the troops of General Wang of Hsining and those of Lu Ta-kao, of the Lu Yung group, using "his subjects as his troops." In 1677 he was appointed commandant, the same position as that of his father, and eight members of eight generations successively received the same appointment.

The group lived in Ta Yin Wan, and all the chiefs of the group received the honorable title of commandant and a salary of 73.44 taels; however, they had to pay taxes to the government and controlled nine villages.⁷⁶² It is not noted that the group controlled subjects, but two times it is noted that it used its own "subjects" as troops, fighting rebels. These are the only times such "innocent" notices are recorded.

The group of Lu Chih-ting seems to have been formed at the very end of the Ming dynasty, at the time he was promoted commandant and so his ancestors are not recorded as chiefs of the group, nor is it recorded that he belonged to the nobility of the Yuan dynasty. However, he is a descendant of Pa-chih-han, eldest son of T'o Huan, who did belong to the nobility.

⁷⁶¹ *Annals of Kansu* 42: 59a-b.

⁷⁶² *Annals of Kansu* 42: 596, 60a, *Annals of Chuang Lang* 37a.

He is recorded as controlling nine villages, but it is sure that he did not receive the villages from Lu Tien, because Lu Tien possessed only the fourteen villages granted to his ancestor by T'o Huan in 1371. He seceded from the Lu Tien clan and because all the seceders, according to the report of Lady Yang to the emperor, stole subjects and territories from the T'o Huan clan, it is reasonable to suppose that he followed the other seceders in stealing the nine villages from the T'o Huan clan with their subjects.

GROUP OF LU KUO-YIN, THE FOURTH GROUP

Lu Kuo-yin is recorded as belonging to the nobility of the Yuan, without a single detail more.

During the Ming dynasty, Lu Kuo-yin, his son and grandson Lu Ta-mu, bore the title of first chiliarch. In 1645, following Lu Tien, he surrendered to the Ch'ing with his group. In 1648 his grandson Lu Ta-mu died on the field of battle, fighting the rebel Milayin. In 1675 Lu Ta-mu's son Lu Ching-ch'eng, in combination with Major Lu Ta-kao of the Lu Yung group, fought the rebel Wu San-kuei and Wang Fu-ch'eng and recovered Lanchow and other cities and received the hereditary title of first chiliarch. Then members of seven successive generations received the same title during the Ch'ing dynasty.

The group lived in Ku Ch'eng, the chief received a salary of 42.84 taels, controlled the region of Hung Sha Ch'uan but controlled no subjects and at time of war the members of the group were used as soldiers. The group did not pay taxes to the government.

How did the group control the region of Hung Sha Ch'uan and what about the people who lived in the region?

At the time members of the "eminent" families stole territories and subjects from the clan, according to the report of Lady Yang. It is not abnormal, therefore, to encounter members of "less eminent families" belonging to the nobility of the Yuan following their example. The words "members of the nobility of the Yuan" seem to explain the behavior of the founders of groups of seceders.⁷⁶³

GROUP OF LU SAN-CH'I, THE FIFTH GROUP

The fifth group of seceders, the group of Lu San-ch'i, is noted as belonging to the imperial family of the Yuan, and to the clan of Tu-ssu Lu Tien.

It is recorded that the father of Lu San-ch'i was Lu P'ang-hsun, who during the Ming had been given the rank of second chiliarch.

In 1645 Lu San-ch'i went to surrender to the Ch'ing with Lu Tien, "to whose tribe he belonged." In 1648 in combination with Lu Tien and others he recovered the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow, occupied by the rebel Milayin. In 1652 his hereditary office of Second Chiliarch granted by the Ming was acknowledged by the Ch'ing. He died in 1671. Then nine members of successive generations received the hereditary office.

The group lived in Ma Chun P'u, controlled no subjects, received an annual grant of 32.64 taels, and did not pay taxes to the government. The descendants of the group fought in time of war.⁷⁶⁴

The group of Lu San-ch'i was the second among the seceders who belonged to the clan of T'u-ssu Lu Tien. Its social status must have been more modest than that of Lu Chih-ting, chief of the first group, because its chiefs had only the rank of second chiliarch while the chiefs of Lu Chih-ting's group held the rank of commandant. This "less eminent" clan family must well have

⁷⁶³ *Annals of Kansu* 42: 60b, *Annals of Chuang Lang*, 37b.

⁷⁶⁴ *Annals of Kansu* 42: 60b.

expected to enjoy the same rights enjoyed by the “very eminent” one, and to partake of the division of territories and subjects of the T’o Huan clan, because it belonged to the same imperial Yüan house as the “very eminent” ones.

There also remains to be mentioned the eminent family of Lu Ch’a-pei who held the rank of centurion, which rank four members of successive generations held during the Ming dynasty. During the Ch’ing dynasty only three members held this rank. However, it is not noted that the group surrendered to the Ch’ing dynasty in 1645 and nothing is said about the relations of the group with the clan of T’u-ssu Lu Tien or with the clan of T’o Huan. It is only said that in 1738 Lu Chou, son of Lu Yuen-ning, asked to succeed his father but that it was refused. After that there are no more records, so this group of seceders need not be taken into consideration.⁷⁶⁵

The conclusions seem to be that among the five groups of eminent families of the Lu Clans three seceded from the T’o Huan clan and two from the clan of T’u-ssu Lu Tien; that the seceders had been accused by Lady Yang to the emperor in 1645, of having stolen territories and subjects of the T’o Huan clan; that in the records concerning these events the names of the stolen villages and territories are duly noted, but it is positively denied that the five groups controlled subjects. However, it is accidentally noted that the Lu Chih-ting group fought rebels in behalf of the emperor, using genuine soldiers from among his subjects.

THE DISINTEGRATED LU CLAN

In 1645 the Manchu Prince Yin had been so shocked at the sight of the disorganization of the Lu clan and the disgusting hatred among the eminent families of so prominent a clan, that he had ordered Lady Yang to send to the emperor the report “written with her blood” about the conditions existing inside the clan.

What was the answer of the emperor to the report of Lady Yang? What was the redress ordered by the emperor for the injustices endured by the clan?

In 1648, after three full years during which no chief administered the clan and the gap of hatred and aversion between the clan members had deepened appallingly, Lu An, nephew of the killed T’u-ssu Lu Yung-ch’ang, received, with the title of commandant, the decree of appointment and the seal of t’u-ssu ad interim, for so long as the abducted legitimate successor was not discovered. Unfortunately, the t’u-ssu was looked at askance by most of the prominent members of the clan because he was too young.⁷⁶⁶

In the same year the revolt of the Mohammedan Milayin began in Kanchow, cities were lost, troops were hurried to recover the cities and quell the revolt. In the meantime T’u-ssu An waited quietly for the outcome of the revolt.

In 1650 T’u-ssu An was happy at the unexpected arrival at Chuang Lang of Sire Hung, the legitimate successor to the incumbency, and he left the distressed city as fast as possible.

From the day of his arrival, misfortunes and hardships awaited Sire Hung, still a boy of sixteen or seventeen years of age. The existence of two factions was instantly manifest: first, the illegal appropriators of clan territories and subjects, who were worried about whether or not they would be allowed to retain possession of the stolen territories and subjects; and second, the loyal and dependable members of the clan. Heated discussions and disturbances between the groups were everywhere evident. It will never be known how many visits were made, or what gifts were offered by each of the groups to the military and civil officials during the discussion of the

⁷⁶⁵ *Annals of Kansu* 42: 62a. *Annals of Chuang Lang* 37a.

⁷⁶⁶ See pp. 89, 101.

problem of the conservation or the restitution of the territories and subjects, but after a few weeks the powerful seceders had succeeded in having Sire Hung put in jail for ten years, pouring streams of abuse upon the poor boy, accusing him of not being the genuine son of T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang. In 1659, after ten years of suffering and humiliation, thanks to the generous efforts of the loyal and dependable members of the clan, the truth became evident and Sire Hung received the appointment and seal of t'u-ssu of a clan rent by discords and hatred for more than twenty years.⁷⁶⁷ Sire Hung died after fifteen years, in 1673, at the age of forty.

During the imprisonment of Sire Hung, his wife, Lady Wang, adopted a boy, Ti Hsin, and later bore a boy, Ti Ch'eng. At the death of Sire Hung, both boys being too young, Lady Wang retained the seal and controlled the clan. She had a hard time, suffering humiliation and contemptuous treatment every day from the group of the seceders who called her incapable of controlling the clan.

In 1674 the terrible revolt of the three ministers started, and the city of Lanchow was lost. The clever Lady Wang, hoping for help from powerful officials, sent grain and horses to help the troops and 300 of her soldiers to fight under the command of the general of Hsining. She received a laudatory letter.

In 1683 her son Ti Ch'eng succeeded to the office of t'u-ssu but he died after three years. In 1685 her adopted son Ti Hsin succeeded him.⁷⁶⁸ Again the widow and her son endured very painful contumely at the hands of powerful and audacious clan members, as well in private as in administrative matters. This was the more harmful because the financial conditions of the family were at that time less brilliant. The lady had to adapt to her environment as well she could, and bear with fortitude the sad vicissitudes of the time.

In 1699 the Jungar group disturbed the country, and Ti Hsin sent troops to quell the revolt, and grain to groups of troops. Then the Kokonor Mongols invaded the country. Troops arrived from Lanchow to rescue the troops of Hsining, but just at that time the river of Tatung was swollen and the troops were blocked in Lien Ch'eng. Ti Hsin spent thousands of taels to hire carpenters, and using his own wood, he built a floating bridge so that the troops could arrive to save the city of Hsining.

In 1718, at fifty years of age, Ti Hsin asked for retirement and his son Hua Lin succeeded him.⁷⁶⁹

At that time more troops arrived in Huangchung on account of the troubles in Tibet and Turkistan. A Chinese army had been defeated in Tibet and Lhasa taken by the Jungars. In 1720 a new Chinese army marched to Lhasa. Hua Lin, the son of Ti Hsin, leading a strong army, participated in the expedition. The Jungars fled and the new Talai, who had been relegated to Kumbum, was enthroned in Lhasa. Lu Hua Lin, accredited with exceptional achievements, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of Hsining. The future of the clan seemed to become hopeful.

More troops arrived from Szechwan, commanded by Governor Nien Keng-yao and General Yueh Chung-ch'i, to quell the revolt of the Khoshot Mongols of Ko-konor and the lamas and Tibetans of Huangchung. Both officials, not conversant with the countries of Kokonor and Huangchung and the people and tribes, started engaging all the troops of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans of Huangchung.

⁷⁶⁷ See p. 101.

⁷⁶⁸ See p. 102.

⁷⁶⁹ See p. 102.

It happened that the mother of the retired T'u-ssu Ti Hsin, the adopted son of the late Sire Hung, was the noble Dame Yueh, the sister of the father of General Yueh Chung-ch'i. Needless to say, Ti Hsin and his son Hua Lin and the entire family were happy to meet the prominent general and that this happy news was swept across the country among the t'u-ssu.

The general, after a few days, knowing the circumstances of the Lu family, was ready to try to help it out. However, the seceders of the clan still seethed with hatred and avoided contacting the general.

The troops of Lu Hua Lin fought during 1723 and 1724, several times successfully, in combination with the troops of the governor and the general. Hua Lin was promoted colonel in Liangchow. All the t'u-ssu were stimulated to compete with each other in quelling the revolts, and the concord and congeniality among the t'u-ssu and the good understanding with the high officials was unusual.

The eight brutal Tibetan tribes of Hsieh Erh So, living in Cho Tze Shan, the mountainous country of Chuang Lang, had revolted in 1723 and their revolt had been quelled by General Yueh Chung-ch'i after a heavy struggle which had lasted many weeks, and the large country pacified. The many conspicuous achievements of Lu Hua-lin having been reported to the emperor, the emperor awarded him the tribes as subjects. They numbered 453 families totaling 2,365 persons.⁷⁷⁰

At the time of the celebration of the victory in Peking, Lu Hua Lin was invited to the capitol to call on the emperor. He received the title of Lieutenant Colonel of Huo Ch'i Ying in Sian, the capital of the Shensi province, and was later transferred to Kanchow as defender of the city and assistant general in Yung Ch'ang.

The Lu clan was flourishing, its honor redeemed, and the clan was again at the crest of its glory. Lu Hua Lin died in 1736.⁷⁷¹

THE CLAN MEMBERS AND THE SECEDERS

The Lu clan had lost its seceders, but had been granted by the emperor the eight tribes of Hsieh Erh So. But what about the seceders from the clan?

It is a shame that notwithstanding suits lasting during many years, none of the territories and subjects stolen by the seceders had been restored to the clan, and none 'among the seceders had been punished, nor had any of them come back to the clan. However, after the glorious achievements of Lu Hua Lin, his distinguished promotions, the influence of the honorable family of Yueh Chung-ch'i and the more intimate concord of the Lu clan with all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the influence and prestige of the clan had reached its former prominent -status in the t'u-ssu society and in that of Chinese officialdom.

The social status of the seceders had decreased in proportion as the social status of the Lu clan had increased. The prestige of a clan depends on the titles and promotions of the clan chiefs, and never had the titles of the seceders been on a par with those of the clan chiefs, even though the troops of the seceders had continued to help quell the revolts in Huangchung. However, the hatred against the Lu clan continued to persist among them with the same bitterness and rancor, and was always ready to flare up at every opportunity, even after so many years.

In the biography of T'u-ssu Fan (t'u-ssu of the fourteenth generation) who died in 1787 after having called on the emperor in 1786, it is noted that his widow and orphan boy suffered

⁷⁷⁰ See pp. 103, 113.

⁷⁷¹ See p. 103.

vexations and contemptuous treatment from the old foes of the clan. The son being too young to succeed his father, his mother was in a hurry to have the boy appointed in order to avoid difficulties in the succession. In the winter of 1792 she sent a million pounds of fuel to the army which was defending the city of Donkir, and received a fine letter of congratulations and the decree for the succession of the boy to the office of t'u-ssu. That was an old trick used in the clan every time troubles were brewing and the good offices of the emperor were needed.

The same trick was used against the same foes when, in 1826, the clan bought camels for the army fighting in Suchow; in 1857, when the Mint was built and a valuable sum of money was offered to prevent troubles with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng.

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family.

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang.

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas.

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers.

In the texts of the imperial orders sent to the t'u-ssu concerning the way of waging war with the Mongol brigands who incessantly for five centuries invaded and plundered the frontiers, abducted and killed people, are encountered continually the words "mobilize the troops and kill the brigands," "exterminate the brigands," "you are capable of doing that," "intercept their roads and kill them," "block their ways and kill them," etc., etc. The rage against and the exasperation

caused by the Mongol brigands were uppermost in the minds of the Chinese officials and the frontier people.

It is a pity that the family chronicles of the other t'u-ssu clans are lost, so we miss the texts of the imperial pronouncements at official burials with the three sacrifices and the imperial oration read before the coffin by a high official delegated by the emperor. The first sacrifice was offered and the oration read on the day of the burial. On the anniversary of the death was offered the second sacrifice and there was read a second oration. After the third year, at the end of the mourning period, followed the last sacrifice and the oration. These orations consisted in the glorification of the deceased, of his virtues and merits, and described what the emperor considered to be the virtues and the merits of the officials he used. They always ended with stereotype phrase, "in case your spirits are still conscious and capable to enjoy and breathe the fragrant of the sacrifice accept and enjoy it." This last courtesy of the emperor toward the meritorious t'u-ssu, read by a high official, in the presence of the entire clan, created a special atmosphere of devotion among the Monguors toward the emperor. The texts of these orations are always very interesting and instructive.

THE GLORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

We have to close the study of the Huangchung Monguors with the list of the names of the Monguor t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives for the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties.

This is the most glorious page in the history of the Monguors.

DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

- In 1402 T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi
- In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'i Tuan-chou
- In 1410 T'u-ssu Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh
- In 1426 T'u-ssu Chou-yung
- In 1511 T'u-ssu Li Ch'eng's son
- In 1536 T'u-ssu Hsin Pao
- In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan
- In 1559 T'u-ssu Li Ming-mao
- In 1586 T'u-ssu Na Wei-liang
- In 1588 T'u-ssu Li Chih-hsien
- T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih-kang
- T'u-ssu Chao and Wu. With these two t'u-ssu 800 soldiers died.
- T'u-ssu Yeh Wei-chien
- T'u-ssu Wang Chao
- In 1643 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang
- In 1644 T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan, his wife and 120 members of his family. Wife of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, his concubine, two brothers, three hundred members of the family.
- T'u-ssu Yeh Kuo-chi
- In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng Kuang-hsien's son
- In 1798 T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu
- In 1864 T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi

No record existed relating to the number of all the Monguor soldiers who died on the fields of battle during these five centuries.

HONORIFIC ARCHES AND INSCRIPTIONS

Honorific Arch was built and inscription sent by the emperor:

- In 1475 for T'u-ssu Lu Chien "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly exercised fidelity and zeal."
- In 1546 for T'u-ssu Lu Chin "Incessantly practiced faithfulness and justice and was illustrious for his dignity and fame."
- In 1568 for T'u-ssu Li Kung "Ch'ing Yun, 'Blue Clouds,' means Bright Intelligence. He was an eminent scholar."
- In 1612 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Teh "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace."
- In 1616 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung "Served the country, manifested loyalty."
- In 1644 for T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan." In 1534 in the city of Hsining was built the HALL OF THE FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS OFFICIALS OF HUANG-CHUNG.

Four names of t'u-ssu are recorded in the list of these glorious officials. They are:

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| • Li Nan-ko | • Ch'eng Chih |
| • Li Yin | • Li Ch'ang |

IMPERIAL DISTINCTION

After the Hsining troops, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands of Kokonor, and the son, nephew, and relatives of Altan, had brilliantly demolished the temple in Kokonor, where Altan had met the Dalai Lama, and after two resounding victories had been obtained against these brigands in 1594, reports were sent to the emperor with the names of the meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to these successful achievements. A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward these officials. Among the names of these meritorious officials we read these of the Monguor t'u-ssu:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| • Lu Kuang-tsu | • Ch'eng San-chi |
| • Li Yu-mao | • Ch'i Ping-chung |
| • Li Hsien-hua | • Ch'i Teh |

STELES ERECTED BY THANKFUL PEOPLE FOR MERITORIOUS T'U-SSU

In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan pacified the region of Cheng-ch'iang-i and was besieged in the fortress by several groups of Mongol brigands. He fought bravely. Nearly all his soldiers were killed, but he still fought with the courage of despair. Finally he was killed. The thankful people of the country erected a stele in Cheng-ch'iang-i in commemoration of his heroic achievement. The stele still exists.

In 1616 T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung, appointed in Yung-ch'ang, was besieged by the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing and his 1,000 troops. Controlling only 300 soldiers, he fought during two days and nights. When the auxiliary troops arrived, instantly Ch'i Ping-chung pursued the enemy and recaptured the abducted people and stolen animals. The thankful people erected a stele in the city of Yung-ch'ang in commemoration of his glorious performance.

During five centuries the Monguors bore with fortitude the vicissitudes of very hard times, fighting inroads of brigands and revolts of tribes, always on the warpath in their own country and

in far-off provinces. A strong factor in buoying their courage was the tie of the clan, which bound them close together in one family, with a t'u-ssu as head of the family.

The appreciation and estimation of their heroic achievements by the emperor and local high officials, the building of Honorific Arches, the favor of official burials and sacrifices, the granting of titles, the names of their chiefs recorded in the City Hall of faithful and meritorious officials, the reports sent to the emperor about their valorous performances, the thankfulness of the Chinese who erected steles to glorify them, were so many stimuli for the Monguors which made life worth living and brought happiness in the clan and in the families.

The last news we have about the Huangchung Monguors is that the Monguor clans are broken up, the t'u-ssu regime is abolished, the ladies are forbidden to wear their distinctive clothes and headdress, the use of their language is prohibited, in every village a school is organized with teachers of the new ideology. Monguors and their wives are enlisted with the Chinese men and women in working groups. The aim is to obliterate the Monguor nation and mix it in the Chinese nation. In a few years from now the Monguors will have disappeared.

